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WORKERS VANGUARD 25¢

No. 35 4 January 1974

Auto, Airline Workers Face Massive Layoffs

A SOCIALIST PROGRAM TO FIGHT UNEMPLOYMENT

During the last three weeks there have been numerous articles in the bourgeois press announcing an impending "fuel-crisis" recession. Both Britain and Japan are in the throes of a sharp economic crisis, while in the U.S. both auto and airline workers face the threat of immediate unemployment. "Auto slump, layoffs grow with fuel crisis," declared the headline in the 5 December *Detroit News*. As layoff announcements snowballed the paper reported five days later that "62,000 layoffs may be only beginning." The article continued: "Over 62,000 workers in Michigan are among the 200,000 nationally who are being laid off temporarily or indefinitely by General Motors, Ford and Chrysler, mostly because of decreasing sales. Auto analysts are forecasting that sales could decline 13 percent or more in 1974..." (*Detroit News*, 10 December). Meanwhile announcements of layoffs were being issued by airlines as well. United Airlines announced terminations of over 1,000 workers for early January, as Eastern was reportedly planning to sack as many as 5,000 by the end of 1973. And although seasonal unemployment is standard for the auto industry, reports of an impending serious recession raised the spectre of massive indefinite layoffs for millions of workers. The draconian measures of the British government in ordering a three-day workweek (in other words, a 40 percent pay cut) give an idea of the seriousness of the situation. Unemployment is today a problem that any force pretending to represent the workers' interests must have an answer for.

Periods of massive long-term unemployment are one of the most pernicious aspects of capitalist exploitation. Pleading excuses such as the need to "balance inventories" or "foreign competition," the bourgeoisie forces the working class to pay the costs of marketplace anarchy by periodically driving large numbers out of productive labor, forcing the unemployed to subsist on charity or the public dole. The auto industry is a classic example of this destructive anarchy. Only three months ago the "Big Three" were pushing their workers at a backbreaking pace, with compulsory overtime for 10-hour days and six-day weeks (with 12-hour days, seven days a week in many foundries and repair sections). Now it has laid off fully one-fourth of the production workers in the industry (200,000 out of 800,000), with a prospect of long months of unemployment for tens of thousands!

Fuel Crisis and Mass Unemployment

The government is now estimating a 6 percent jobless rate for 1974, but many economists already reject such figures as far too low. While the official unemployment rate (which understates actual unemployment by about one-third) went up "only" 0.2 percent in November (to 4.7 percent), this represents an additional 195,000 jobless workers. The full effects of the fuel crisis cutbacks, however, will not appear in the statistics until February. In the meantime, unemployment in key industrial states such as Michigan is already well over 6 percent, and official predictions are that it may double, with more than half a million unemployed in the state, topping the 1958 recession rate of 12 percent. Blacks, other minorities and youth will be the hardest hit, and unemployment for these groups is already at recession levels: over 9 percent for Michigan blacks and 14 percent for teenagers.

In addition to auto workers, airline employees have been the hardest hit by layoffs so far. While the companies all plead poverty and blame the fuel shortage, this is in large part a convenient excuse. While profits are at record levels throughout American industry, the major airlines were already planning and instituting cutbacks in service to eliminate the less profitable runs and increase the rate of occupancy by less frequent service. The layoff announcements by United in early December led to a number of workers joining TWA strikers on the picket lines at Kennedy airport in a strike which was threatening to spread industry-wide, before its settlement later in the month. (The TWA strikers picketed other airlines to protest the industry's anti-strike mutual-aid pact.)

While the airlines were using the "energy crisis" as an excuse for carrying out planned cutbacks, General Motors carefully geared its layoff announcements to contract talks, announcing the first round shortly before GM workers' ratification votes. The company announcement that 16 of its plants would close for a week before Christmas, with more layoffs probable in 1974, came after the gradual sputtering out of the Ford workers' (largely leaderless) rebellion in early November, producing the desired effect of pushing through the sellout contract and dampening any opposition to the UAW tops.

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Protesting Nixon/Oil Company Price Gouging

Truckers Tie Up U.S. Highways

UPI

Truckers block Delaware River Bridge in December.

In angry response to drastic increases of fuel prices (up almost 35 percent during November alone) and Nixon's support for the oil monopolies in the so-called "energy crisis," thousands of independent (owner-operator) truckers tied up the nation's highways last month. The movement began with scattered "stall-ins" on the Interstate highways in Ohio and Pennsylvania, traditionally centers of truckers' unrest, and a mammoth blockade of the Delaware River Bridge and New Jersey Turnpike on December 5 which reportedly involved some 1,800 trucks and a 12-mile traffic jam.

After unsatisfactory negotiations with Nixon's Transportation Secretary Brinegar, a group claiming to represent the protesting independent truckers called for a two-day stoppage the following week. Tie-ups of truck stops and key intersections were largely effective in Ohio (where state police reported 85 violent incidents, half of them shootings) but sporadic elsewhere. In the end this produced nothing but temporary increases in diesel fuel allocations and some token checks of price gouging by the Internal Revenue Service. A few days later, however, Teamsters Union President Fitzsimmons announced the reopening of contract talks for over-the-road drivers who, since they are paid by the mile, have suffered a 10-20 percent wage cut as a result of reduced speed limits.

These protests were among the first signs of an impending sharp economic crisis resulting from fuel cutbacks and a cyclical recession which was widely predicted to hit in early 1974 even before the recent Arab oil boycott. Toward the end of December the Nixon administration announced it was preparing a stand-by rationing system and cutting gasoline supplies by 20 percent for January. Meanwhile, layoff announcements proliferated, with General Motors sacking 38,000 employees (roughly 10 percent of its production workers) indefinitely. After a 2-1/2 year boom economists are now predicting a zero growth rate for the first quarter of 1974, accompanied by simultaneously increasing inflation and unemployment.

Truckers' Grievances

The backbone of the protests was provided by unorganized militants among the 100,000 owner-operators who haul long-distance freight on contract from shippers and brokers. Among these are 25,000 independent steel haulers who are a special section of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters and whose rates are negotiated by the union. Additionally, the over-the-road company drivers, who are the heart of the IBT's Master Freight Agreement, cooperated in many places in protesting the reduction of speed limits to 50 and 55 mph. While the independents and over-the-road drivers are relatively well-paid (the latter making an average of $25,000 a year and the former somewhat more than that), they all face grueling working conditions. A

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Israeli Trotskyist on

The 1948 Arab-Israel War

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Spartacist League Debates CSL in Chicago

CHICAGO—On December 9 the Spartacist League and Class Struggle League debated here the question of "The Vanguard Party and the Working Class." Speaking for the SL was Steven Green and for the CSL one Henry Platsky. Above all the debate demonstrated the changing relation between the two organizations over the past year and a half. While the SL has remained firm in its struggle for programmatic clarity, leading it to reject the CSL's proposal of an unprincipled fusion in 1972, the CSL has continued its policies of rotten combinationism while moving steadily to the right.

The present CSL is the result of a fusion last April between leaders of the former Leninist Faction of the SWP and Harry Turner's minuscule Vanguard Newsletter group. It was interesting to note that attending the debate were more former members of the LF who are now SLers than were present from the CSL. This unusual relationship of forces (small groups normally recruit from the larger, but here it has been the reverse) is particularly galling to the CSL leaders who, despite their various formulae for winning instant mass support, have been faced over the past 18 months with a substantial hemorrhaging of their followers. The audience provided "living" proof that opportunism does not always pay, even in the short run.

Rather than arguing about programmatic differences over the question of the party and the class, Platsky spent virtually his entire presentation elaborating a theory that the SWP had degenerated into centrism in the 1948-53 period. According to Platsky, the Spartacist League "came out of the bad school and they still practice and teach that school—they teach the politics of the SWP of the '50's, the deformed centrist school." The CSL attached great importance to this theory, believing that it definitively refuted the SL's claim to represent the historical continuity of Trotskyism. (As an SL supporter—and former CSLer—noted in the discussion period, this argument amounts to asserting original sin: the SWP was centrist, therefore so is the SL.)

While the SWP made errors in the late 1940's and 1950's, Platsky could not point to a single decisive event which codified a qualitative break with Trotskyism. Such eclectic arguments are unable to explain the SWP's healthy rejection of Pablo's liquidationism in 1953. (In fact, Platsky argues in the November *Class Struggle* that "against Cannon's 'anti-Stalinism,' the Cochranites concilliationism [sic] seemed almost revolutionary by comparison"! But, Brother Platsky, the Cochranites were mouthing Pablo's views of adapting to the Stalinists while Cannon fought to preserve the very existence of the Fourth International.) An SL supporter noted in the discussion that the SWP was revolutionary enough to support the Hungarian Revolution in 1956, while Platsky has the ultra-Pabloist Stalinism-is-the-road-to-socialism position of supporting Khrushchev's crushing of the workers councils!

Another highlight of the debate was Platsky's attempt to reconcile CSLer Barbara Vukovich's position that a labor party led by reformist bureaucrats like Arnold Miller would be a "step forward" with Platsky's own statement that Miller was "conducting guerrilla warfare on the rank and file." Said Platsky, "Miller will betray the class—of course he will—that's why we give him critical support"!

The debate also concerned international questions. The CSL's only serious intervention into the world Trotskyist movement occurred last spring when it gave fulsome support to the German group Spartacus-BL in its split with the IKD (Internationale Kommunisten Deutschlands). At that time Platsky denounced our "neutrality," i.e., our refusal to support either side since neither stood fundamentally closer than the other to the programmatic positions of the Spartacist tendency. (Platsky and Co. had of course been only too happy to back the side where they thought they had an "in" and declare it qualitatively superior.) When Green informed the assembled CSLers that the two German groups are now conducting fusion negotiations, they sat in stunned silence.

Green asked how it was that the CSL—which has so vehemently attacked the SL's orientation toward regrouping leftward-moving, subjectively revolutionary elements in other left groups around the program of Trotskyism as "petty-bourgeois"—has found it necessary to devote ten articles in the 11 issues of its newspaper to the SL (including two centerfolds). Could it be that the CSL is coming to realize that workers are also interested in politics and therefore affected by various socialist political currents? It seems more likely that these workerists, who make a false dichotomy between the left (as petty-bourgeois) and the working class (as virginally pure), have been forced to fight for their very survival against opposing political tendencies.

And why this obsession with the SL? First, the SL represents the largest and fastest-growing tendency which claims to represent Trotskyist orthodoxy against Pabloist revisionism. Unfortunately for the CSL, this growth is not the result of adaptationism toward various petty-bourgeois trends (Maoism, guerrillaism, workerism, etc.) but of principled struggle for the program of working-class independence. Second is the fact that, as an SL supporter put it, "Almost to a man they [the CSLers] seem to be people who have bounced off the SL. The LF had the program of the SL but couldn't quite make it and retreated—that was the central basis of the [ex-LF/VNL] fusion, essentially an anti-Spartacist tendency"! ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

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Correction

In the article "Harvester Strike Called Off," in *WV* No. 32, 9 November 1973, we stated that Workers Voice, a syndicalist group in UAW Local 6, and Local 6 President Roth "endorsed Reverand Jesse Jackson's government financed PUSH coalition. . . ." Actually, Workers Voice and Roth endorsed the Coalition for Jobs and Economic Justice (CJEC), which was created by Jackson's PUSH coalition and the UAW bureaucracy.

Resolution of Militant Caucus of AFSCME Local 2070

For An Immediate Presidential Election!
For A Workers Party!

WHEREAS, it is clear that Nixon has committed crimes against the international working class through Watergate, anti-working class policies, and most importantly with the murder of thousands of workers and peasants in Indochina, and

WHEREAS, workers in this country cannot accept simply the replacement of Nixon by another Republican or Democrat who represents the self-same capitalist interests, and

WHEREAS, AFSCME local 2070 has already gone on record supporting the impeachment of the president, be it therefore

RESOLVED, that local 2070's delegates to the Los Angeles County Federation of Labor present a motion to the body calling for a united labor rally to include participation by all independent unions to raise the following demands:

Oust Nixon! For an immediate presidential election! Break with the Republicans and Democrats! For a workers party based on the trade unions!

MAHWAH FORD

Defend Wilbur Haddock and Fired UAW Militants

One of the many fired victims of the repression against rank-and-file militants and leftists at the Mahwah, New Jersey Ford plant is Wilbur Haddock, a leader of the United Black Workers (UBW) of Local 906 and a militant in the plant since 1958. His arbitrary firing last March was part of a pattern of company provocations that later led to an abortive wildcat strike.

Haddock was one of three singled out and fired in 1969 for allegedly leading an anti-racism protest in which black workers demonstrated on the highway leading into the plant. Along with the others who had been singled out for persecution he was rehired through union pressure and he ran for president of the local in 1972 on a program of militant trade-union reformism. However, the company continued to harass the victims it had picked out. When Haddock was fired again last year he was the last remaining of the 1969 "leaders."

There followed a series of firings and walkouts over excessive heat in the early summer, until finally the sacking of UAW local vice president Dave Gardner led to a brief wildcat strike. The local leadership under Joseph Reilly not only refused to lead the strike, but even heightened its vicious red-baiting against the militants.

"Compony-Union Conspirocy"

The wildcat was followed by yet more firings and victimizations—involving at least 30 firings and 450 cases of disciplining directly connected to the protests. A clear pattern emerged: those fired were not just anti-company militants, of which there were many, but potential and real opponents of the Reilly regime in the local. All the leaders of the Rank and File Caucus (politically backed by the reformist Communist Party) were fired. All the members of the Workers Action Movement (WAM—supported by Progressive Labor) were eliminated. *All* existing caucuses were wiped out. Gardner (whose case was irrevocably lost through the union's "umpire" arbitration procedure) and John Leitsy, a trustee of the union who was fired after the wildcat, had been the two biggest vote-getters of all candidates in the previous union elections and were rumored to be seeking Reilly's job. The UBW's conclusion in the Haddock case, that "there is a deliberate conspiracy taking place by both the company and union officials to deny him his job and proper representation," is precisely correct.

The entire labor movement has an interest in defending Haddock and protesting the betrayals of the Local 906 bureaucracy. What is needed is a united defense of *all* the victims of the 1973 wave of firings (which is still continuing). Unfortunately, the UBW has not sought to build such a united defense, nor to confront the bureaucracy within the union on its failure to vigorously defend the victimized militants. Moreover, it has apparently sued both the company and the union in the bourgeois courts. The UBW circular on Haddock states that "only after pressure was brought on the company and union officials by a suit filed with the Labor Relations Board and the State Civil Rights Commission," was Haddock's mysteriously "lost" grievance "found" again. Militants who consistently stand on the side of the working class must oppose the intervention of the capitalist courts in the unions. Not only does such intervention in the long run harm the cause of the independence of the labor movement from the state, but in the short run it seldom aids the oppositionists.

The UBW specifically requests that letters of protest be sent to both the company and the union, making no distinction between a demonstration of solidarity against the class enemy and a protest against bureaucratism within the workers movement. Since real defense depends on labor action, and letters of protest to the company are likely to have about as much effect as the proverbial "letter to your congressman" urged for every ill by liberals and the Communist Party, we suggest letters of protest to the union. These should oppose red-baiting and racism as divisive forces within the labor movement and demand, in the name of labor solidarity against the companies, that immediate action be taken to restore the job of Wilbur Haddock and *all* the fired victims of the 1973 events. (The UBW requests copies of all letters of protest on the Haddock case):

Joseph Reilly, President
UAW Local 906
156 Valley Road
Mahwah, New Jersey 07430

(copies to) Wilbur Haddock
United Black Workers
P.O. Box 1855
Newark, New Jersey 07101

IN N.Y. DEBATE

RSL Claims Russia Is Capitalist

On December 15 the Spartacist League and Revolutionary Socialist League debated in New York the class nature of the Soviet Union—a degenerated workers state or state capitalism? In the debate the SL defended the position of revolutionary Trotskyism, calling for a *political revolution* to overthrow the rapacious bureaucracy and at the same time for *unconditional defense of the USSR* and the conquests of the October Revolution against imperialist attack. The RSL, in contrast, expounded the social-democratic program of Shachtmanism, maintaining there is no qualitative difference between "state-capitalist" Russia and any other capitalist state. Speakers for the SL pointed out repeatedly that this anti-Marxist position leads straight to "State-Department socialism" and support for bourgeois counterrevolution in the USSR. The RSL's ability to put a left face on this bankrupt theory is a temporary product of the U.S.-USSR "detente": as soon as fundamental class realities assert themselves with sharp conflicts between the imperialists and the Stalinist-ruled states, the fundamental anti-Sovietism of this "theory" will be nakedly revealed.

Leading off the debate, Joe Drummond, speaking for the Spartacist League, pointed out that the RSL's "state capitalism" was nothing more than a change in terminology from Shachtman's "bureaucratic collectivism" and, if anything, a theory even farther from Marxism than the latter's rantings about a new totalitarian class society. At least Shachtman didn't try to assert the absurd proposition that the bureaucracy was made up of capitalists.

"The orthodox Trotskyist position on the Russian question," he went on, "is the following: that Russia represents a degenerated workers state. The Trotskyists seek a political revolution against the bureaucracy, while maintaining the gains of the October Revolution, the nationalized property forms, the planned economy, state monopoly of foreign trade. At the same time we unconditionally defend the Soviet Union against imperialist attack."

In contrast to the petty-bourgeois moralists of the RSL who see only the fact that the bureaucracy is parasitic, and therefore want to label it "capitalist" in order to express their outrage, "The advantage of Trotsky's analysis ...is that he dialectically posed the question.... His perspective started from the viewpoint that the bureaucracy was a contradictory, transitory phenomenon." Responding to the RSL's claim that if the SL defends nationalized property forms, this must mean that nationalized property defines a workers state, Drummond noted: "Trotsky's method...was not the RSL's method; that is to abstractly ask whether or not nationalized property forms were progressive in themselves. The RSL baits us, well if the Labour Party nationalized industry in Britain, would that make it a deformed workers state? The major difference is that in Russia, in China, in Cuba, in Eastern Europe, the bourgeoisie was smashed, they were sent packing, their state was smashed, and the nationalized property forms filled up that vacuum."

The SL speaker also challenged the RSL to answer a number of questions about its position (which it has not yet explained in writing): is state capitalism some new productive mode distinct from "plain old" capitalism, and if so what is its historic role? Also, "in an anti-bureaucratic revolution what would the RSL do differently from us, besides beating their chests about how they're going to overthrow the capitalists and we're only going to overthrow that poor measly bureaucracy." And when the RSL places the definitive turn in 1928 or, as they did in the discussion, with a civil war (which no one noticed at the time) during the Moscow Trials of 1936-38, then how does it characterize the USSR until then, since the proletariat was politically expropriated with Stalin's triumph in 1924?

> "The October Revolution was accomplished for the sake of the toilers and not for the sake of new parasites. But due to the lag of the world revolution, due to the fatigue and, to a large measure, the backwardness of the Russian workers and especially the Russian peasants, there raised itself over the Soviet Republic and against its peoples a new oppressive and parasitic caste, whose leader is Stalin....
>
> "But, fortunately, among the surviving conquests of the October Revolution are the nationalized industry and the collectivized Soviet economy. Upon this foundation workers' soviets can build a new and happier society. This foundation cannot be surrendered by us to the world bourgeoisie under any conditions. It is the duty of revolutionists to defend tooth and nail every position gained by the working class, whether it involves democratic rights, wage scales, or so colossal a conquest of mankind as the nationalization of the means of production and planned economy. Those who are incapable of defending conquests already gained can never fight for new ones. Against the imperialist foe we will defend the USSR with all our might. However, the conquests of the October Revolution will serve the people only if they prove themselves capable of dealing with the Stalinist bureaucracy, as in their day they dealt with the czarist bureaucracy and the bourgeoisie."
>
> —L.D. Trotsky, "Letter to the Workers of the USSR," 1940

Property Forms vs. Production Relations?

Jack Gregory, speaking for the RSL, began his presentation by attacking the SL for fetishizing property forms and ignoring the law of value. "We are told that the gains of the October Revolution are nationalized property forms, economic planning, monopoly of foreign trade. We are talked at about property relations, property relations, property relations...." he complained, retorting: "What about the relations of production?!" Repeatedly during the discussion the RSL maintained, like Shachtman, that the class character of property is determined solely by who controls the state apparatus. And along with Shachtman they claim that the property foundations of the USSR fundamentally changed their class character during the Moscow Trials when "the new bureaucracy smashed the last remnant of workers' power and established a new class power of its own" (Max Shachtman, "The Struggle for the New Course").

What is this supposed fundamental distinction between property forms and relations of production? This false dichotomy was already demolished by George Novack and John G. Wright in 1951, writing against the Johnson-Forrest tendency of the SWP, who also held that Russia was state capitalist. Novack and Wright explained that these two terms are "but *two expressions of one and the same relation*. Productive relations are the real foundation, the material content of property forms, which in their turn are simply the legal expression of the productive relations...."

This position was not simply invented by the SWP majority but is in fact part of the ABC of Marxism. In his famous preface to the *Critique of Political Economy*, Marx wrote: "At a certain stage of their development, the material *forces of production* in society come into conflict with the existing *relations of production* or—*what is but a legal expression for the same thing—with the property relations* within which they have been at work before."

In contrast to the RSL and Johnson-Forrest, who want to deprive the term capitalism of *any* scientific meaning, simply reducing it to an epithet, Novack and Wright stated unequivocally: "Capitalist production, exchange, accumulation could not take place without the private ownership of the means of production any more than slavery could operate without chattel slaves or feudalism with serfdom.... In our day the further growth of the productive forces is fettered by capitalist property forms (or productive relations). New property forms are required, nationalized property. That is why Marx and Engels insisted that the transition to socialism could not be achieved except through centralizing 'all the instruments of production in the hands of the state'."

Concerning the relation of "state capitalism" to Shachtmanism, they went on: "Among those who have committed the same error is, incidentally, Shachtman. According to the latter, the Stalinist bureaucracy has 'established new *property relations* while retaining more or less intact the old *property forms* (i.e., state property) and thereby set up' a 'new social order' (*New International*, September 1942)." With regard to the Trotskyists' supposed idol worship of nationalized property, they note that "The Communist Manifesto is unambiguous on this score. It states that *'the theory of the Communists may be summed up in the single sentence: Abolition of private property.'* In order to replace it by what? By nationalized property" (William F. Warde [George Novack] and John G. Wright, "Marxist Method and Ideas and the Method and Ideas of Johnson-Forrest," [SWP] *Discussion Bulletin* No. 7, April 1951).

What is the Law of Motion of the Soviet Economy?

Another glaring example of the RSL's preposterous attempt to apply Marx's analytical categories relating to capitalism to the USSR was Gregory's challenge to the SL to explain the "law of motion" of Soviet society. This is a terminological absurdity, for the law of motion is applicable only to capitalist society, where the social relations of men are masked by their positions in the relations of production, and where the economic evolution of society is determined by blindly operating forces which are independent even of the will of the capitalists. Repeatedly, Gregory asserted that "the worker is paid at value" and asked why the bureaucracy did not raise the wages above value "if only a bit." According to the RSL, the Trotskyist analysis could not explain why the Soviet Union's economy is stagnating today. The RSL's answer? "The falling rate of profit" is at work!

These pseudo-Marxists fail to understand that the economics of transitional societies have a dual character and that in Russia ever since the victory over the kulaks in the mid-1930's, the planning principle has been *predominant*. (However, with the free market for consumer goods, the law of value continues to operate in sectors of the Soviet economy, and the Yugoslav case demonstrates that the deformed workers states are still far from the definitive *triumph* of the planning principle.) There is no economic law of motion of the USSR. Its fate will be determined by the progress of world revolution; or if not, by the triumph of barbarism on a world scale and devastating counterrevolution in the deformed workers states. The fundamental conflict in the USSR today is a *political* struggle between the working class and the bureaucracy for control of the state apparatus. Thus when the living standards of Russian workers were raised under Malenkov and Khrushchev it was because of a decision of the bureaucracy, not because the law of value temporarily ceased to operate or some such other bocus-pocus. As for the current decline in the growth of the Soviet economy, it is clearly due to the incredible bureaucratic deformations of the planning which, as Trotsky foresaw, beyond a certain low level of industrialization absolutely requires democratic control by the working class if it is to be at all successful.

For the rest of his time, the RSL speaker wallowed in petty-bourgeois moralizing, noting that if economic growth was so important, the SL should support Brazil; the Keynesians centralize, so the SL should support Keynesianism, etc. Of course, for the Shachtmanites who cannot grasp the class difference between Brazil (where the bourgeoisie controls the state) and Cuba (whose bourgeoisie is now sitting in Miami), such absurd questions do seem disturbing. Having eliminated all scientific economic content from the term capitalism, what indeed is the difference between Nazi Germany and Stalin's Russia?

After noting that the piecework system had been reintroduced in the Soviet Union and capital was being imported from the West in greater and greater quantities, the speaker went on at length about how accumulation was constantly increasing in the Soviet Union. (As SL supporters noted in the discussion, it was *Trotsky* who had favored the import of more capital from the West, and *Stalin* who had believed he could build "socialism" by sealing off Russia economically. Moreover, how could the RSL claim to be Trotskyist with all this whining over accumulation—the level of accumulation and rate of productivity are too *low* in the USSR, not too high!) To sum up he announced, as if it demolished all opposition, that the Chase Manhattan Bank had just

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Cambridge, MA 02139

BUFFALO..... (716) 837-1854
Box 412, Station C
Buffalo, NY 14209

CHICAGO..... (312) 728-2151
Box 6471, Main P.O.
Chicago, IL 60680

CLEVELAND..... (216) 651-9147
Box 6765
Cleveland, OH 44101

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Box 663A, General P.O.
Detroit, MI 48232

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Los Angeles, CA 90038

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Box 51634, Main P.O.
New Orleans, LA 70151

NEW YORK..... (212) 925-2426
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New York, NY 10001

SAN DIEGO..... (714) 272-2286
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San Diego, CA 92122

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Box 1757
San Francisco, CA 94101

UMW Holds Pittsburgh Convention

Miller Polices Miners for Companies

CLEVELAND—The United Mine Workers' convention, held in Pittsburgh from December 3 to 14, provided ample proof for those not yet convinced that the victory of "reformer" Arnold Miller in the December 1972 union elections just replaced one bureaucracy with another. True, the Boyle operation was an incredibly venal gangster regime while Miller and Co. go to great lengths to give themselves a popular image, talking endlessly of safety and democracy. But this only makes the regime more pernicious, awakening illusions among the ranks, while the new UMWA tops refuse to lead a real battle against the corporations and their government. In fact, the policies of the ex-Miners for Democracy (MFD) now in power have been to rely ever more heavily on Nixon's Labor Department and Bureau of Mines, while forcing the membership to put up with the rotten contract foisted on it by Boyle's gang of crooks.

WIDE WORLD

Arnold Miller

Although Miller's election victory was based on suing the union in the bourgeois courts to force a new election, most of the supposedly socialist left dutifully tagged along like obedient lapdogs after the demagogic claims of the MFD. But while he talked much of "democracy" Miller very carefully avoided basing his candidacy on an organized militant opposition with a class-struggle program, which might as easily sweep him out of office as it swept him in. Instead, like other would-be bureaucrats (such as the United National Caucus in the auto union or the Morrissey clique in the NMU), Miller sought victory by promising something to each of the various interest groups in the union (pensioners, strip miners, etc.). To ensure the bourgeoisie of his dependability he similarly worked closely with the Labor Department and according to the instructions of his liberal lawyers.

The Spartacist League pointed out soon after the election (see *WV* No.17, March 1973) that the reformers' election victory would in no way propel the rank and file toward revolutionary politics. On the contrary, it would introduce further obstacles to the miners' struggle by binding the union even more closely to the bourgeois state. Unlike the UNC and similar reformists, the "progressive" Miller did not even need a "maximum program" of radical-sounding demands to attract militant support, while preserving a tamer "minimum program" to reassure the timid. The incredible bankruptcy and stench of the Boyle regime was sufficient to line up both the U.S. government and most of the ostensibly revolutionary left behind the same candidate!

Miller and Militancy

Miller's first year in office, culminating in the recent convention, offers clear and ample proof that it is necessary to make a conscious break with class collaboration in order to transform the trade unions from weapons of the capitalists to discipline the rank and file into instruments of the working class in pursuit of its revolutionary interests. Very early on Miller made his attitude toward militancy plain to all. In the 15 February 1973 *UMW Journal* he asks the miners to eschew irresponsible wildcats in favor of the established grievance procedure. Alluding to rumored "imperfections" in this cumbersome mechanism, he goes on: "I did not negotiate the current contract and believe we can win improvements in many areas when it expires in 18 [!] months. Until then, we're going to have to make the companies live up to the contract just as we must."

Don't miss that last part! In short, the miners are obliged to honor contracts which were negotiated by the gangster Boyle when the membership was bound, hand and foot. Democracy, it seems, is second to a higher principle: a pathetic respect for bourgeois legality.

Admitting that the number of wildcats had not declined since Miller assumed office, the UMWA bureaucracy unfolded an elaborate campaign aimed at dampening local militancy. On the one hand the "new team" sought the cooperation of the coal operators, holding a series of meetings with company officials throughout the mining districts "to discuss the grievance machinery." This effort was particularly aimed at the troublesome District 31 (northeastern West Virginia). The second prong of this effort to improve conditions within the existing framework was exerting pressure on state inspection agencies to decertify supervisors who are remiss in enforcing safety standards. At the same time the union lawyers are trying to convince the Supreme Court of the miners' right to strike when they believe their safety is endangered. (Good luck!)

The real thrust of the campaign is described in an article "Wildcat Strikes" in the 1-15 August issue of the *UMW Journal*. After demagogically hinting that miners who strike without the permission of the International are responsible for depleting UMWA welfare and retirement fund royalties and for upsetting the union drive to "make the grievance machinery work," the article goes on to describe Miller's proposed changes. These range from the most minimal reforms like clarifying the language to others which would actually strengthen the company's hand (in the guise of getting "speedy, impartial" settlements).

Thus it is suggested that foremen be given more leeway so that they can adjudicate matters on the spot! Faith in the discredited umpires is to be restored by creating a three-umpire panel, one from management, one from the union and then that ubiquitous third party representing the "public interest." Such "neutrals," however, invariably end up supporting the "general interests" of bourgeois society. The demand for more committeemen is rejected on the absurd ground that many locals do not collect enough in dues to pay for additional committeemen. (They collected enough to keep Boyle and his cronies rolling in money for years.)

Wildcats are generally symptomatic of unorganized frustration and often result in failure. A class-struggle opposition in the unions must seek not to dissipate anger in endless partial walkouts which result in large numbers of firings and few real benefits. But we nevertheless support wildcats against the rapacious companies and vigorously oppose efforts by the union bureaucracy to suppress them. Miller, far from wanting to unify the ranks for a determined struggle against the operators, is instead trying to get dissatisfied militants to put their faith in the courts, just as he did. The way to build for a successful strike in 1974 is not to smash these outbursts of dissatisfaction but to put the whole strength of the union into winning the most important local strikes.

While the wildcat issue only made the floor of the convention once, everyone knew it was there. And the one mention was not insignificant. In the report of the constitution committee there was an ominous-sounding amendment stating: "The autonomy of a District or Local Union may be suspended or limited . . . to assure performance or enforcement of collective bargaining agreements. . . ." Miller's buddies were able to whip up enough support to win a close vote on this strike-breaking clause by exhorting the members to have faith in their leadership and by promising to use this weapon only against evil bureaucrats like Boyle, never against the good rank and file. However, on the last day of the convention the delegates turned down Miller's "streamlined" grievance procedure.

The High Cost of Class Collaboration

The use of the bourgeois courts against the unions not only subordinates the trade unions to the capitalist class, it also costs a lot in the short run. An interesting example in this regard is the "Rauh incident" at the convention. This arose when one of the delegates angrily demanded that Joseph Rauh, who had just finished addressing the convention, account for a bill of $300,000 he had reputedly submitted to the UMWA for his efforts as the legal wizard of the Miners for Democracy. Miller feigned ignorance while Rauh remained silent. Later, in a press conference, however, he was happy to explain.

As attorney for the MFD, and with its backing, he had billed the then Boyle-led union for his services in cleaning it up for the government. His goal was to have the courts rule that such claims must be paid under the anti-labor Landrum-Griffin Act. After the usual appeals, the Supreme Court ruled last year in his favor, which Rauh, of course, described as a great victory. Unfortunately, in the meantime the UMWA regime had changed and thus the bill was submitted to Joseph's good friend Arnold: "$100,000, give or take $25,000," to Mr. Rauh, an unspecified amount to this attorney and a donation to a "Fund for Union Democracy" to be administered by some bourgeois civil liberties group. The miners were understandably outraged and Miller understandably embarrassed. Seeing that this was not the time to press an unpleasant subject, Rauh, for his part, was in a generous mood, conceding that he would not prosecute the union if it failed to pay up.

Miller knows that the courts are not popular among the miners. (In fact, a good part of the substantial vote for Boyle in the elections came from members who didn't want outsiders like the courts interfering in their union.) So at

Miller Uses Comics in Campaign Against Wildcats

an appropriate opportunity during the proceedings he launched into a demagogic speech, proclaiming, "The courts, in my opinion, have never been fair to the working man, particularly the coal miner. We have to abide by the labor laws. We didn't write them. We must work to repeal labor laws, if we can...." Mr. Miller's sudden disillusionment with bourgeois justice is, indeed, sad. But he might inform his newspaper editor to spread the word, since the *UMW Journal* currently looks as much like a legal trade paper as a union organ, so many court cases is it covering.

The Convention: Trovesty of Workers Democracy

Despite all of the hullabaloo about democracy during the 1972 UMWA elections, there was precious little of it in evidence during the convention. Conspicuously absent was any rank-and-file opposition, despite a year of repeated guerrilla warfare between the membership and the new leaders over the wildcat strike issue. Delegates were neither allowed to present motions from the floor nor to amend the recommendations of the various committees. The committees, in turn, were staffed by appointed delegates and submitted their resolutions piecemeal so that it was hard to get an overall picture. The delegates could only accept their recommendations or return them to the committees.

Much discontent focused on the recommendations of the contract negotiations committee. Several delegates noted that although the committee promised to "make every effort" to secure the six-hour day, it had neglected to ensure that there would be no cut in the present weekly wages or to adjust overtime provisions so they would be based on a 30-hour week. These oversights were, of course, not accidental since the union bureaucracy has absolutely no intention of fighting for this demand, throwing it in only as a sop to militant elements.

The delegates continued to return the bargaining resolutions to committee both in order to secure greater gains and to eliminate loopholes and exceptions from the contract. Lest the delegates become overly impressed with their "powers," however, Miller took the floor to remind them that all they were doing was "tell[ing] the negotiators [i.e., the union leaders] in a general way what you want them to try to get...."

While the delegates were efficiently kept under control, UMWA leaders were taking no chances with the left either. No ostensibly revolutionary organization was allowed either to display, distribute or sell its literature at or near the convention. After the union brass had caught SWPers trying to sell the *Militant*, they promptly ejected the paper's reporter. Managing to get back in later, the *Militant* representative sought to blame the hotel management for the "unfortunate" incident and, indeed, the SWP neglected to mention such trivial affairs in its published reports. The following day the UMWA also arranged for the removal of the NCLC. The Spartacist League was denied a booth to display its literature on the grounds that the great number of groups bidding for space necessitated that only groups "connected with the union" would be allowed the privilege.

Evidently this select company includes the U.S. government, since the Departments of Labor and Interior and the Bureau of Mines were accorded an entire room to push their wares (along with their propaganda). Another of those connected with the union seems to be Michael Harrington's social democrats, whose "Newsletter of the New Democratic Left" was distributed openly at the convention. (This, incidentally, is another sign of the growing and more open influence of the cold-war anti-communist social democrats as advisers for the reactionary AFL-CIO bureaucracy. Another was the election of New York teachers' union head Albert Shanker as a vice-president of the labor federation last year.) When a member of the reformist Rank and File Caucus of the United Steel Workers attempted to distribute a leaflet critical of I.W. Abel's no-strike pledge, however, the leaflets were promptly confiscated.

Union Bureaucrats and the Labor Party

The panoply of labor bureaucrats assembled at the convention no doubt appreciated Miller's "responsible" efforts to keep clear of fostering rank-and-file revolt in other unions. The political spectrum ranged from the extreme national-chauvinist right wing of the labor movement (I.W. Abel) to its reformist left (Fitzgerald of the United Electrical Workers). One of the latter, James Matles (secretary-treasurer of the UE), made an enigmatic call for "workers' class political action" which elicited an enthusiastic response from the delegates. But while the labor friends of the reformist Communist Party (which pushed the liberal Democrat McGovern in the last elections) are clearly testing the water with such timid suggestions of a labor party, they are certainly not going to risk their respectability by fighting for one.

Talking with a reporter from *Workers Vanguard* several days later, UE president Al Fitzgerald "admitted" that he was for a labor party (all he called for on the floor was the election of workers to Congress), but did not advocate a break with any of the existing parties (?!). Asked why he neglected to mention the issue on the floor, he offered the excuse that a labor party could not be formed before the next election. Somehow the glaring contradiction between this statement and the UE's efforts to impeach Nixon was not clear to him.

Another of those left-talking bureaucrats who neglected to raise the issue of a labor party, at a time when Nixon is holding on to the presidency by the skin of his teeth and both parties are widely discredited by their support for wage controls and the Vietnam war, was one Arnold Miller. This is not significant in itself, since Miller does not pretend to be a reformist socialist or anything else but a good old "democrat." (He ran for the West Virginia legislature on the Democratic ticket a

continued on page 11

Miners begin shift at Hamilton No. 1 Mine in Kentucky. UNITED MINEWORKERS JOURNAL

Cop-Baits SL:

Wohlforth Attacks Spartacists in Cleveland

WV PHOTOS

These photographs show Tim Wohlforth and his Workers League in the act of violently excluding Spartacist League supporters who were attempting to enter a publicly advertised WL forum entitled "We Will Not Accept Dictatorship" held at the Cleveland YWCA last December 13. This disgraceful example of the WL's contempt for the principle of workers democracy was followed by an editorial in the December 21 issue of the WL's *Bulletin*, "A Warning of Police Provocation." Was the WL admitting that it has finally embraced the logical consequences of its anti-communist behavior? Hardly. The thrust of the WL article is summarized in its charge that "Police agents are obviously using the most frenzied and degenerate middle class groups like Spartacist and the Labor Committee as a vehicle to break up any serious opposition to the government."

Once again Wohlforth resorts to the technique of the big lie to conceal the WL's despicable hooliganism. This pathetic anti-Trotskyist excrescence must continuously take refuge behind the techniques of Stalinism to conceal its political bankruptcy. Spartacist supporters are repeatedly excluded from WL "public" meetings so that WLers may remain shielded from political debate. The WL calls on hotel managers and cops to protect the WL's "right" to hold "public" meetings from which certain members of the working-class public are excluded. Those who protest this suppression are slyly labelled cop agents. The WL has shown over and over again that no Stalinist atrocity is too shameful to be employed against members of the working-class movement. And as these photographs graphically show, Wohlforth himself is not above lending a hand.

In Cleveland, the excluded SLers resisted passively in order to avoid a bloody incident which would give Wohlforth fuel for further slanderous allegations of SL "disruptive activities." But we are not cowed by Wohlforth's lies and will continue to use all principled means—including protest demonstrations and, where necessary, self-defense against WL thuggery—to expose the fake-Trotskyist WL and its fraudulent "public" meetings.

Challenged to defend the exclusion, the woman in the lower picture shouted "F--k workers democracy." In order to deny that SLers had the same right as anyone else to attend a public meeting, other WLers asserted that the meeting was "by invitation only" although it had been announced by leaflets and in the pages of the *Bulletin*. When several members of the audience protested the exclusion after the melee, Wohlforth's response was to evict one of the critics!

The WL's Stalinist methods are but the logical handmaidens of a political "method" of pervasive two-bit opportunism and political bankruptcy. It is the duty of authentic revolutionary Marxists to vigorously combat such Stalinist practices. The consistent defense of workers democracy is one of the hallmarks of Trotskyism and is therefore totally foreign to the WL.

TRANSLATED FROM VANGUARD, NO. 19, APRIL-MAY 1973

On the First Arab-Israel War

by Y. RAD

The editors of Workers Vanguard *are pleased to print this valuable study taken from the Israeli Marxist publication,* Vanguard. *The article differs at certain points from our own previous understanding of events in the key 1947-49 period. This consideration only increases the document's worth for us since critical assimilation of the author's view by American Marxists should add depth to our understanding.*

I. General Background

The Second World War was presented and has been presented up to now, both by the American, French and British imperialists as well as by the Soviet bureaucrats and their parties, as "a war of the democratic powers against Fascism." In light of this "precise" class definition, the Stalinist Parties everywhere naturally supported the "democratic forces."

In reality, this war was no different in essence from World War I, despite the involvement of the USSR. That is to say, it was an imperialist war on the part of all the bourgeoisies that took part in the war, those who ruled the working class under the form of fascism and those who ruled in the form of "democracy." The aim of all elements of the imperialist bourgeoisie was a new division of power in the world.

The principal victor in the war was the American bourgeoisie, which began to make permanent the new imperialist order. On the one hand, it supplanted decaying British and French imperialism and those tied to their favors; on the other hand, it surrounded the USSR with military bases in all those countries which were established as its domain by the Yalta and Potsdam agreements—agreements which the Soviet bureaucrats also signed.

The decay of British and French imperialism in the Near East confronted the American bourgeoisie with the question of how to rule this region without the necessity of direct military control.

A part of the American bourgeoisie, expressing itself through military circles and the State Department, called for using the system of British imperialism: supporting the Arab bourgeoisie and feudal elements while strengthening the British army in the area. Another part of the bourgeoisie, expressing itself through Truman, maintained that the existing Arab governments were collapsing and that it would not be possible to support them. The solution proposed by Truman was to strengthen Zionism, which was likely to play the key role in maintaining the imperialist order against all popular struggles in the area. It should be remembered that right after the war there was a sharp struggle by the masses in the entire area against British and French imperialism and the local bourgeoisies tied to them.

It is clear that British imperialism, looking for a way to postpone the end of its rule in the area, supported the American military circles and the State Department. Bevin maintained hysterically that the creation of a Zionist state as an expression of Zionism would necessarily cause a sharper popular struggle and would force American imperialism to send its army to the area. In that situation, the Arab bourgeoisie would not be able to stop the masses opposed to the creation of a Zionist state at the expense of the Palestinian people.

> "The Zionists wanted more than just easier immigration practices. They wanted the American government to support their aim of a Jewish state in Palestine.... The State Department continued to be more concerned about the Arab reaction than the sufferings of the Jews....
>
> "The Joint Chiefs of Staff urged that no U.S. armed forces be involved in carrying out the committee's [the Anglo-American Inquiry Commission—Trans.] findings [for the creation of a Jewish state—Y.R.]... they added that control of oil in the Middle East was a very serious consideration... they were primarily concerned about Middle East oil."
>
> —Harry Truman, *Years of Trial and Hope*, pp. 140, 149

The decision of the Security Council of 29 November 1947 reflects clearly the argument that was occurring within the American bourgeoisie. The decision established the principle of partition without specifying how it would be put into practice. This decision had only one meaning: to the extent that the Zionists could emerge from the military conflict with the upper hand, it would prove Truman's theories and the conclusion would be to strengthen Zionism. But to the extent that Zionism did not succeed in proving itself as a serious political power—the theories of Marshall would prevail and the whole matter would be presented as the failure of a humanitarian plan to rehabilitate the Jewish refugees.

II. The Secret of the Zionist Victory

On the eve of the entry of the Arab bourgeois armies into Palestine on 15 May 1948, the Zionist military forces already controlled most of the area assigned to Zionism by the decision of the U.N.

Little more than a month later, by the first ceasefire of 11 June 1948, the Zionists had won militarily and had proved Truman's theories.

The question here is: what is the political explanation for the military victory?

A) The complete control by the Israeli bourgeoisie over the Jewish working class

Unlike the Arab bourgeoisie which could not mobilize the Arabs and arm them for war because it was separated from them, in 1948 as today, Zionism could mobilize the Jewish working class behind it.

This situation requires explanation. It is possible of course to blame the Jewish working class, to maintain that it was in the interests of the workers to serve Zionism. But we maintain that the Jewish working class, as with all other parts of the world working class, has but one interest: proletarian revolution.

The explanation for the Zionist control does not lie in the interests of the Jewish working class but in its organizational position—its lack of any weapons or independent struggles. And the responsibility for this situation rests with the Communist Party.

In 1936 the Arab revolt broke out. For three years the struggle of the Palestinian masses against British imperialism and Zionism continued. A revolutionary workers party would have united the popular Palestinian struggle with the struggle of the Jewish working class against British imperialism, Zionism and the Palestinian bourgeoisie. But the Communist Party gave full support to the Neshashibis and the Husseinis [the two major competing groups of the Palestinian bourgeoisie—Trans.] who betrayed the Palestinian masses. This policy not only helped the oppression of the Palestinian masses, but it also pushed the Jewish masses into the arms of Zionism. At the time of the second world imperialist war, the Communist Party helped mobilize the Jewish working class behind British imperialism and Zionism.

The Jewish working class lacked not only a revolutionary party but also the elementary instrument for its economic defense. The Histadrut is not a trade union with reformist leadership (as the Communist Party maintains), but an arm of Zionism. Just as the Histadrut organized the Jewish workers against the Arab workers under the slogan "Hebrew labor," in 1948 with the support of the CP it organized the Jewish workers to fight the Arab masses under the slogan of "national liberation."

B) The situation of the Palestinian masses

The Palestinian masses came out of the experience of the 1936-39 insurrection (during which they were smashed and became despondent) not only not knowing how to continue the struggle but also lacking the strength to organize anew. The several thousand who found the strength to struggle lacked the leadership to bring them to victory. The "Arab High Committee," the bourgeois Palestinian organization, put the Husseini family at the head of the guerrilla struggle. This family, at whose head stood the Mufti Haj Amin, had a central role in the betrayal by the Palestinian bourgeoisie at the time of the "Arab revolt" [in 1936-39]; today it continues in this task. On the one hand, each fighter had to supply his own weapons so that the guerrillas only had ancient light arms and many of the guerrillas lacked any guns to fight with. On the other hand, the Mufti conducted unceasing propaganda for the abandonment of villages and towns until the day of "victory and revenge." The same Palestinian bourgeoisie exposed fully its class character at the end of 1947 when King Abdullah set in motion his crafty plots which he contrived in conjunction with the Zionists.

On 1 December 1948 the King called a large assembly in Jericho to which were invited representatives of the Palestinian bourgeoisie. The mayor of Hebron, Sheikh Jabri, who today cooperates with the Israeli occupation government, was appointed by the King as head of the assembly.

The assembly made the following decisions:

1) The conference saw in the Land of Israel [the Hebrew expression connotes a vague geographic unit, approximately the area of the British mandate of Palestine in 1921—Trans.] a single unit which could not be divided.

2) Arab countries could not make war as separate forces but only with complete national unity. As a first step there should be unity with the people of Jordan.

3) The conference recognized His Majesty King Abdullah as king of the Land of Israel.

ISRAELI OFFICE OF INFORMATION, NEW YORK

Prime Minister Ben Gurion reads Israeli Declaration of Independence.

ZIONIST ARCHIVES AND LIBRARY, NEW YORK

King Abdullah of Jordan

UNITED NATIONS

Arab legionnaires at Mandelbaum Gate in Jerusalem.

On 13 December 1948 a Jordanian Parliament composed of 20 members was established because the National Council had decided to approve the government policies on this question.

Counterposed to the Palestinian guerrillas and their traitorous leadership, the Zionist guerrillas possessed an army of about 70,000-80,000 men, armed with new weapons which included, according to Ben Gurion's version: 10,000 rifles, 900 submachine guns, 180 heavy machine guns, 672 light mortars and 96 medium mortars (Ben Gurion, *Be-hilhemet Yisrael*).

This army had experience that had been acquired at the time of the suppression of the "Arab revolt" and at the time of the second imperialist war. Most of its commanders were simply former British army officers.

C) The Arab bourgeoisie

If it is easy to understand how the Zionists defeated the downtrodden Palestinian masses, at first sight it is much harder to understand how Zionism overpowered all the bourgeois Arab armies.

The following tables make it clear that the military victory of the Zionists in no way differed from a victory of the stronger army over a weaker force. But this fact requires a political explanation which comes after the presentation of the statistics:

It should be remarked that the statistics, taken from the book *Hasichsuch Ha-Aravi—Ha-Yisraeli* [*The Arab-Israeli Conflict*] by Dan Safran, reflect the situation in the last months of the war. The Zionists possessed fewer weapons than are cited in the table; their weapons supply was completed by the Soviet bureaucrats.

ISRAELI ARMY (source: Safran)

Total Forces	70,000
Regular	30,000
Air Forces Total	67 planes
Fighter Planes	40 planes
Transport Planes	12 planes
Other	15 planes
Armored Forces	1.5 brigades
Medium and Light Tanks	40 to 50
Armored Troop Vehicles	200
Navy	
Torpedo Boats	5

EGYPTIAN ARMY (source: Safran)

Total Forces	50,000 to 60,000
Regular	50,000 (of whom were sent to Palestine 18,000 soldiers, half from a reserve battalion and a second-rate garrison)
Armored Forces	1 brigade
Medium and Light Tanks	80
Air Forces Total	70 planes
Fighter Planes	35 planes
Transport Planes	10 planes
Other	25 planes

SYRIAN ARMY (source: Safran)

Total Forces	8,000 (of whom one armored division was sent to Palestine)

IRAQI ARMY (source: A. El-Tal)

15,000 men sent to Palestine

UNITED NATIONS

General Sir John Glubb Pasha (left), commander of the Arab legion.

ISRAEL OFFICE OF INFORMATION, NEW YORK

Declaration of Independence.

ZIONIST ARCHIVES AND LIBRARY, NEW YORK

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IRAQI ARMY (source: A. El-Tal)

15,000 men sent to Palestine

ARAB LEGION (source: A. El-Tal)

Total Forces	9,050
Irregular	1,200
Artillery	
2-inch guns	29
6-pounders	38
25-pounders	24
3-inch mortars	40
Armored Troops	
With machine guns	52
With heavy guns	72

What is the explanation for the "paradoxical" relation of forces? Immediately after the end of the second imperialist war, there was a wave of revolutionary struggles in different parts of the world. In Europe the economy was destroyed, as in other areas under the rule of the decaying European imperialism. In the Middle East the masses struggled more sharply and called into question the rule of the Arab bourgeoisie and their masters, the British imperialists.

The Arab masses correctly saw the rise of the Zionist state as a measure primarily aimed against them.

In this situation, the Arab bourgeoisie was forced to declare war against Zionism, because its fear of the masses exceeded its fear of Zionism.

If the Arab bourgeoisie had really intended to prevent the founding of the Zionist state, it would have been compelled to organize a general mobilization of the masses and to arm them with guns, with the clear understanding that those guns would be turned against it and against its masters, the imperialists.

There was only one possibility for the degenerate bourgeoisie: to wage a phony war for the purpose of deceiving the masses and of staying in power longer, with the clear understanding that this phony war would lead to military defeat.

Behind these steps of the Arab bourgeoisie in 1948 lies hidden the logic of the bourgeoisie in countries in which the bourgeois-democratic revolution has not been carried out.

The French bourgeoisie was capable of carrying out the tasks of the bourgeois-democratic revolution: national liberation, agrarian reform, national unity, attainment of rights of free speech and of free assembly. At that time capitalism was in the ascendancy and the workers were not yet an independent class. But in the era of imperialism, in the time of the decline and decay of capitalism, when the working class has (for decades now) put the proletarian revolution on the agenda—to expect the bourgeoisie in the underdeveloped world to be prepared to carry out its historic tasks is to expect the bourgeoisie to be ready to commit suicide.

There is therefore no surprise in the ridiculously small military mobilization organized by the Arab bourgeoisie nor in the behavior of their armies in battle.

The Iraqi army (in addition to the battle of the "Star of Jordan," in which they were also quickly defeated) took part in the battle for Jenin on 2 June 1948: they conquered Jenin and then stayed there without moving until the Rhodes conference. They then beat a quick retreat to Iraq in order to suppress the raging masses.

The Syrian bourgeois army, instead of entering by way of Lebanon and conquering Nazareth and Afula, as simple military strategy required, penetrated to the Zemah-Tiberias area, fortified their positions and remained there when their left flank was exposed by the Iraqi army's turn toward Jenin.

The Egyptian bourgeois army, acting in accord with the instructions of the British imperialists, entered the Negev and conquered the part that the British imperialists wanted as a substitute for their position on the Suez Canal in case they were forced to abandon Egypt.

The same class strategy that weakened the Arab bourgeoisies was revealed in all its purity by the ruler of Jordan, King Abdullah, in signing the secret agreement with Ben Gurion.

There has been an effort up until now, and of course in 1948, to conceal the fact of the agreements which decided that the area set aside for the Palestinians in the partition plan would be transferred to Abdullah. In exchange, Abdullah agreed to Zionist rule in the area of Palestine set aside for Zionism by the pirates of the UN. Not only did the course of the fighting follow this agreement exactly, but there are abundant witnesses to the authenticity of the agreement.

Not only does Yisrael Bar (in his book *Bitahon Yisrael*) state that the agreement existed--so does (in his memoirs) Abdullah El-Tal, a senior officer in the Jordanian Legion who was known for his nationalistic outlook and for his attempt at a coup in Jordan, which was partly a result of the negotiations.

On 16 January 1949 at a meeting between King Abdullah and the head of the Zionist delegation Sasson in the king's palace in Shuneh the king turned to Sasson and said, "I am an Arab king, I don't break my agreements. You know my feelings about you. Look, Sasson, my friend, we won't make war on you or attack you."

In the introduction to the book of Abdullah El-Tal, General Haim Herzog writes: "there is no doubt that Abdullah El-Tal and on the other hand the King and Glubb Pasha did not fight the same war. Tel wanted to destroy Israel, Glubb and the King wanted to seize the territories set aside for the Arabs."

The "battle" for East Jerusalem and the stillborn plan of Yigal Allon for the conquest of the West Bank are only some of the many examples which illustrate that the war between the Zionists and the feudal-bourgeois regime in Jordan was conducted according to the agreement.

The strength of the Legion in East Jerusalem was only enough to defend the city and to conquer the Jewish quarter, for under Abdullah El-Tal (the Jerusalem commander) there were in total 15 officers and 711 men and NCOs. On the other side, it is clear that the "attempts" of the Israeli army to conquer East Jerusalem, which came to naught, were only phony attempts. Even Ben-Gurion himself was forced to confirm this in the case of Kol Ha-Am [the CP newspaper—Trans.] vs. Ben Gurion in 1951.

In his book *Le-Or Ha-Yom U-be-Mahashak* [*In Daylight and in Darkness*] Yerohem Cohen states that after the conquest of the Galilee, Allon presented a plan for the conquest of the West Bank that was received with enthusiasm by the brigade command—Carmel and Y. Bar. "Carmel praised the plan and so did Y. Bar, representative of Yadin (head of the Operations Branch of the General Headquarters), and promised to recommend it to the General Headquarters. We were astounded when we were ordered to immediately move down to the Shphalah [western foothills of the Judean mountains—Trans.]."

III. The Nature of the War

The discussion of the question of the agreements between Ben Gurion and Abdullah brings us to the question: what was the class nature of the 1948 war?

If we accept the claims of the Zionists and the Stalinists, it was the war of national liberation of the Jewish people. To say that, we must show that Zionism was a revolutionary bourgeois movement that captured state power after its victory over the imperialists.

One hundred years after the bourgeoisie in all those countries which have not carried out the bourgeois revolution (part of whose task is the achievement of national liberation) has ceased to be capable of carrying out that revolution... Zionism successfully dissolved the laws of history....

We can only take off our hats and

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The First Arab-Israel War

shout with enthusiasm: Down With Marxism! Long Live Zionism!

But before we sacrifice Marxism, let us examine the hidden secrets of this claim concerning the nature of the war:

To the Stalinist "national liberation" means:

Pillage, murder and expulsion of the Palestinian people because, in spite of the Zionist myth, the Palestinian masses did not leave their towns and villages of their own free will, but under compulsion and the force of fear (the number of Palestinian refugees, by an overly conservative estimate, exceeded 3/4 million).

"National liberation" means to conclude a pact with the feudal Abdullah for the express purpose of pillaging the Palestinian people.

"National liberation" means to free oneself from decaying British imperialism in order to become the stooge of American imperialism.

Anti-imperialist war means to retreat—on the orders of American imperialism—from the one battle Zionism conducted against British imperialism, as can be seen from the terminating of the fighting in the Sinai.

Zionism and Stalinism can define this war as a war of national liberation. We have a different definition for this filthy war: Zionism fought to establish itself, by means of the pillage and expulsion of the Palestinian people, as the strong power on which the imperialists could count as one of the central pillars of the new imperialist order.

The Arab bourgeoisie fought in order to preserve the position of decaying British imperialism and to save itself from the anger of the masses.

Neither of the two sides fought against imperialism, but rather on the side of the imperialists against the masses.

There are historical situations in which it is necessary to support the bourgeoisie in countries in which the bourgeois-democratic revolution has not been carried out, when the bourgeoisie is fighting against the imperialists. For example, Egypt in 1956 or when the Palestinian organizations (bourgeois and petty-bourgeois) struggle against Zionism and against Hussein. This requires critical support, with warnings against the betrayal of the bourgeoisie, and above all the maintenance of independence by the working class: "march separately, strike together."

But in 1948 any support for Zionism or the Arab bourgeoisie had only one meaning: betrayal of the working class. Similarly there is only one name for this war: imperialist war.

IV. How Far Would Zionism Be Allowed to Expand?

If we have established that the Zionist victory was clear on 11 June 1948, with the declaration of the first cease-fire, the question which immediately arises is: "Why did the war end only in April 1949?"

The explanation for the Zionist victory in June 1948 is that the American bourgeoisie had concluded its debate over which power it would support in the Near East, the Arab bourgeoisie or the Zionists. But a question remained open: how far could Zionism expand and gather power without at the same time undermining the shaky order? As soon as American imperialism saw a force taking the place of the disintegrating Arab regimes, it sought to preserve them; that is, to preserve the rule of British imperialism over them. The American bourgeoisie decided the question of how far Zionism could expand by the same method it had determined which forces to support in the Near East in order to preserve its interests.

The Zionist decision to conquer the Negev was put into action only after they had persuaded American imperialism that the conquest of the Negev suited their common interests. Before this decision was made, there were long discussions between American imperialism, British imperialism and Zionism that continued until the end of September. Macdonald's diary testifies to this struggle:

> "the following suggestions are put forth by my Government...
> "1. Perhaps a solution can be worked out as a feature of any final understanding with Jordan which would exchange a large portion of the desert land of the Negev for that portion of fertile western Galilee which Israel now occupies militarily.
> "September 22: Disturbing to learn that Washington and London have come out so strongly, so unreservedly for the Bernadotte proposals...that Israel will trade the Negev for portions of Galilee, particularly since most of the former was allocated to Israel by the U.N. partition resolution of November 29th and the latter area has been occupied by Israel forces....
> "A high Israeli official in a confidential conversation [said]:....
> "3. United States support of Britain's proposal to give the Negev to the Arabs—that is, to Jordan—is no solution and can have only the following results:
> a. It would not endear the U.S. to other Arab States.
> b. It would create a miniature State of Israel which would inevitably become embittered toward the United States.... I [Macdonald] felt this analysis had much logic. Furthermore, Jordan would not be grateful to the United States for our support of what would be considered to be a British gift of the Negev to Abdullah."
>
> —James Macdonald, *My Mission in Israel*, pp. 84, 85, 88

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Arab League holds meeting in Jordan.

In his memoirs, Truman recounts how the decision that there was a place for the existence of a "strong and large" Israel was reached (as he stated in a speech at Madison Square Garden on 28 October 1948).

In the middle of October an Israeli Army force of four brigades split the Egyptian army and entrapped most of it at Faluja.

It is completely clear that the reason the surrounded Egyptian force did not ask for aid from the Iraqi or Jordanian bourgeoisie was a silent agreement for Zionist victory.

> "Two Syrian battalions were sent to relieve the Iraqi troops so that they could aid those at Faluja, but as soon as the two battalions got to Drayah, they were stopped from entering the country and were told that if they tried to enter, they would be fired upon."
>
> —A. El-Tal, *The Tragedy of Palestine*, p. 294

At the beginning of November, a session of the UN General Assembly began in Paris at which the pirate band debated whether to permit the Zionist campaign of pillage, and, if so, how to portray it. On 4 November 1948, it was formally decided to urgently call upon Israel to withdraw. But it is clear from what Macdonald's diary reveals that the Zionists received encouragement from the Security Council:

> "The Israeli commanders were convinced that had they not been halted by the Security Council order they could have driven the Egyptians back into Egypt; they were eager to find a reason for resuming the offensive... [Israel] did not obey the order. This successful non-compliance perhaps encouraged Israel to prepare for further military action."
>
> —Macdonald, *op.cit.*, p. 114

Seven days after the decision of the General Assembly, the Zionists opened a new campaign of conquest called "Operation Desolation" whose aim was the conquest of Sinai. But after Shever-Lev, commander of the 9th Brigade, had been sent to conquer El-Arish, he received a message from his commander Allon to cease action immediately. The fate of the attack on Rafiah was similar. Afterwards—for the first and last time in this "anti-imperialist" war—the Zionists entered into battle with the British imperialists, shooting down five Spitfire fighter planes on 7 January 1949. Immediately after this battle the Israeli army withdrew to the other side of the international border.

The "battle" for the Sinai illustrates well the nature of the war: for the first and last time in this war, Zionism was militarily in conflict with British imperialism, but it retreated as soon as American imperialism told it to.

On December 31,

> "Washington instructed me to deliver immediately to the Israel authorities the substance of a cable which radically changed the whole situation. This was Great Britain's dramatic threat... to enter the war against Israel unless Israel troops withdrew from Egyptian soil. The United States in transmitting this British demand... declared sharply that Israel must withdraw its troops at once."
>
> —*Ibid.*, p. 116

The explanation for the Americans' instructions is simple: they allowed Zionism to expand and to expel the Palestinian people so long as this expansion did not endanger the regime in Egypt or British imperialism there, so long as they did not see an alternative force that could rule in Egypt in place of Farouk.

Just as this "battle" illustrates the nature of the war, so the battle for the Southern Negev illustrates the nature of the opposition of Zionism to British imperialism. By the end of the war, the British bourgeoisie realized that its estimate of the Zionist contribution to the making of the new imperialist order had been mistaken, so it gave Zionism the Southern Negev including Eilat, an important strategic port to the Indian Ocean.

On 5 March 1949, two brigades of the Israeli Army, "Golani" and "Ha-Negev," went down to conquer the southern Negev. The operation was carried out within strict limits, including

> "...a limitation which aroused great astonishment among the commanders of the units, [which] was the order not to enter into battle during their campaign, and that in case of encounter with enemy forces they were to break off contact and to fulfill their task by indirect means."
>
> —Y. Cohen, *Le-Or Ha-Yom U-be-Mahashak*, p. 260

The explanation for this strange order is given by El-Tal: "At the same time that the Jewish forces were approaching, and conflict was expected at any moment, Glubb Pasha sent a telegram to the commanders of the troops:

> "6 March 1949 Immediate Telegram
> To: the commander of the Southern Region
> From: Headquarters
> Pull your forces immediately out of the following places:
> a. Mt. El-Vadabi
> b. Wadi El-Hini
> c. Ras El-Nekev
> d. Um Rashrash (Eilat)"

The confirmation of the fact that the Southern Negev was given to Zionism as a present from the imperialist "enemy" against whom Zionism was conducting a "war of national liberation" is again to be found in the words of Macdonald, who at the time of the crisis in Jordan spoke to the British Minister Sir Knox Helm. Helm told him:

> "I feel strongly that the success of Arab intransigence would be a disaster for the U.S. and the U.K.'s vital interests in this area. Such success... could only take the form of breaking Israel's political power."
>
> —Macdonald, *op.cit.*, p. 214

V. The End of the Wor

The war of 1948 ended with an incident between Zionism and King Abdullah over the control of the Triangle [Negev —Trans.].

The bourgeois Iraqi army was forced to withdraw hastily from the conflict in the month of March 1949, in the words of Abdullah, "because of causes much more important than the problem of the State of Israel" (El-Tal, *op.cit.*, p. 363). In clear political language: in order forcibly to suppress the Iraqi masses.

In spite of the clear agreement between Abdullah and the Zionists that specified that the Triangle would remain under the rule of Jordan, the Zionists demanded the Triangle. Despite the pleas of the King, the Zionists made war upon him in order to make him surrender. The baron of the pirates, to whom Abdullah turned for help, answered him in a telegram dated 29 March 1949:

> "Telegram from Truman
> To His Majesty
> Mr. Truman acknowledges His Majesty's communication to him. He is forced this time to accept the demands of the Jews. Mr. Truman guarantees to His Majesty that he will prevent further claims by the Jews in the future."

The King was forced, of course, to hand over the area to the Zionists.

This incident characterizes the relations between Zionism and the Arab bourgeoisie since 1948. They cooperated in actions to oppress the masses. Zionism, however, enjoyed primacy in the imperialist order. It was not only a tool against the masses but also an instrument of pressure of the American bourgeoisie on the Arab bourgeoisie. Every time the Arab bourgeoisie demanded more than the American bourgeoisie was prepared to give—the whip of Zionism fell upon them.

VI. The Soviet Bureaucrats

Another question needs to be answered: why did the Soviet bureaucrats

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Israeli President Chaim Weizmann (right) presents Torah to U.S. President Harry Truman.

support Zionism? The answer is to be found in the class nature of the bureaucracy. In 1948 American imperialism had already surrounded the USSR with military bases. The question that faced the bureaucrats was how to break out of the encirclement without raising the danger of proletarian revolution.

It seemed to the USSR that it would be possible to exploit the temporary dispute between the British imperialists and the Zionists in order to penetrate into the Middle East and to prevent the construction of a military blockade against the USSR in the area. This was enough to result in support later on for Nasserism, Kassem in Iraq and the Ba'ath in Syria.

It is clear that in order to hide its aims from the working class, the Soviet bureaucracy was compelled to portray the 1948 war as a war of "national liberation" of the Jewish people, just as it portrays the bonapartist [Arab] regimes as the "non-capitalist road to socialism."

But each step of the bureaucracy in support of the enemies of the working class not only helped to weaken the working class outside the Soviet Union, but also made more serious the danger that the USSR would go over to the imperialist camp. By supporting the Zionists the Soviet Union not only helped Zionism become an imperialist fortress against the masses of the Middle East, but also to become the strongest anti-Soviet base in the area.

There is only one way for the working class to defend itself from imperialism: proletarian revolution. There is only one way for the working class to defend the remnants of the victories of October: a political revolution of the working class in the USSR which will send the parasites who rule over the Soviet Union to the place to where all enemies of the working class will go.

Conclusions

It is now possible to summarize the significance of the 1948 war and its lessons for the working class.

- The war of 1948 was not simply a war of one bourgeoisie against another but an imperialist war on the part of all the bourgeoisies that took part in the war against the Arab and Jewish masses of the area.
- This war was part of the defeat suffered by the masses after the second imperialist war in the framework of the new imperialist order.
- This defeat, as a defeat of the working class, is the responsibility also of the Soviet bureaucracy. Each step it takes in order to defend itself by means of subverting the proletarian revolution only advances the power of the imperialists and endangers further the gains of October.
- The agreement between Abdullah and Ben Gurion makes thoroughly clear the connection of the Arab bourgeoisie with the Zionists against the masses; at the same time, the agreement between the Zionists and Abdullah makes clear the aim of Zionism. The dispute between the Arab bourgeoisie and Zionism is over the question of who can better serve the interests of imperialism in the area.
- The Arab bourgeoisie is not adapted to fulfilling the tasks of the bourgeois-democratic revolution in the area. These tasks fall on the shoulders of the working class.
- Not the Arab bourgeoisie in general and not the Palestinian bourgeoisie can implement the right of the Palestinian people to national self-determination; only a proletarian revolution can do so.
- The strength of Zionism comes from the absence of independent organizations of the working class, trade unions and a workers party. ■

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REVOLUTIONARY LITERATURE

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Truckers...

coast-to-coast turnaround (New York-California-New York) is expected to take only six days, with two drivers alternating around the clock and sleeping in the tractor.

The owner-operators, in addition, are a particularly vulnerable sector of the petty bourgeoisie, existing wholly at the mercy of the big shippers, hamstrung by antiquated ICC produce-hauling restrictions and constantly in danger of not meeting payments for their expensive rigs. Even in relatively prosperous times, most do not last longer than a few years in the trade. As soon as a recession hits, thousands go bankrupt while the interstate freight monopolies (whose rights are protected by law) pick up their business. Like most elements of the petty bourgeoisie, the owner-operators have no effective cooperatives or other associations and are, if anything, even more vulnerable to the destructive anarchy of the capitalist business cycle than the organized working class.

Thus the close to 100 percent increase in diesel fuel prices in some areas could be sufficient to drive hundreds of independents off the highways. (Drivers reported some Pennsylvania truck stops had raised prices from 36 cents to 74 cents a gallon, according to the 6 December *New York Times*, while others were limiting purchases to 10 gallons per rig, hardly enough to keep a truck on the expressway for two hours!)

What Policy for Labor?

In keeping with his consistent support for Richard Nixon, wage controls, anti-communism and various other anti-labor measures, IBT chief Fitzsimmons opposed the truckers' stoppage. Reluctantly, however, he was forced to call for wage reopeners for his own membership in order to keep control of the seething ranks. Although in a confused way, many of the protestors instinctively understood that the action was directed against the government and opposed Fitzsimmons not only for his sellout contracts (7 percent wage increase while inflation is running above 9 percent) but for his politics also. The 7 December *Detroit Free Press* reported the conversation among one group of truckers: "'Hell, your newspapers say the Teamsters endorsed him [Nixon]. But you look around this room and I'll bet you there ain't two guys here that voted for him'," said one protestor.

Fitzsimmons' predecessor, double-talking Jimmy Hoffa, on the other hand, claimed to support the truckers' stoppage. But despite the anti-labor propaganda against Hoffa generated by Bobby Kennedy and the bourgeois press when he was organizing the over-the-road drivers on an industrial basis and producing the Master Freight Agreement, which establishes a single nationwide uniform wage, Hoffa is no more interested in the drivers' needs than his former lieutenant Fitzsimmons. To begin with, neither of them has a real program to provide leadership to the owner-operators' protest.

Should socialists support a work stoppage of truck owners who make $30,000 a year and are clearly not workers but part of the petty bourgeoisie? It depends on the circumstances. Because they are placed between the capitalists and the working class, the two fundamental classes in modern society, groups like the independent truckers will swing widely in their orientation, sometimes militantly protesting alongside the workers and sometimes becoming the recruiting grounds for fascist filth. In this particular case their protest is directed clearly against the large corporations and the Nixon government. The working class is very much interested in imposing effective price controls and has no interest in artificially low speed limits.

But a class-struggle leadership of the workers movement must seek to take the lead of such protests in order to direct them clearly against the real culprit: capitalism. Thus instead of raising demands for higher freight rates, which fail to distinguish the interests of the independent truckers from those of the freight monopolies, a militant Teamsters' leadership would call for the *formation of cooperatives linked to the labor movement* to defend owner-operators. This would provide *real* aid to the lone trucker, as opposed to rate increases which will do nothing to stop the thousands of bankruptcies every year as a result of the pressure of the big corporations and lessors.

As the farce of the one-shot IRS "investigation" of fuel price-gouging amply proved, it is hopeless to depend on the corporations' government for real price control, just as it is ludicrous to depend on the oil companies to provide accurate information about the "energy crisis." (As we go to press, tens of tankers are waiting to be unloaded in New York harbor, held up by lack of storage facilities since the tanks are full—yet we are supposed to be in the middle of the worst-ever oil shortage!) A program which defends the interests of the working class, and the struggling lower sections of the petty bourgeoisie as well, would call for *price control and fuel rationing under the control of the unions, and opening the oil companies' books to workers' inspection.*

For the drivers, the demand must be raised for a *uniform hourly wage* to cover over-the-road operations as well, so as to eliminate the pressure which forces drivers to travel at unsafe speeds for too many hours. The Trotskyist leadership of Teamsters Local 574 in Minneapolis, the first to organize long-haul truckers, introduced such a system in the '30's, but pressure from the IBT bureaucracy later led to its abandonment.

But fundamentally the question is political, requiring the formation of a workers party based on the unions and a workers government which could nationalize industry under workers control and break the political economic and military power of the bourgeoisie. It is only by putting forward such an audacious program, clearly pointing to the goal of socialist revolution while providing guarantees to the insecure, struggling small businessman, that the workers can hope to win leadership of the middle class. With a clear alternative to the voracious rule of the greedy "multi-national" corporations, who are driving down the living standards not only of union members but also of professionals and groups like the independent truckers, we can win the petty bourgeoisie to our side. But vacillation, calling for limiting protests to mild petitions and failing to fight for socialism will surely drive it into the arms of reaction.

By themselves, independent truckers are ultimately powerless. Even after the December stoppages they have no national organization or recognized leadership. Nor were they able to stop freight nearly as effectively as the 1970 Teamsters' strike, which tied up the Midwest for weeks. But led by a powerful union under revolutionary leadership they could win real price controls and contribute to the fight for the establishment of a socialist system in which, for the first time, they could enjoy real stability and protection of their interests. A victorious proletarian revolution would, in the process of liquidating capitalist ownership of the means of production, be able to make concessions to small property owners in order to absorb them more easily into socialized production (through cooperatives, etc.). But this does not imply that under the rule of the bourgeoisie there is any "third way," such as the reformist Communist Party's fabled "anti-monopoly government." It is either militant struggle against capitalist rule, under the leadership of the workers movement, or else the viciously pro-big-business government of Nixon (and far worse than him). There is no middle road. ■

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...Massive Layoffs

Soon after, Chrysler announced that six of its seven North American plants would close for a week in January and then announced further indefinite layoffs for 2,100 workers at its Jefferson Avenue (Detroit) and Belvedere, Illinois plants. This represents a 17 percent production cutback compared to January of last year. Chrysler, with recent heavy investments in larger car models (which get poorer gas mileage) and no domestically-made "compact" car, is in many ways in the worst position as a result of the gasoline shortage. However, layoffs have also hit American Motors, which is in the best position on the small car market.

The ostensible reason given for most of the auto layoffs is the time-worn excuse of "balancing inventories." This comes after a year of break-neck production, in which one million more cars were produced with the same number of workers over an 11-month period as compared to 1972, a result of brutal speed-up and compulsory overtime. Then suddenly a quarter of the work force is laid off. And despite the claims in the bourgeois press that laid-off auto workers receive 95 percent of the normal wages (through the Supplementary Unemployment Benefits program), most of the indefinite layoffs so far will not receive a penny from the company. First to go are the probationary employees (less than 90 days in the plant), who have no rights (as well as being paid lower wages, thanks to the UAW leadership). Next come those with less than one year's seniority. Only those with more than twelve months' seniority are eligible for SUB benefits.

Price-Hike Orgy

Prices, meanwhile, continue to soar in what the *Wall Street Journal* (20 December) described as "one of the worst peace-time inflations in history." The nearly 9 percent annual rate of increase in consumer prices is expected to continue in 1974, pushed ahead by a wholesale price index which stands 17.5 percent above a year ago (*New York Times*, 7 December). The 3.2 percent rise in industrial commodities' prices for November was the largest such monthly increase in the 25 years such records have been kept.

Under the capitalist system, productive capacity will lie idle, going to waste while workers are unemployed, unless the companies can make a good "return" on their investment. Now many corporations are threatening to shut down production or curtail expansion if they are not exempted from price controls. In a clear blackmail attempt, Bethlehem Steel recently announced it would go ahead with plans for a 25 percent increase in productive capacity over 12 years if it were released from price controls (*Wall Street Journal*, 7 December).

The worst example of this extortion currently is the petroleum industry, which with the connivance of the Nixon administration is making use of the Arab oil boycott to create a "fuel crisis" panic and get away with huge price increases. Nixon's dumping of "energy czar" Love was motivated by acquiescence to the oil companies' power play, relying on price rises rather than rationing in order to "curb demand." (Subsequently, the government announced plans for "stand-by" rationing as well as doubling the price of gasoline!) This has led to a price orgy: refined petroleum prices shot up an incredible 34.7 percent in November alone, pushing the overall price index up almost 1 percent in a single month.

Nixon's "control" mechanism has become little more than a rubber-stamp device for approving whopping price increases, after having effectively held down wages (with the active cooperation of the labor bureaucracy) during the critical bargaining year of 1973. By all accounts the Nixon administration has given up hope for renewal of controls legislation and, having gotten past the largest contracts, now claims to be planning to hold down prices by increasing supplies. In view of current production cutbacks, the "energy crisis" and a threatening recession, such claims are utterly ludicrous.

Implementing this "game plan," the Cost of Living Council has been busy in recent months exempting industries and allowing substantial price hikes. Immediately after the finalization of the auto contract (which was subject to wage controls), the government lifted controls from the industry, which naturally resulted in immediate announcements of price increases from the "Big Three." Six other major industries have received exemptions since August, and price increases have been approved for six more since October, including hikes of 16 percent for aluminum and 13 percent for copper (*Business Week*, 15 December).

Docile Bureaucrats

The companies are fully aware of the game they are playing and are understandably nervous about a possible reaction from labor. According to *Business Week* (15 December), "With this kind of prospect [of rising prices continuing in 1974], you can forget about labor union docility." At the same time, the business publication warns unions not to become less "responsible" than they have been during 1973!

"Docility" was certainly the word for union leadership during 1973, and there is no immediate prospect for change in this dismal picture. The UAW under the "liberal" Leonard Woodcock led the way with one of the most blatant betrayals of auto workers ever. The phony "voluntary overtime" clause of the new contract is operable only *after* 50 or 54 hours a week, and provided: it isn't changeover period, there's not more than a handful who want time off, it's not a "critical" plant and the company doesn't call an "emergency"! The contract has completely inadequate wage increases and cost-of-living escalators and provides no protection whatever against the tremendous speed-up. Now that the situation has abruptly changed and massive layoffs are threatened, the inadequacy of the SUB benefits is also clearly revealed.

Woodcock, of course, refuses to fight layoffs. At a press conference at the recent convention of the United Mine Workers he said, "I'm afraid there will be more layoffs. There's not much we can do. We're certainly not going to strike on it." Meany's answer to the fuel crisis is an equally impotent call for "equality of sacrifice"—as if the workers were in any way responsible for the impending recession! In contrast to such mealy-mouthed "labor statesmen," a labor leadership representing the interests of the union ranks would mobilize the workers to place the cost of economic crisis on those responsible for it, the capitalists. As for the AFL-CIO's "impeachment drive," class-conscious workers will note that the major labor leaders (including not only Meany and Woodcock, but even "radicals" like Cesar Chavez) endorsed the nomination of Vice President Gerald Ford, in order to encourage forces in the bourgeoisie to dump Nixon without upsetting the system. But Ford's politics are fully as reactionary as Nixon's. According to the AFL-CIO's own accounting he is 95 percent anti-labor—and this is Meany's answer to Watergate!

The key obstacle to a successful fight to counteract inflation and layoffs is the reactionary labor bureaucracy which is determined at all costs to defend the capitalist system and tie down the membership, thereby protecting its own comfortable positions and fat expense accounts. The struggle against these parasites must necessarily be a political fight for a proletarian program, or it will simply generate a slicker version of the same policy of class collaboration (such as that of the supposedly "Marxist" leaders of the French unions, who call fake general strikes simply to let the workers blow off steam). Only a revolutionary leadership on a class-struggle program provides a real alternative to the present misleaders of labor.

A labor leadership committed to pursuing the class struggle would, for instance, support a move to impeach Nixon, emphasizing his crimes against the working class. But it would not meekly accept the existing "rules of the game," as do Meany, Woodcock and their ilk, and instead would demand new elections so labor could present its own candidate, enforcing this demand with a political general strike. Instead of tailing after the "friends of labor" in the capitalist Democratic and Republican parties (which "friends" regularly vote for imperialist wars and anti-labor wage controls) it would struggle to build a labor party based on the unions.

It would be the task of a class-struggle leadership of the labor movement to link the immediate struggles against high prices, layoffs, speed-up and compulsory overtime to the overthrow of capitalism—the only real alternative to exploitation. In the past reformist social democrats and Stalinists have sought to limit the workers' struggles to a "minimum program" of simple trade-union reforms within the framework of capitalism. "The workers are not ready for socialism," they argue. But in the epoch of imperialism, successful reformism is impossible. Pipe dreams of qualitatively improving the conditions of the working class through reform struggles can only lead to fatal illusions and pave the way to fascism and imperialist war. As Rosa Luxemburg said, speaking to the founding conference of the German Communist Party in 1918, "we know nothing of minimum and maximum programs; we know only one thing, socialism; this is the minimum we are going to secure."

But what about the immediate trade-union struggles over wages and hours, against inflation and layoffs? Are we to ignore them? Trotsky answered this question in the Transitional Program, the founding document of the Fourth International: "It is necessary to help the masses in the process of the daily struggle to find the bridge between present demands and the socialist program of the revolution. This bridge should include a system of transitional demands, stemming from today's conditions and from today's consciousness of wide layers of the working class and unalterably leading to one final conclusion: the conquest of power by the proletariat" ("The Death Agony of Capitalism and the Tasks of the Fourth International," 1938).

Today, as we enter a period of sharp economic crisis between the recent boom and a looming recession, the focus of workers' struggles will shift from speed-up and compulsory overtime to the question of unemployment. Instead of minimal reform demands (supportable in themselves, but clearly insufficient) for public works and improved unemployment insurance, the Transitional Program calls for a *sliding scale of hours* to divide the available work among all existing workers, without any cut in wages. A *sliding scale of wages* is demanded to protect the workers against the ravages of inflation.

Such demands can be concretized today in the call for 30 hours' work for 40 hours' pay, with full cost-of-living escalator clauses. Likewise there must be strikes against layoffs, rather than meek acceptance of the capitalists' "right" to throw millions of workers onto the breadlines. To expose the supposed poverty of the oil monopolies, used to justify the staggering price increases, a class-struggle program would demand that the companies' books be opened to workers inspection, to reveal the truth about the "energy crisis." And to put an end to ruthless exploitation by the privileged few who run the country, such a program would call for a workers party based on the unions to fight for nationalization of industry under workers control and for a workers government which would destroy the capitalist state.

In particular, with threats of massive layoffs looming, an immediate demand must be raised to maintain unemployed workers as full members of their respective unions, with equal voting rights and not segregated from the employed workers by discriminatory barriers. A reduced monthly dues rate and special union committees for the needs of unemployed members (similar to existing committees on discrimination or safety problems) would further emphasize the importance of fighting unemployment through union action. A class-struggle leadership would also seek ways to organize unemployed workers in related fields, tying them to the labor movement through special sections of the unions, as was done by the Trotskyist leadership of the Minneapolis Teamsters' Local 574 during the 1930's depression. (We do not call for the setting up of impotent "unemployed leagues" divorced from the labor movement. Experience in the '30's fully demonstrated the instability of such leagues and the need for leadership from the employed workers.)

Such demands will, of course, run into stiff opposition by the labor bureaucracy which totally forgets about the needs of the membership the minute they are laid off and can no longer pay dues. Not only do the labor fakers have no program for fighting unemployment, but as soon as laid-off workers are out of the plant they are out of the union as well. To implement a real program to combat unemployment it is necessary first of all to defeat the class-collaborationist bureaucracy. The necessary instrument for this task is a class-struggle caucus, as the complement in the unions to the struggle of the vanguard party. Forward to a national class-struggle caucus in the UAW! ■

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French Stalinists...

"for their own profit"! The opportunist appetites of these renegades from Trotskyism know no bounds.

In the parliamentary elections last March, Lutte Ouvrière distinguished itself by its rampant economism, putting its main emphasis on the 1,500 franc minimum monthly wage demand. Now it *drops even this demand*, simply calling for "developing" the working-class offensive against high prices (which the CP-CGT have supposedly already started), and otherwise endorsing the bureaucracy's slogans!

> "And it is up to us, the workers, to oblige the union leaderships to organize the struggle or to continue the struggle without them if they refuse to do it.
>
> "That is why all workers should be on strike on December 6, why all should demonstrate in the streets their discontent and their desire to struggle together, in the face of the coming crisis, for their common objectives."
>
> —*Lutte Ouvrière*, 4-11 December 1973

In contrast to this disgusting contest of reformist one-upmanship between LO/*Rouge* and the CP, the Organisation Communiste Internationaliste (OCI) has at least attempted to separate itself from the bureaucracy by waging a campaign "For Unity, Against Revolving Strikes." This campaign had a cutting edge against the labor bureaucracy, since the Stalinist CGT leadership expelled at least one militant of the OCI for opposing the defeatist revolving strike strategy at a union meeting (*Informations Ouvrières*, 21-28 November 1973).

However, the OCI failed to provide any concrete political alternative to the sellout reformists. This was evident both in its intervention in particular union situations and in the main slogans raised by the OCI with regard to the December 6 strike. For example, at a major meeting of public service employees on November 22 in Paris, organized by the OCI against the revolving strikes strategy, a letter was adopted calling for unity to be sent to the major unions. The OCI refused to argue against a motion (which was eventually passed) to eliminate from the letter a very mild call to further independent action after December 6.

In the same vein, the lead editorial in *Informations Ouvrières* No. 634 (29 November-5 December) stated: "People sometimes say to us: 'You are campaigning for unity, against revolving strikes! Very well... But unity for what? Unity on what program?'" The OCI then explicitly refused to give the only possible answer to that question: that revolutionists must begin to wage a political struggle to oust the current union bureaucracy and replace it with a leadership based on a class struggle program.

The OCI recognizes that the strike on December 6 was a bureaucratic maneuver: "It's a fact: the party and union bureaucracies controlled the strike and demonstration from beginning to end, and they didn't want it finally to pose the question of state power" (*Informations Ouvrières*, 12-19 December). But then, it was not simply the bureaucrats who failed to raise the question of state power. Concentrating on the slogan "For Unity, Against Revolving Strikes," the OCI failed to raise the only concrete alternative to the Stalinists' popular-front line, the call for a workers government. Such a call, directed at the CP-SP-CGT-CFDT-FO bureaucrats and demanding they take power in their own name rather than relying on an alliance with residual sectors of the bourgeoisie, must be coupled with an intransigent struggle for a revolutionary program representing the interests of the working class as the only possible basis for a real workers government. Thus the call for a workers government, far from being an accommodation to the reformist bureaucrats, is in fact the cutting edge of the struggle against their policies of class collaboration! ■

Continued from page 5

Miller Polices Miners...

couple of years ago.) But in their desperate efforts to tail after every available popular "reformer" out-bureaucrat, a number of ostensibly Trotskyist groups have attempted to glorify Miller as a supposed representative of the aspirations of rank-and-file militants for a break with the tradition of pro-company and pro-capitalist union misleaders.

One such fake-Trotskyist outfit which gave "critical support" to the Miners for Democracy in the last elections was the tiny Class Struggle League. Still eager to proclaim the "progressive" virtues of their candidate (though ritually warning that he will eventually sell out even though he is "honest" and "likable"), it took just a single offhand remark by Miller at the UE convention this fall to the effect that workers should "elect a labor president" (*Daily World*, 15 September) to provoke an entire article from the CSL calling on workers to give Miller's call a "careful look." The CSL claims that "Miller's idea of a labor party is one in which the workers will be better tied to the capitalist parliamentary farce. Still, such a party, even of the type that Miller has in mind, would be a step forward for the class." *Class Struggle* (November 1973) also notes that the new leader has been disbanding the "strong rank and file group" he used to win office.

At the convention the CSL would have noted that the MFD did not appear at all, having been quietly "disappeared" by the bureaucracy without a whimper from the ranks whose militancy it supposedly represented. But its leaders were not absent. They, like Miller, were sporting buttons of the Coal Miners Political Action Committee (COMPAC), the organizational form for the Mine Workers' support to the Democratic Party. Even before their 1972 victory a number of MFD leaders ran for office as Democrats and they have openly supported liberal West Virginia Representative Ken Heckler.

While the Spartacist League calls for a labor party in order to mobilize the working class to break with capitalist politics, it does not create illusions about a labor party led by "Miller, Meany, et al." as a "step forward." Nor are we so desperate to tail after bureaucrats that we imagine that the arch-reactionary Meany or timid Democrat Miller are about to lead such a movement. Miller's labor party exists only in the imagination of centrist cretins who made the mistake of supporting him for president of the union (something they do not mention frequently these days) and are now looking for straws to cling to in justification of this rotten betrayal. ■

Continued from page 3

RSL...

opened an office in Karl Marx Square in Moscow!

Where Does It All Lead?

In the discussion period the RSL speakers did not add anything to Gregory's presentation except the explicit statement that "state capitalism is qualitatively the same as capitalism." Of the independents (neither SL nor RSL), a former member of the Jewish Bund who had fled Stalin's Russia and is now a member of the Social Democrats U.S.A. complained that in the SDUSA he unfortunately had to deal with "people who are violent anti-Soviets. But I will tell you something. When I heard this young man speaking in the name of the 'Revolutionary Socialist League,' I would say that he is worse even than the most anti-Soviets I have to deal with in the Socialist Party."

SL speakers pointed out that the RSL arguments simply came down to the fact that they *don't like* the Soviet Union. It is "essentially the Shachtman position, which is that democracy equals a workers state; which is why, in the last analysis, it is a social-democratic position." Another SL speaker responded to the RSL contention that since Trotsky was wrong in predicting that socialist revolution would follow World War II, therefore the RSL is right in saying the USSR is now "state capitalist":

"Trotsky's projections were certainly projections of revolutionary optimism.... The Second World War did not, indeed, bring to a final intersection the contradictions which Trotsky clearly saw. This is not so unusual among Marxists. I believe that several times in the 19th century, Marx anticipated that the decisive proletarian revolution within capitalist Europe would take place. That does not invalidate his understanding of the law of motion, but just that a particular intersection point was missed. And why was it missed?... Trotsky sometimes notes, you may recognize the phrase, the subjective factor in history.... The Fourth International is not an abstraction, an isolated entity out there somewhere. It was *shattered!*... And in that strongest section of all [the American SWP], you Shachtmanites defected—half of you ran away!"

Repeatedly the RSL engaged in pacifist snivelling about the "workers' bomb," calling for the "disarmament of the bureaucracy," and announcing that the weapons of the bureaucracy would only be used against the workers. The SL speaker replied: "'Russia should not have had the bomb?' Right? Then you would not have a problem, because it is not just the workers and the bureaucracy; there is also capitalist imperialism.... Without the 'workers' bomb' there would be no problem to debate tonight—to your satisfaction!"

The final SL speaker in the floor discussion dealt with the questions of Cuba and China. RSL speakers had maintained that the Spartacist League, in saying that the Castro regime was a "petty-bourgeois government," had "invented" a third form of state, besides workers' and bourgeois. "As a good social democrat," the SLer noted, "you confuse the government with the state.... He [Trotsky] characterized [Stalin's regime] as a petty-bourgeois bureaucracy. Bonapartist governments are in their nature *petty-bourgeois* because they stand between the two clases.... States are a different matter. States defend different forms of ownership of the means of production, of appropriating social surplus."

He went on: "Now what happened in Cuba? The Cuban Revolution was made by a petty-bourgeois formation. Do you characterize the Castroites from their inception as a 'capitalist' formation? When they were in the mountains they were capitalists??...Then they smashed the existing ruling class ... they [the capitalists] left Cuba. Now Castro stepped into a power vacuum. ...The petty bourgeoisie, that is right, cannot generate its own state. It must take a course. And the course that Cuba took was to make property social property—all property. It is not a question of selective nationalizations. It was the creation of the dominant mode of production."

He pointed out that if the RSL were consistent, its position would have been in 1948 that it didn't matter if Chiang Kai-shek or Mao Tse-tung won in the Chinese civil war, and that there is really no difference between India and China. In the Korean War the RSL would have had to call for the defeat of both sides! "If you were consistent, your position in the Cuban missile crisis would have been 'Third Camp.' And that is where the 'workers' bomb' comes in."

Shachtmanism and Menshevism

Speakers from the Revolutionary Socialist League several times accused the SL of Pabloism because we recognize that under unusual circumstances petty-bourgeois forces have been able to overthrow capitalism (though never achieving socialism). Their reasoning reveals the RSL's own fundamental Shachtmanism, assuming that if a deformed workers state under Stalinist leadership is a "step forward" compared to capitalism, then we must advocate Stalinism! But the Trotskyist position is quite clear: we defend the Stalinist-ruled states against imperialism while advocating political revolution to overthrow the parasitic bureaucracy.

After hearing from the RSL that recognition of Russia as a degenerated workers state is Pabloist, it was interesting to read an article in the RSL's *Torch* (15 December-15 January) describing the impending split of the fake-Trotskyist United Secretariat. In the several paragraphs he devotes to the subject of Pabloism the author, Kevin Tracy, neglects to mention the connection between Pabloism and Trotsky's theory of a degenerated workers state. Why not? Because Tracy is a member of the former Communist Tendency of the SWP, which after liquidating itself into the IS now turns up as part of the RSL. And the still-existing ex-CT holds the orthodox Trotskyist position on the Russian question. We have said before that the RSL thrust was toward organizational Menshevism ("freedom of criticism")—here is a typical example.

What a rotten, rotten bloc! The cynical ex-CTers' only purpose to the state-capitalist Landyites is to provide a Trotskyist cover for a Shachtmanite racket. They can ignore the Russian question—but not for long. The first time a serious class issue rises concerning the deformed workers states, the RSL will split—if the supposed "orthodox Trotskyists" of the CT haven't completely liquidated their politics beforehand. In any case the direction of these left Shachtmanites is the same as that of their mentor—straight toward the accommodating embrace of the liberal bourgeoisie. ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

French Stalinists Call Token General Strike

Push Impotent "Revolving Strike" Strategy

In view of the level of the class struggle in France since the legislative elections last March, a general strike against inflation on December 6, although hailed as the largest mobilization of the French working class since May 1968, has to be seen as the minimum response that the reformist bureaucrats of the Communist and Socialist parties and their trade-union allies (CGT, CFDT) could make in order to preserve their domination of the labor movement.

Following the elections, the French working class "returned to active mobilization in the streets and in the factories, putting an end to the bureaucratic truce imposed by the Communist Party and the CP-led labor federation (the CGT) during the campaign period" (*Workers Vanguard* No. 21, 25 May 1973). This mobilization included important strikes at Renault and in the large social security sector, in addition to the massive demonstrations of high school and technical school students over changes in the draft law.

During the post-election strike wave, the workers at the Lip watch factory in Besançon struck and occupied their factory in May to oppose its projected closing, and also continued manufacturing watches which they sold to support themselves. Lip workers continued their strike and kept on making watches even after the French riot police (CRS) had driven them out of the factory (August 14). The Lip strike set the tone for the upsurge in strike activity after the return from the traditional French August vacations.

Fall Strike Wave

Since September, there have been major strikes in the printing industry (at Larousse, where workers occupied the plant), the French railroads (SNCF), the metal workers' union (which includes all workers who handle metal, e.g., steel, auto, etc.), the public services union and an unprecedented one-day strike by previously unorganized immigrant workers on September 14, as well as a large number of smaller and wildcat strikes. These strikes—like the strike wave which preceded the electoral victory of the 1936 French Popular Front—have been overwhelmingly defensive in nature, aimed largely at protecting the working class, even if only partially, against rampant inflation and deteriorating living conditions. But like the 1936 strike wave, these defensive strikes contain a potential for open political mobilization against the shaky Pompidou regime.

With the exception of a united one-day strike of the public service employees on October 11, called by the three major union federations, the CGT, CFDT and FO, the CGT has concentrated on calling a series of "revolving strikes"—similar in nature to Woodcock's bankrupt "apache strategy" of last spring in the UAW—in which only one region, one factory or one sector strikes in isolation, while everyone else continues work. Thus the SNCF strikes in September and October were "revolving strikes" and on November 6 through 11 the CGT and CFDT called a series of nationwide (but partial) "revolving strikes" in many industries. Such strikes are of course divisive of class unity and serve only to tire and demoralize the workers without being in the least effective. Even though partial strikes of this nature are traditional in France, the French working class is increasingly aware of their futility: this is one of the lessons of May 1968 which has been learned.

The obvious failure of this CP-CGT strategy to halt inflation and the increases in living costs, which have reached an annual rate of 15 percent in France, despite the "actions" of the unions against a series of governmental "anti-inflation" measures, could not but be apparent to the French workers.

One-Day General Strike

In these circumstances, the one-day general strike, called mainly by the political parties of the popular front of last spring's legislative elections—slightly enlarged to include the left social-democratic PSU—and the unions which are led by them, served the function of channelling the unrest of the working class into apparently massive, but in fact safe, ineffective "action." And everything points to the conclusion that after December 6, the CP and CGT will return to the same old "revolving strikes."

The size and scope of the demonstrations leave no doubt as to the depth of the unrest, which extends to large segments of the petty bourgeoisie, as manifested recently in a strike by shopkeepers and small merchants against government taxation measures directed at them. The demonstration in Paris, by common account the largest since 1968, gathered nearly 500,000 workers and took over five hours to pass a single point. There were major demonstrations in other cities, both large and small: 50,000 in Marseilles, 25,000 in Toulouse, 30,000 in Bordeaux, 20,000 in Rouen and Brest, and so on. Perhaps as many as a million and a half workers all told actively participated in demonstrations across France.

To counter the discontent to which the strike bore witness, and parallel to the bourgeoisies of other countries (England, U.S.), the French government is attempting to use and to inflate the "energy crisis" in order to attack directly (as well as indirectly through inflation) the living standards of the working class by provoking a recession—or at least raising its spectre. In addition to "anti-inflation" measures aimed at the working class, significant numbers of French businesses have announced plans for layoffs, shutdowns, etc.

On the day of the general strike, both Citroen and Peugeot announced unusual *unpaid* 10-day shutdowns around Christmas and New Year. Citroen locked out its workers on the day of the general strike, declaring that they would have to make up the day on Saturday (no overtime, of course), and Peugeot has announced the layoff of some 259 Yugoslav workers, with more threatened. Along with rumors of other layoffs and factory closings, these announcements stir fears of unemployment in an effort to counteract working-class combativity and to limit even defensive strikes against such measures.

Reactions of the French Left

When measured by their *actions*, the more militant posture adopted by the Communist Party and the CGT following last spring's elections was precisely that: a *posture*, aimed only at more efficiently channelling the working class into support for the "Common Program" of the popular front, which calls for maintaining the bourgeois constitution, "republicanizing" the army (as in Chile, perhaps??) and reaching a "broader democracy." Thus the CP and CGT have minimized support for the strike of Lip workers—including sabotaging support demonstrations in Paris over the summer. The entire strategy of "revolving strikes" combines a seeming militancy with a predictable total lack of effect.

L'HUMANITE

French workers march against inflation in Paris on December 6.

Among the ostensibly Trotskyist organizations, Lutte Ouvrière and the militants now grouped around *Rouge* (the paper expressing the views of the ex-Ligue Communiste) have both followed an economist line of being simply "more militant" than the CP or the CGT combined, in the case of *Rouge* with sponsorship of a variety of adventuristic actions. Thus, around the strike at Lip, *Rouge* simply organized enthusiastic and uncritical support for the Lip strikers outside the mainstream of the labor movement; LO did the same with somewhat greater attention to the working class and somewhat less enthusiasm. Nevertheless, the major demonstration in support of Lip, in Besançon on September 29, which was downplayed by the CP and the CGT and CFDT federations, drew about 100,000 people, a third of them behind the banners of *Rouge* and Lutte Ouvrière.

Given the obvious depth of sentiment for support to Lip at that juncture, a correct call to expose the foot-dragging betrayals of the bureaucrats would have been for a general strike in support of the Lip demands against layoffs: a demand which was advanced only by the other major ostensibly Trotskyist organization in France, the Organisation Communiste Internationaliste.

Similarly, the intervention of the ostensibly Trotskyist organizations in the December 6 strike amounted to an orgy of opportunism. Neither *Rouge* nor Lutte Ouvrière advanced any perspective beyond "more militant" demonstrations, and none of the groups posed the fundamental question of state power by raising the demand of a workers government. *Rouge*, which last March posed the question of political power by calling for a vote for the CP-SP-Left Radical popular front (!), this time limited itself to economic demands. Its editorial concerning the general strike focussed on the demand for 1,500 francs minimum monthly wage: "The CGT and CFDT unions at Renault Billancourt demand 1,500 F minimum. *So why not 1,500 F minimum for everybody?*" [emphasis in original]. Why not indeed, if your perspective is limited to the classic demand of simple trade unionism in the manner of Samuel Gompers or Leon Jouhaux—"more." And not so much more at that, since 1,500 F amounts to less than $90 a week.

Rouge's demand for a "sliding scale" differs from the CP's only in that the former wants it based on a *realistic* price index and not the one used by the government or CGT. To show that it is not simply identical with the CP, *Rouge* ends by calling for "a new May '68, better than in '68! A May '68 where the workers keep the factories running but for their own profit. A May '68 for the time of Lip!" (*Rouge*, 30 November 1973). "A May '68 where the workers keep the factories running"! If ever there were a classic reformist distortion of the demand of workers control, this is it. The issue in the May events was to struggle for a workers government as an alternative to Gaullist bonapartism, to transform the CGT's economic general strike into a struggle for state power. But now *Rouge* wants to send the workers from the barricades and streets back to the factories to work

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WORKERS VANGUARD 25¢

No. 36 18 January 1974

Britain's Winter of Class War

For A General Strike Against Tory Lockout!

British miners MANCHESTER GUARDIAN

Railway workers demand higher wages. WORKERS PRESS

11 JANUARY—By imposing draconian measures including a three-day workweek (40 percent wage cut) and massive cutbacks in government spending for housing, schools, hospitals and social services, Britain's Tory government is making perhaps the most concentrated attempt by a capitalist regime since the Great Depression to reduce the living standards of the working masses in an advanced country. These depression-generating policies are justified by Conservative Prime Minister Heath by a supposed "national interest" in crushing the work stoppages by the miners and railwaymen and in maintaining state wage controls. But behind this smokescreen of patriotic rhetoric, the naked conflict between the capitalist government and the labor movement is so obvious, so deep and so explosive that even the American bourgeois press has begun to write about "class war" in Britain.

Economic Boom, Tory Style

This winter of class war comes after a relatively good year for British capitalism. During 1973 the U.K. economy grew at a 6.5 percent annual rate, the highest in capitalist Europe. This boom was partly a result of the normal business cycle, coming after three years of slump. Equally important, however, was the help from a successful state wage-control policy which the trade-union leadership verbally opposed, but went along with in practice.

British Prime Minister Edward Heath AP

1973 also saw a marked decline in strikes, the fewest since Heath took office in 1970, as a result of this passivity of the labor tops. The "industrial peace" was the result of a conscious effort by the union leadership to deflect workers' hostility to the frankly anti-labor Heath government from industrial action into electoral hopes. Bolstering such illusions was the task of the formally more leftist Labour Party program adopted last fall (see "A Left Face for Labourism," *WV* No. 33, 23 November 1973). But as a result of the Labour leaders' do-nothingism, the real income of British working people has declined steadily since last summer, the victim of a 10 percent rate of inflation and Tory wage controls.

Britain's uncompetitiveness is an absolute and narrow barrier to economic expansion. Increasing incomes always induce more imports than they generate in exports. Consequently British booms are always cut short by rising balance of payments deficits. And so it is in the winter of 1973-74, with this pressure greatly intensified by the runaway price of oil imports. The highest growth rate in capitalist Europe was accompanied by the largest balance of payments deficit in the world, an estimated $2.8 billion in 1973 (*Economist*, 5 January 1974).

Common Market Blues

Despite the economic boom, the negative effects of British entry into the Common Market have made themselves dramatically clear to working people. Recent opinion polls show that opposition to membership in the Market strongly outweighs support. With good reason: the EEC's agricultural protectionism is disastrous for a country which imports most of its food; since entry British food prices have risen about 20 percent (*Wall Street Journal*, 18 December).

The elimination of tariffs on goods from Western Europe could only damage Britain's antiquated industries. Contrary to the popular image, Britain is now a net importer of cars and machine tools. More than 50 percent of its imports are manufactures, not food or raw materials. And during 1973, British imports from the rest of the Common Market exceeded U.K. exports to the continent by a third. Britain ran a balance of payments deficit with every Common Market member except Belgium and Ireland!

To compensate for the known economic disadvantage of Common Market membership, Heath was relying heavily on promises of unilateral grants from the rich uncle of the EEC, West Germany. This was to come in the form of a regional fund channeled into dying industrial areas, like the Scottish Clydeside shipyards. The regional fund is a quaint notion whereby ruined industries would be subsidized by the foreign capitalist firms that helped bankrupt them, thereby negating the whole purpose of international capitalist competition.

Under the best of circumstances, German aid to Britain would have been quite limited. And this winter is not the best of circumstances. Facing a recession at home, German Chancellor Brandt adroitly kicked Heath in the face, defying the Common Market over the regional fund. Heath is asking for roughly $3 billion, the EEC commission is proposing $2.25 billion, while the Brandt government has refused to pay a penny over $600 million (*Economist*, 29 December 1973). With major conflicts over oil and the regional fund, this winter's economic crisis may witness the disintegration of the "rich man's club," the capitalist Common Market. It would

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...Tory Lockout

be a good thing for the international working class.

Tories Lose, Labour Loses

The labor/economic crisis occurs at a time of general disillusionment with the traditional two-party political alignment in Britain. As the liberal *Guardian* (5 January) succinctly put it, "Neither of the big political parties any longer commands much confidence." The unpopularity of the Heath government results not only from the rampant inflation and falling living standards, but also from the ties between the Tory regime (which sanctimoniously preaches austerity in the "national interest") and the most venal, parasitic section of the British capitalist class. If the Heath government is perhaps not quite as totally morally bankrupt as Nixon's, the difference is not great. As a columnist for the London *Times* (18 December) wrote:

> "It was not only the bombs which made us willing to accept Churchill's demand for blood, toil, tears and sweat. It was our conviction that when he got them he would not waste them, either by giving them away to the rich or by building follies with them. Our present leaders do not, to put it mildly, carry such conviction."

However, the Labour Party has gained little from the widespread belief that the Heath government is essentially a rip-off operation for the idle rich. Industrial trade unionists, the core of the Labour Party base, do not look forward to a second Wilson government with great enthusiasm They remember that the first Wilson government (during the late 1960's) attempted to carry out the three most unpopular acts of the Heath government—state wage control, restrictions on trade-union power (through the National Industrial Relations Court) and entry into the Common Market. At the same time, the leftward motion of Labour's working-class base has deprived the reformist party leadership of the bourgeois support it had in the 1960's. At the time, Wilson campaigned as the rational, effective manager in the manner of Willy Brandt. Today he is widely regarded as an unprincipled, and moreover ineffectual, maneuverer trying to straddle the growing gap between middle-class liberal voters and the increasingly militant socialist working class.

On the electoral level, the disillusion with Heath and Wilson has manifested itself in a series of victories in by-elections (to fill vacancies in Parliament) for the Liberals, the nineteenth-century "enlightened" bourgeois party which lost most of its base with the development of the Labour Party. Equally important has been the growth of the Scottish and Welsh nationalists, the latter in alliance with the Liberals. Outside the electoral arena, there has been marked growth of those political forces to the left of Labour, notably a significant strengthening of the Communist Party (CP) within the unions.

A general disillusionment with the traditional political alignments is usually a good situation for the growth of a revolutionary organization. However, in the case of opportunist elements it can also stimulate appetites for class collaboration in order to "get a piece of the action." It is interesting that at present such tendencies are evident both on the extreme right and in the extreme *left* of the British workers movement.

The Labour right wing has demonstrated considerable interest in a parliamentary bloc with the Liberals. This is not only because the Liberals may well hold the parliamentary balance of power, but also because they could provide right-wing Labourites with a bourgeois ally to counter the power of the trade unions. During the past year one of the pro-Common Market Labour M.P.s, Dick Taverne, split to form the Democratic Labour Party, a small harbinger of motion toward a right Labour-Liberal coalition.

On the "revolutionary left," the International Marxist Group (IMG), British section of the ostensibly Trotskyist United Secretariat, is pushing for a "broad" unity of all forces opposed to the Tories, no doubt dreaming that this maneuver could catapult it into a major political force:

> "We propose the formation in every area of a united body of *all* socialists, trade union and political organizations, open to all those who are prepared to struggle against the Tory government and its policies."
>
> —*Red Weekly*, 31 August 1973

Explicitly modeled on the ill-fated French Union of the Left, such a formation would be a classic "popular front" linking the Labourites, Stalinists and centrists to the Liberals and the no-less bourgeois Scottish and Welsh Nationalists. Such a formation would be a major obstacle to building a revolutionary party, whose political goal is the independence of the working class from the bourgeoisie. The reason Marxists raise the demand of a labor party based on the unions (in the U.S. and other countries where there is no mass workers party) is precisely to break the workers from the bourgeois parties. The IMG's "broad" anti-Tory unity would have exactly the opposite effect.

Miners and Railwaymen Take on Heath

Taking advantage of their increased bargaining power as a result of the oil crisis, the miners, railwaymen and power station operators acted to break through Heath's 7 percent wage limit. Faced with a consistently reactionary government and soaring living costs, the unions adopted the justifiable tactic of a slowdown (where they would still be paid) rather than a full-fledged strike. The miners refused to work overtime and the railwaymen adhered strictly to the contractual and legal safety regulations. It is a telling fact about the real conditions of the British working class that the miners can cripple the economy by *only* working a five-day week and the railwaymen by refusing to violate official operating standards!

Despite the militancy and strategic importance of the miners' action, the National Union of Miners' leadership, including the CPers, is running it as a localized apolitical wage dispute. The NUM has not opposed Heath's Phase III wage control in principle, arguing only that the miners should be treated as an exception; and they are now shying away from challenging the government's 7 percent wage increase limit, instead bargaining over "wash-up time" pay.

The miners' basic wage of $58 to $83 a week is not even adequate to maintain the existing labor force: 600 miners a week leave the industry for less dangerous, unhealthy and brutal jobs elsewhere. Much higher wages for the miners would be in the rational interests of British capitalism, not only because of their strong bargaining position at present, but simply to attract more labor into what should be an expanding industry, given the present oil supply situation. Thus there is considerable sentiment within the British ruling class to buy off the miners as an exception to wage controls, while hanging tough with the railwaymen and other sectors. It is essential, therefore, for the miners, railwaymen and other unions to *coordinate* their wage negotiations and not permit themselves to be played off against one another.

KEEP LEFT

Welsh miners march against Heath's Phase Three in December.

While it is possible that the miners may eventually be favored in order to break the ominous (for the capitalists) working-class unity, Heath is currently set on crushing the miners. Since it was a mine workers' strike in the winter of 1971-72 which shattered his first attempt at wage austerity, Heath now appears obsessed with showing the miners who's boss; he sees this conflict as a supreme test of his right and capacity to rule. What the Heath government is willing to do to defeat the miners goes far beyond the rational interests of British capitalism. The miners' action has, therefore, created one condition that often paves the way to a revolutionary situation: that is, when the vested interests and actions of a particular regime diverge sharply from the real interests of the ruling class, isolating the government from any popular support.

Tories Play the "Red Scare" Tune

One of the reasons that Heath is obsessed with the miners' union is that it has a strong Communist Party fraction, with public CPer Mick McGahey (head of the Scottish miners) known as the hard-liner in the top leadership. Heath is reported to have told a Common Market gathering in Copenhagen that the Communists are trying to bring down his government. Simultaneously the influential conservative *Economist* is running a campaign against the "red menace" in the labor movement, threatening a police state if the Stalinists and other left-wingers are not curbed by the "moderates." Like Heath's professed determination to fight to the bitter end, the attempt of the British ruling class to present an important, but still essentially trade-union, struggle as an insurrectionary conspiracy can only help create the political atmosphere for a revolutionary crisis.

For its part, the Tory government has been giving ominous hints that it is prepared to use a mailed fist against the labor movement. Britain is currently under an official "State of Emergency," declared on November 14 of last year, for the fifth time since Heath came to office. Sections 17 and 18 of the Emergency Powers Act permit a cabinet minister to authorize the armed forces to enter any premises, with whatever means necessary, to implement regulations for the maintenance of electricity and gas supplies, while section 32 makes interference with essential services an offense of sabotage. Another government demonstration of force took place with the massive mobilization of the British Army, complete with numerous Scorpion tanks, to surround Heathrow Airport last week. Although ostensibly directed against "international terrorists," the extreme measures were interpreted by several observers as a warning to labor as to what might be Heath's answer to a general strike.

What is needed above all else in such a situation is obviously a revolutionary leadership for the workers movement. Yet this is precisely what is most lacking. The fact that the government is being challenged by a union with a strong CP presence is circumstantial (except in the sense that the miners' traditional militancy would incline them toward the Stalinists rather than more traditional Labourite reformists). And the Communist mine workers' leaders are dealing with the situation essentially as a militant wage struggle unrelated to any revolutionary strategy. McGahey goes out of his way to emphasize the unpolitical nature of the overtime ban:

> "As far as bringing down the Government we had an all-out strike by the miners in 1972 and there was no talk then of us trying to bring down the Government... Every time there is industrial trouble the Government and press start scratching around for conspiracies."
>
> —*Manchester Guardian Weekly*, 5 January 1974
>
> "For this [overthrowing capitalism], you need an ideological struggle and I'm only conducting an economic exercise at this stage."
>
> —*Wall Street Journal*, 18 December

The Communist Party's reformist "there's-nobody-here-but-us-militant-trade-unionists" line not only blocks any effort to turn the job action into a revolutionary struggle against the bourgeois state, but disorients the miners even on the level of trade-union struggle, since it is crucial to actively mobilize the British working class

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simply in order to win the desired wage increases.

Heath Opts for Depression Measures

Short of armed force, the Heath government has resorted to the most drastic possible measures to break the miners' job action. It has brought incredible suffering to the entire working class in order to pressure the miners back to work. It imposed a three-day workweek on some 16 million out of Britain's 25 million wage earners, claiming that shortages of coal necessitated such a measure. Unfortunately for Heath, it is hard to falsify the figures for coal reserves (unlike the situation of the oil companies, who have a complete monopoly on information about their supplies). As of late November, British coal reserves were actually *higher* than they were last year and are now even *higher* than when the miners began a seven-week total strike in January 1972 (*Manchester Guardian Weekly*, 5 January). These facts are so widely known that even the *New York Times* (3 January) had to declare that the three-day workweek was anti-labor and not an energy-economizing measure:

> "But Prime Minister Heath appears less interested in maintaining production and full employment than in bringing the pressure of public opinion to bear against the miners. His apparent aim is to defend his wage policy and halt inflation."

The workweek in a capitalist economy cannot be turned off and on like a water faucet. The shorter workweek will reduce market demand, create bankruptcies, produce supply bottlenecks and lead to general economic chaos. With unemployment already over a million, British Steel is laying off 100,000. Even if the Heath government decided to restore the normal workweek tomorrow, declining production would continue.

And the shorter workweek is only part of Heath's depression-generating policies. Believing that a sharp cut in supply would intensify inflation and the balance of payments deficit, the Heath government decided to cut money demand by simultaneously raising taxes and cutting back budgeted expenditures by close to $3 billion, the most deflationary government budget since the early 1930's. This measure was so reactionary that the dean of Keynesian economists, Paul Samuelson, sent a letter of unbelieving protest to the *Financial Times* stating: "There is no excuse to have a secondary recession, like so many in capitalism's history, just because we must suffer the primary recession from the oil shortfall" (*Economist*, 5 January).

For a General Strike Against the Tory Lockout!

The British working class has today the organizational strength, will and desperate need to defeat the Tories' anti-labor/depression policies. A general strike against the Heath government is the obvious means to carry out this struggle. But a general strike easily poses the question of state power. Given the treacherous, reformist leadership of the Labour Party and the unions, from Wilson to "leftists" like Jones/Scanlon/Murray and even CPers like McGahey, an insurrectionary general strike could only be beaten, producing a historic defeat on the order of the crushing of the British general strike of 1926.

Leninists do not, like the anarchists, endow the words "general strike" with magical powers; we distinguish a one-day mobilization to protest a government policy, for instance, from an insurrection to achieve state power. A general strike in Britain today should have the *limited, defensive* aim of reversing the policies of the Tory government and bringing it down. Should such a strike be victorious, even under reformist leaders and despite their inevitable attempts to sabotage the struggle, it would then open up a revolutionary situation.

Two ostensibly revolutionary organizations, the IMG and the *Chartist* group are now calling for a general strike to overthrow the capitalist system. That an insurrectionary general strike is foreseen is made quite explicit in the *Chartist* (December 1973) front page editorial:

> "Above all, we will need a bold appeal, made with all the authority of our movement's commanding bodies, to the working-class ranks of the armed forces....
>
> "Along this road, we can smash Phase Three, defeat the Tories and conquer state power for our class."

To pose the question of seizing state power (i.e., achieving the dictatorship of the proletariat) in Britain at this time indicates either a belief that the Wilson-Jones-Murray leadership of the labor movement can be *pressured* into overthrowing the capitalist system, or that this can be done spontaneously over the head of the recognized leadership of the labor movement. The IMG tends toward the latter approach, displaying a near-syndicalist indifference to the powerful reformist Labour Party/Trades Union Congress leadership. The adventurist line of *Chartist*, on the other hand, reflects its illusion that the Labour Party, as presently constituted, is a potential soviet which could seize state power after electing a revolutionary leadership!

AP

Labour Party head Harold Wilson

If the IMG and *Chartist* see a revolutionary crisis in Britain, Gerry Healy's Workers Revolutionary Party (formerly the Socialist Labour League) has responded to the current situation most passively. After years of screeching that "The Crisis" is at hand, when Britain actually enters its worst economic/political crisis since the 1930's, the Healyites behave routinistically. (Probably they can no longer tell the difference between a genuine national crisis and the normal level of social conflict.) The WRP is very deliberately *not* agitating for a general strike, the only policy that can actually defeat the Tory depression/anti-labor measures (although they mention it in passing as an eventual possibility)! Of the WRP's four main demands for the current crisis, one is to join the WRP, and the most radical is factory seizures in the case of plant closures. The Healyites' policies in the current crisis stay carefully within the bounds of militant trade unionism and, perhaps related to Healy's appetites in the miners' union, not too far from those of the CP.

So far the Trades Union Congress has refused to mobilize in support of the miners and railwaymen. This posture can no longer be tolerated by the British workers. The TUC must call an immediate congress of labor to prepare a general strike organized through shop stewards committees for the following demands:

- —Victory for the Miners and Railwaymen—Smash Government Wage Controls!
- —Smash the Lockout—Restore the Five-Day Workweek and Rescind Budget Cuts!
- —Abolish the Industrial Relations Act!
- —Britain Out of the Common Market!
- —For Immediate Elections to Oust the Tory Government! For a Government of the Labour Party and Trades Union Congress Pledged to a Socialist Program of Expropriating the Bourgeoisie!

Bureaucrats Play Games with NY Long Lines Walkout

JANUARY 11—New York City telephone workers went on strike recently for the first time since 1971, as Communication Workers Local 1150, Long Lines (AT&T, overseas telephone), led a six-day walkout in protest against a physical assault on a union steward by a company supervisor. The supervisor struck the steward on December 24 after an argument over grievances against the supervisor; the blood-stained steward was later suspended for leaving work to get medical attention against the supervisor's orders! The same supervisor had earlier fought with another worker, who was also suspended. However, no action was taken against the supervisor in either case.

Such an incident is indicative of the blustering company reign-of-terror on shop floors in U.S. industries, in which supervisors and foremen who perform no productive, useful functions, administer labor discipline for the capitalists. A physical assault against a union representative is, in addition, a direct threat to the whole organization, and no union worthy of the name should have settled for less than immediate dismissal of the supervisor and reinstatement, with pay and clean records, for the two injured workers.

However, this small strike revealed all the weaknesses of the CWA's partial unionization of the phone company (and of the parent AT&T, which runs Long Lines directly), as well as the weaknesses of the most "progressive" wing of the trade-union bureaucracy. Despite the "left" talk of newly-elected Local 1150 President Anthony Candopoulos about defending the "dignity" of the workers, the leadership settled for simply the lifting of the suspension of the steward (but not of the other worker!) without pay and with no action against the supervisor!

The leadership capitulated to the company's argument that if the worker struck first, as alleged, even under provocation from a violence-prone supervisor with many grievances against him, it was the worker's fault. Furthermore, no effort was made to mobilize the women operators or explain the underlying significance of the issue to them, with the result that most of them, including many union members, scabbed during the strike. (Unlike New York Telephone Company operators, who are in a separate company union, Long Lines operators are organized—about 60 percent at best—by CWA Local 1150). Such a weak response does not bode well for the union's performance in the upcoming national contract struggle in July, in which the company's complete lack of sick leave, which leads to frequent firings, suspensions, etc., for sick and injured workers, just to mention one of many intolerable aspects of telephone-company working conditions, must be corrected.

Main Lesson: Fight Special Oppression of Women, Minorities

The strike underscored the main lesson of the 1971 strike, and indeed all telephone strikes: a leadership which is unwilling to face the revolutionary implications of a struggle against the special oppression of women workers will be unable to defeat the giant telephone monopoly on even the most minor issues. As long as the operators are working, the company is not shut down and can wear down even a long, 100 percent effective strike of the more militant male craftsmen.

The Local 1150 operators had numerous grievances, which were naturally used as "excuses" for scabbing. No one organized them to come out (not even the union stewards in many cases!), and over the weekend (when craftsmen are normally off but operators work) there were no picket lines, or only token lines. Operators receive far lower pay and more company intimidation than the craftsmen, including victimization for any hint of militancy, and so can less afford to strike. And did the dispute really concern them? Many operators felt that the strike was caused by nothing more than a falling out of drinking buddies. Would the union leadership have shown the same zeal if the supervisor's victim had been a mere operator rather than one of Candopoulos' pals?

It was questions like these which caused the CWA to lose an NLRB election for collective bargaining rights for New York Telephone operators before the 1971 strike and led to operator scabbing on that strike. The union's low repute among operators is directly related to the leadership's failure to show the slightest interest in defending operators and its complete lack of a program for the doubly-oppressed women workers.

Unlike the myopic CWA bureaucracy, whose main concerns are to get along with the companies and to protect its fat expense accounts, the government is quite attuned to the danger of an explosion of militant action by minority and women workers in the key communications industry. Its "answer" to the widespread discrimination by the phone company is a series of bogus "Affirmative Action Plans." These include a quota system favoring women, blacks and other minorities, and a joint company-government enforcement board. Rather than advance the position of women and minority workers, however, this plan simply creates more pressure on a limited number of available jobs and provides companies with a weapon to break unions by smashing the seniority system. Partially replacing the old company favoritism with a

continued on page 11

Corrections

In our last issue (*WV* No. 35, January 1974) there were two political errors. In the article "Truckers Tie Up U.S. Highways" a call is made for *"price control and fuel rationing under the control of the unions, and opening the oil companies' books to workers' inspection."* This formulation is doubly wrong, first because it tacitly accepts the oil companies' claims that there is an oil shortage justifying rationing, and secondly because it fails to raise the clearly necessary demand of nationalization of the oil trusts under workers' control.

The second error occurred in the article "RSL Claims Russia Is Capitalist," where the statement is made that: "The fundamental conflict in the USSR today is a *political* struggle between the working class and the bureaucracy for control of the state apparatus." This statement could be interpreted as ignoring the fact that the USSR is a transitional society and therefore subject also to the conflict between the collective property forms and the still-bourgeois norms of distribution, a conflict which is resolved by the development of the productive forces leading to the achievement of socialism. The political conflict between the working class and the bureaucracy is added to this basic contradiction, but does not replace it.

Soul Power or Workers Power?

The Rise and Fall of the League of Revolutionary Black Workers

Crippling three major Chrysler facilities in this past summer's wave of wildcats (including the first auto plant takeovers since the historic sit-downs of the late thirties), the Detroit working class has once again demonstrated its capacity for militant action. It was among the largely black work force of these same inner-city plants that the League of Revolutionary Black Workers was born in the late 1960's.

Unlike other black nationalist groups, the League insisted on the centrality of the working class and, in the beginning, seriously oriented toward organizing at "the point of production." The LRBW and its various auto factory groups (DRUM, FRUM, ELRUM) have since disappeared, inevitable victims of their own internal contradictions. But it is important for working-class militants to examine the League and its evolution, which clearly reveal the incompatibility of nationalist and proletarian politics.

Reuther Betrayals Pave the Way

It was no accident that such a group developed in Detroit, where blacks have long been an important element in the auto plants. At first courted by Henry Ford as a counter-force to unionism, the vast majority nevertheless refused to serve as Ford's scabs in the crucial 1940 River Rouge organizing strike.

The increasing population of blacks in the city and the plants after World War II contributed to the pressure on the Reuther bureaucracy to support the early civil rights movement—a movement characterized by the non-violent protest politics of Martin Luther King and well within the framework of Reuther's "labor-Democratic alliance." But despite Reuther's social-democratic past and demagogic "progressive" image, the "red-haired wonder" failed to apply even these minimal liberal capitalist policies to the widespread racism permeating the lower levels of his own bureaucracy.

This situation led aspiring black bureaucrats to set up such opportunist formations as the Trade Union Leadership Council. The TULC was founded in 1957 by a group of lower-level blacks in the UAW apparatus (like Buddy Battle of Ford's River Rouge Local 600) and black labor diplomats like venerable social democrat A. Philip Randolph, whose main concern was simply to garner a bit of face-saving independence from the Reuther machine, while maintaining its liberal politics.

At the same time, the combination of Reuther's hypocritical liberalism and the impotent pressure-group politics of King and the black bureaucrats provided fertile ground for the spawning of more militant black nationalist political currents and organizations. Detroit is the home of Elijah Muhammad's Nation of Islam, the Republic of New Africa (RNA) and the Pan-African Congress; scene of the Black Economic Development Conference and the "Black Manifesto" (April 1969); and battleground for the race riot of 1943 and the ghetto rebellion of 1967.

The 1943 riot was a result of the mass migration of southern whites and blacks into Detroit during the war. Extremely overcrowded housing and the hostility with which the southern poor whites viewed the relative equality which black workers enjoyed in the war-production plants turned the city into a bloody no-man's land for several days. Yet the mass lynchings elicited little more from the UAW than a pious call to end racial discrimination and to appoint a black assistant prosecutor in the investigation and a self-congratulatory pat on the back that the bloodshed had not entered the plants!

The conflagration of July 1967 was the bloodiest, and one of the last, of a series of anti-cop ghetto riots that buried the liberal illusions of the civil rights movement. This uprising was the product of a combination of circumstances. On the one hand, the "progressive" Reuther UAW bureaucracy and its liberal Democratic "friends in the White House" had done nothing to stem Detroit's recurring massive auto-related unemployment, which during the 1957-58 recession reached 19.5 percent, and topped 15.2 percent at the height of the next recession in March 1961. More damning still was the unemployment figure for Detroit blacks in the same 1961 period—*39 percent*, and a phenomenal 78 percent for black youth as compared to 33 percent for youth overall!

On the other hand, for the first time in almost two decades large numbers of young blacks were being hired into the auto plants to replace older white workers. Seniority lists at Detroit's Chrysler plants invariably show a gap for the period 1953-1965 or so. Thus, the upsurge in militancy coincided, as in 1943, with rising expectations on the part of the oppressed black minority (now a majority).

As in 1943, the UAW response was hypocritical do-nothingism. After 43 blacks had been killed by cops and National Guardsmen, Reuther offered a union volunteer crew for cleaning up debris on bloody 12th Street—an offer he never fulfilled.

The Black Panthers' acclaim of black lumpen street youth as the socialist vanguard was made ludicrous

Ken Cockrel DETROIT NEWS

by the reality in Detroit of 60,000 militant blacks working in the strategic center of American industry. The real social power of blacks rests not with the lumpen street gang that occasionally guns down an isolated cop in the ghetto, but with the worker who can stop the lifeblood of American capitalism.

Recognizing this reality in reaction to the Panther approach, a group of radical nationalists centered around the Wayne State campus and including Ken Cockrel, John Watson, Mike Hamlin, General Baker and John Williams (among others) coalesced shortly after the rebellion around a community-oriented paper, the *Inner City Voice*. Some among the original *Inner City Voice* group, such as John Watson, had earlier been around the ex-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party, while others came from a Maoist background. They were held together by a vague, but militant, determination to create a "black Marxist-Leninist party." Maintaining their adherence to nationalist ideology, they nonetheless saw that black workers occupied a key role in the American economy and the working class. As Watson pointed out in his pamphlet, *To the Point of Production:*

> "Our analysis tells us that the basic power of black people lies at the point of production, that the basic power we have is our power as workers. As workers, as black workers, we have historically been, and are now, essential elements in the American economic sense.... This is probably different from these kinds of analysis which say where it's at is to go out and organize the so-called 'brother on the street.' It's not that we're opposed to this type of organization, but without a more solid base such as that which the working class represents, this type of organization, that is, community based organization, is generally a pretty long, stretched-out, and futile development."

DRUM, ELRUM Lead Wildcats

As a result of its orientation, the *Inner City Voice* group reportedly soon attracted a group of young black workers from the Chrysler Hamtramck Assembly plant—Dodge Main. Disgusted with the bureaucratic union politics they had experienced, these workers crystallized around an ICV member in the plant to form the Dodge Revolutionary Union Movement (DRUM). A wildcat over line speed-up in May 1968, involving both black and white workers, resulted in racist disciplinary actions being applied overwhelmingly to the black militants.

The high level of nationalist sentiment among the recently hired young black workers, the isolation of the largely older, Polish bureaucracy and the absence of any other alternative leadership opened the way for a spectacular and rapid success by DRUM in establishing itself as the leadership of the 60 percent-black work force at Dodge. Within six weeks of its first newsletter distribution, DRUM organized a highly effective boycott by the black workers of two nearby bars that refused to hire blacks. Three weeks later, in the crucial pre-changeover period, they led a three-day wildcat which shut down the plant and held a rally of 3,000 workers in the plant parking lot.

Besides calling for reinstatement of seven workers fired in the May walkout, DRUM demanded an end to union and company discrimination, and demanded, in particular, more upgrading and apprenticeship openings for blacks. It also called, however, for more black foremen and other supervisory personnel and launched an attack on the "racist" seniority system.

Such demands can hardly be expected to lead to united working-class struggle against capitalism. Demands to change the skin color of the companies' disciplinary personnel implicitly assume that the brutal realities of capitalist exploitation can be changed by a few reforms. Instead, revolutionaries who seek to take the struggle beyond such pitiful reforms would vigorously protest cases of racial discrimination, while calling for the elimination of company supervisory personnel from the shop floor and for workers control of production. (Incidentally, the auto companies have since hired large numbers of black foremen without changing one iota the oppressiveness of the plants.)

Similarly, while militants must oppose racially and sexually discriminatory aspects of existing seniority systems, and call for a sliding scale of wages and hours to provide jobs for all, they must also recognize that seniority systems are a primitive form of job security that must be defended. And although class-conscious workers must pay special attention to the needs of the more oppressed sections of the proletariat, they would seek to unite blacks and whites by simultaneously raising demands which directly benefit all workers.

Despite the demands' nationalist inspiration, a number of white workers did support the walkout. But the DRUM leadership consciously avoided organizing them. "No attempt was made to interfere with white workers....Most of the white workers reported to work after they saw that it was safe for them to go through the gate. Those who stayed out did so for various reasons. Some believed in honoring picket lines, and a few were sympathetic" (*The South End*, 23 January 1969).

Though the UAW responded with heavy red-baiting (which led DRUM to deny that it was indeed communist!), the wildcat resulted in the reinstatement of five of the fired seven (an

Ron March RPM

open DRUM supporter and founding ICV member was not rehired). In addition, DRUM's reputation was firmly established; it continued publication of a weekly newsletter, went on to consolidate its support into an organizational structure in September and shortly decided to run a candidate for union office.

Taking advantage of a special election for trustee of Dodge Local 3, DRUM ran Ron March in a campaign designed to demonstrate "DRUM power and black solidarity," on such demands as:

> "1. The complete accountability to the black majority of the entire membership....
>
> "3. Advocating a revolutionary change in the UAW (including a referendum vote and revive the grievance procedure)....
>
> "5. A refusal to be dictated to by the International staff of the UAW...."
>
> —*DRUM Newsletter* No. 13

March barely lost in a runoff election to the candidate of a temporarily unified bureaucracy, after initially beating

out a field of 21 candidates. In a later election for vice-president, the in- and out-bureaucrats again blocked to support Andy Hardy (current Local 3 president), who defeated the DRUM candidate by 2,600 to 1,600.

Word of DRUM's audacity spread to other plants and even outside the industry. ELRUM was formed at Chrysler's Eldon Avenue Gear and Axle plant in late 1968, and less important groups arose at Detroit Forge (FORUM), Jefferson Assembly (JARUM), Mack Avenue Stamping (MARUM), Ford River Rouge (FRUM), Cadillac Fleetwood (CADRUM), the Detroit News (NEWRUM), United Parcel warehouse (UPRUM) and other places.

NATIONAL ORGANIZING COMMITTEE (DETROIT)

League of Revolutionary Black Workers pickets UAW Solidarity House

The Eldon plant, in particular, is crucial to Chrysler's entire operation, supplying parts to all of its assembly plants, and is part of the vital Lynch Road complex which includes the Detroit Forge and Plymouth Assembly. ELRUM launched itself by organizing a mass rally in front of the Local 961 union hall in January 1969, demanding that the union act on the many unresolved health and safety grievances.

The firing of two militants who participated in the rally, and the local president's agnostic response, led to a wildcat the following week with an expanded list of demands, similar to those raised by DRUM, including "the removal of the non-English speaking witch doctor we have at present and replaced with a Black doctor" (*The South End*, 10 February 1969)! This second action resulted in the firing of a large number of workers, of whom 25 were not reinstated.

By May, Eldon was again shut down in a two-day wildcat organized by the Eldon Safety Committee, "a loose coalition composed by ELRUM, Eldon Wildcat (a small syndicalist group) and several discharged union officials" (*Radical America*, March-April 1971). The wildcat, which resulted in the firing of three ELRUM militants, was a response to the death of a young, black forklift driver and the mounting pile-up of safety violations.

Though the ELRUM newsletter pointed out that it was betrayed by those "Uncle Tom" union officials and ignored by "Our Uncle Tom President and Nigger Executive Board," ELRUM's solution "to break up this union-management partnership" was "to obtain BLACK representation," as though the problem were the lack of "blackness" (i.e., nationalism) of the sellout bureaucrats.

Concretely, this meant running a slate which included Jordan Sims (now Local 961 president and co-chairman of the reformist United National Caucus) for committeeman, and later supporting the opportunist Sims (though he cautiously refused to accept their support) in his bid for local president in 1970. This turn of events came from DRUM's (and ELRUM's) admitted emphasis on:

> "electing an all Black slate . . . we have always been handed this slate or that slate none of which represents the best interest of Black Workers. We all remember how we used to go to the polls with a hand full of slates trying to pick out all of the black candidates . . . We were forced in many instances to vote for stone cut throat pollacks, known white racist, and head scratching Uncle Toms because we had no alternative candidates."
>
> —DRUM leaflet, February 1970

From the Plants to the "Community"

Based on the apparent strength of DRUM and ELRUM after the initial wildcats and the obvious attractiveness of the DRUM concept to other black workers, yet seeing the need to transcend the isolation of individual plant caucuses, the ICV cadre moved to organize the League of Revolutionary Black Workers in early 1969. The impetus behind the League's formation led to conflicting notions within the leadership: whether to expand into the community or orient toward a pan-plant, pan-industry workers' organization.

Reflecting its success and base in the plants, the League introduced itself as follows:

> "DRUM, FRUM, and ELRUM are organizations of and for the super-exploited, over-worked, last-hired, first-fired, sick and tired Black workers of Detroit. These organizations are dedicated to the development of unified, disciplined, and effective action by Blacks acting in their own interests. We believe that this can best be accomplished through a League of Revolutionary Black Workers.
>
> "...Those Brothers and Sisters who are interested in a truly militant organization that is dedicated to the cause of Black labor and Black liberation should contact the League of Revolutionary Black Workers now."
>
> —*Spear*, Vol. 1, No. 1

But the inability to square a nationalist orientation with the realities of class struggle in the plants and the decline of plant-related activity, plus pressure in that direction from a section of the leadership, led to an increasing emphasis on the black worker's role in the community:

> "Black workers have the ability to deal with the overall problems that exist within the black community. . . . CHRY-RUM will be concerned not only with problems that exist inside the plants but problems that exist inside our community—the Black Community. The first two projects that CHRY-RUM has undertaken are the International Black Appeal and Parents and Students for Community Control (control of our school system)."
>
> —*CHRY-RUM*, Vol. 1, No. 1

The abortive IBA was conceived of as a black alternative to the United-Foundation—a charity fund to be supported by "communities of the black and poor." This is the logic of community control: the poor supporting the poor!

Detroit had recently passed a school decentralization measure setting up regional school boards (which were to become centers of strike-breaking activity in the recent DFT strike). In response, the League's front group, Parents and Students for Community Control (PASCC), demanded that regional boundaries be redrawn so that blacks would exercise a majority in most districts. Black worker-student-faculty committees would then be elected to ensure such things as community kitchens and the "teaching of skills that have longevity and are marketable." A PASCC slate was run in the regional school board elections based on that program.

The League simultaneously developed a base in several ghetto high schools. Its Black Students United Front apparently had no working-class orientation whatsoever. In an illustrative campaign against the suspensions of several students disciplined for taking part in a "revolt" at militant Northern High School in September 1969, it called for a total amnesty for all disciplined students and the removal of cops from the school, but also demanded "that all pictures of whites be removed from Northern High School and be replaced with pictures of our own heroes . . . [and] the Nationalist Flag of Unity (Red, Green, Black) be raised each morning" (*Inner City Voice*, February 1970). While the League gave its community-control campaign some "working-class" rhetorical flourishes, its basic appeal was to black nationalism. And, like the nationalist demand for black foremen, it simply oriented to changing the trappings (the flag!), without attacking the essence of the racist, anti-working class educational system.

Defense of Black Militants

The other major arena of the League's non-plant work, and the most successful, was a series of major legal defense campaigns. The campaigns, conducted in a highly political manner and propagandized in the plant newsletters, were largely under the control of Ken Cockrel, whose extensive use of white radical legal assistance was viewed with disdain by the more "honky"-baiting elements in the organization.

The first major case was the New Bethel incident: several members of the black separatist Republic of New Africa were indicted for allegedly murdering two cops during a police attack on a RNA meeting at the New Bethel church in March 1969. Cockrel mobilized a large staff of sympathetic liberal lawyers and supplemented the successful courtroom defense with massive demonstrations in the black community and open-air "People's Courts" staged in downtown Detroit. Later that year, LRBW also led the campaign against the attempted extradition of RNA head, Robert F. Williams to North Carolina.

James Johnson, an Eldon worker who killed two white foremen and a co-worker, was successfully defended by Cockrel on the grounds that the pressure of the assembly line and the continual racial harassment had driven Johnson temporarily insane. The Labor Defense Coalition, a League front, was able to mobilize Coleman Young, John Conyers and other black liberals (not to mention the Guardians, a black policemen's association) against police harassment and U.S. Senate surveillance of the League. In a fine example of adaptation, the League demanded not the dismantling of the police, but rather its reorganization to "concentrate its efforts on organized crime and the heroin traffic in Detroit" (*Detroit News*, 4 May 1971)—a demand even the black cops could easily support!

"White-Skin Privilege" and All-Black Unions

It was the key programmatic points of "white-skin privilege" and separatist dual-unionism which were the focal points of DRUM's approach to the plants. The strong support they elicited resulted in large part from the condition facing the newly hired black youth. Besides the gross negligence of safety standards and the massive speed-up, they were confronted by older, conservatized racist white workers, an all-white management, and a ponderous, isolated, heavily white bureaucracy dominated by cold-war anti-communism. The "progressive" Reuther bureaucracy had no response to the dramatic increase in speed-up which greeted the black new-hires and was of course hostile to the nationalist currents circulating in the ghetto. Being unfamiliar with the UAW's relatively more radical and democratic past, new black workers were presented with a view of the union as a hostile, white-controlled apparatus allied with the company. The response was a widespread nationalist hostility to the union itself rather than class-struggle opposition to the sellout bureaucracy.

For the consciously nationalist League leadership and the guilt-tripping white New Left, which also embraced the theory, "white-skin privilege" was nothing but a cover for evading the difficult task of uniting the entire proletariat around a revolutionary program. Rather than seeing the struggle against the rampant chauvinism among white workers as an integral part of the strategy for socialist revolution, they wrote off that section of the working class as an "aristocracy of white labor which gives white labor a huge stake in the imperialist system, and renders white labor unable and unfit to lead the working class in the U.S." (LRBW General Program).

Consequently, DRUM and ELRUM actively discouraged militant white workers from following their leadership, and, at times, lapsed into the crudest race-baiting and ethnic slurs. The DRUM constitution explicitly "denied [membership] to all honkies due to the fact that said honkey has been the historic enemy, betrayer, and exploiter of black people." It went on to state its main task as:

> "Getting rid of the racist, tyrannical, and unrepresentative UAW as representation for Black workers, so that with this enemy out of the way we can deal directly with our main adversary, the white racist, owners of the means of production."

DRUM forsook a serious struggle for leadership in the UAW and attempted instead to substitute itself for the existing organizations of the class which encompassed the masses of black, as well as white, workers. By offering itself as a revolutionary alternative to the UAW it was caught, as well, in the organizational bind of attempting to satisfy the needs of a conscious revolutionary vanguard and those of a

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The Leninist Policy Toward Immigration/Emigration

What should be labor's policy toward immigration and emigration, a hotly-debated subject in the late nineteenth century, and early decades of this one, is once again becoming a controversial issue. Thus the current Zionist campaign demanding that the Soviet Union permit the mass emigration of Jews to Israel, and the close connection between unlimited Jewish immigration and Zionist attempts to expel even more Palestinian Arabs from their homeland, were highlighted by the current round of hostilities in the Near East.

The subject of immigration has traditionally been a sharp dividing line between the national-exclusionists, reactionary or reformist, and internationalist revolutionaries in the labor movement. Thus it was was not only the openly right-wing Gompers leadership of the American Federation of Labor that opposed immigration around the turn of the century, but also the reformist leadership of the Socialist Party under Victor Berger. For instance, in 1907 the SP leadership called on socialists to "combat with all means at their command the willful importation of cheap foreign labor calculated to destroy labor organizations." They were opposed at the 1908 SP convention by Debsian left wingers such as Berlyn from Illinois who protested all racially and nationally discriminatory immigration quotas, while pointing out that "equality for all men regardless of race can only be accomplished by the Socialist Party."

The same situation prevails today, as the German government of Social-Democratic Chancellor Brandt is "sending home" hundreds of thousands of Turkish, Yugoslav and Italian workers as a result of the economic downturn. In France, Algerian, Spanish and Portuguese workers are likewise threatened with deportation. But when the proposed Fontanet circular, which would require deportation of foreign workers when laid off, was issued in late 1972 it was supported by the reformist Communist Party. And in the U.S. thousands of Mexican workers in the Southwest have been subject to mass roundups and deportations by government officials. Instead of vigorously protesting this virulently anti-labor measure and calling for full citizenship rights for Mexican workers, the "radical" Chavez leadership of the United Farm Workers called (until April of last year) for support to the Rodino Bill, which would fine employers who hire foreign workers! Such reformist policies, while supposedly "protecting jobs" of native workers, actually divide the working class and give invaluable aid to the bourgeoisie.

Such situations underline the need for a precise understanding of the Leninist position on the questions of emigration and immigration. Communists must come forward as the most consistent foes of every manifestation of chauvinism and social injustice. The failure of ostensible socialists to fight for democratic rights enables bourgeois liberals, and even outright reactionaries, to attain a popular following by exploiting the just desires for individual liberties, national rights, etc.

Obviously, the right to transfer from one nation-state to another is such an individual democratic right. However, if exercised on a sufficiently large scale the right of immigration may impinge on the right of national self-determination, which is also a democratic right. While being the consistent supporters of democratic rights, an essential part of the socialist program, Leninists must avoid falling into the trap of advocating some utopian scheme of "rational," "egalitarian" capitalism. The competing claims of conflicting democratic rights cannot generally be resolved within the framework of capitalism, but only through a socialist revolution creating the material and social basis to protect and extend the democratic rights of all the oppressed. Until the achievement of socialism eliminates the age-old problem of scarcity, it will not be possible to abolish the state, and therefore borders and immigration laws.

The Right of Individual Emigration

In contrast to immigration policy, the right to emigrate has less often been controversial in bourgeois society because most governments have not normally tried to deny it. Despotic regimes in backward nations (e.g., tsarist Russia) have generally encouraged emigration as a means of easing political discontent and surplus labor. The only states that have consistently attempted to prevent potentially large emigration are Stalinist Russia and Eastern Europe. And the Stalinists' anti-emigration policies have been heavily exploited by imperialist apologists, especially regarding the "Berlin Wall" and currently, the Zionist/anti-communist campaign to "Free Soviet Jewry."

There are two major reasons for the anti-emigration policies of Stalin and his successors. Surrounded by hostile capitalist powers, the Stalinist bureaucracy believed that Russian emigrés, even if primarily motivated by personal economic interest, would tend to act as an anti-Soviet pressure group. And secondly, administering a planned economy the Stalinists have generally believed they could effectively use all available manpower, in sharp contrast to the capitalist countries. (This belief is not entirely justified, as the Soviet Union continues to suffer from significant disguised rural unemployment.) The massive destruction of World War II, in which some 20 million Soviet citizens died, further strengthened the bureaucracy's concern about labor shortages, particularly the depletion of the young male population, the most likely source of emigrants.

The Stalinists' systematic disregard for and denial of individual liberties is a complete perversion of the Marxist program for the dictatorship of the proletariat. It is, moreover, a perversion which enables the imperialist bourgeoisie to rally popular support against "Russian totalitarianism," and is therefore an important indirect blow against proletarian state power. Leninists support individual democratic rights, including that of emigration, for Soviet citizens, except where their exercise is a direct danger to the dictatorship of the proletariat. At present this means, for example, that emigration from the USSR should be prohibited only where there is a bonafide danger that military intelligence would be transmitted by the individual involved. (In other circumstances, such as sharp economic difficulties or military mobilization, even a total ban on emigration, or a ban for particular sectors such as trained personnel, may be necessary.) For example, questions could be raised about permitting Leopold Trepper, a Soviet intelligence chief in Europe during World War II, or Andrei Sakharov, father of the USSR's H-bomb, to emigrate. We unconditionally defend the USSR militarily against Western imperialism, despite its Stalinist leadership; and we do not know how much useful military intelligence the manifestly pro-Western Sakharov, for instance, might be able to give the Pentagon. But how can we accept the right of the criminally myopic and callous Stalinist bureaucracy, which jails not only socialist opponents for the slightest critical remark but even, on occasion, will jail simple tourists taking pictures on the street, to judge?

"Free Soviet Jewry?"

The bloc between Zionists and anti-Soviet American reactionaries maintains that the "head tax" restriction on Russian-Jewish emigration to Israel is a manifestation of bureaucratic anti-Semitism pure and simple. Although the ethnic oppression of Jews in the USSR is real, the restriction on emigration of Jews from the Soviet Union is also a reflection—distorted through the stranglehold of the bureaucracy—of a legitimate concern: the need to preserve the resources expended on the education of potential emigrants and to prevent the drain of trained professionals and intellectuals.

This consideration is not unique to the deformed workers states. The considerable flow of doctors and other technically trained personnel from the backward to the advanced capitalist countries (the so-called "brain drain") is one of the most subtly destructive effects of contemporary imperialism. The USSR certainly has the right to prevent the resources it has expended on the education of individuals from being dissipated via emigration.

What is equally important, however, is that restrictions on the emigration of educated personnel be democratic—that they not involve bureaucratic favoritism or national/ethnic discrimination. Thus unskilled Russian Jews should be permitted to emigrate from the USSR on the same basis as anyone else, while *all* Soviet graduates of academic and technical schools should be required to work a certain number of years in the USSR before having the right to emigrate.

At the same time, the bureaucracy's fear that young, educated Soviet citizens would flock to the capitalist West if allowed to do so is a fitting testimony to the moral bankruptcy of the Stalinist regime. A revolutionary workers government, enjoying massive popular support and pursuing internationalist and socialist policies (as opposed to the short-sighted nationalism of the parasitic bureaucracy) should have little difficulty persuading its educated youth not to sell themselves, regardless of the price, to the stockholders and militarists of the capitalist states. The revolutionary enthusiasm which should motivate these young people, however, can only be recreated in the Russian people in the course of a political revolution which shakes off the leaden hand of the bureaucracy

Portuguese workers en route to Germany: Gare de l'Est, Paris. ELIE KAGAN

MAGNUM/GILLES PÉRESS

Immigrant workers demonstrate in France.

and restores the proletarian democracy of Lenin's Bolshevik regime.

"Open the Borders"?

Unlike the right to emigrate, which the American ruling class is now so piously proclaiming (while conveniently "forgetting" that during the 1950's it was a major felony for a member, or former member, of the Communist Party to even apply for a passport!), the "right" to immigrate has always been a conflict-ridden issue in bourgeois society. From the anti-Chinese riots in the U.S. in the late 1800's to the anti-Algerian riots in Marseilles, France, in August 1973, the bourgeoisie has always used racial prejudice and national chauvinism to divide the working class. (While immigrants are usually unorganized and largely defenseless—a principal reason why the bourgeoisie likes to use imported labor in the first place—this is not always the case: witness the militant strikes by Turkish workers in the West German Ruhr area last September and the demonstration by 10,000 North African workers in Marseilles on December 17 protesting the bombing of the local Algerian consulate.

Faced with the myriad of protectionist immigration restrictions thrown up by capitalist regimes and the use of national chauvinism as one of the most important means of fighting socialist influence in the working class, some left militants have gone beyond the demand of opposing all racially and nationally discriminatory immigration laws to raise the general call for unlimited immigration, with the slogan "Open the Borders." (This demand was briefly raised by the Los Angeles SL local during part of its generally exemplary campaign in support of the farm workers. It was also mentioned indirectly in an article on the UFW grape boycott in *WV* No. 30, 12 October 1973). Viewed solely in terms of *individual* immigration, this is a proper demand.

However, on a sufficiently large scale, immigration flows could wipe out the national identity of the recipient countries. The impetus for massive population transfers exists due to the extreme poverty of many Asian, African and Latin American countries compared with the advanced capitalist countries. A Harlem welfare mother probably has ten times the income of a Haitian slum dweller. Fidel Castro caught the situation precisely when, in commenting on the mass exodus of the Cuban middle class to the United States, he asked how many poverty-stricken millions from, say, Brazil would take the same route if given free air passage and a hundred dollars a week when they got to Miami! If, for example, there were unlimited immigration into Northern Europe, the population influx from the Mediterranean basin would tend to dissolve the national identity of small countries like Holland and Belgium. More generally, unlimited immigration as a principle is incompatible with the right of national self-determination; to call for it is tantamount to advocating the abolition of national states under capitalism.

In reality, of course, long before immigration would actually affect national identity, a chauvinist reaction, penetrating even into a traditionally pro-socialist working class, would cut off further inflows. This is demonstrated by the experience of Britain in the late 1950's/early 1960's. One of the unexpected by-products of the dissolution of the British empire was that the Commonwealth populations continued to possess British citizenship. This formal right, when combined with the Tory policy of encouraging immigration, led to a significant population inflow from the Caribbean and the Indian subcontinent throughout the 1950's. Set against a background of economic stagnation, a widespread anti-immigrant reaction set in, highlighted by the Notting Hill (London) race riot of 1958 and the election of a racist Tory in the traditionally Labour Midlands district of Smethwick in 1962. Facing a widespread popular "backlash," the Tories passed the racist-exclusionist Immigration Act of 1962, while the Labour Party equivocated.

While the national consequences of unlimited immigration usually focus on the advanced countries, such a policy would also be a threat to the national self-determination of certain backward states. Global "open borders" would increase capital penetration by the propertied classes of the wealthy countries into backward nations. In the nineteenth century, population transfers were an important factor in the expansion of certain imperialist countries into adjacent backward areas—the English into Ireland, the French into Algeria and the American Anglos into northern Mexico (now Texas, New Mexico, Arizona and California).

A reintroduction of unlimited immigration would again result in the geographical expansion of the major capitalist nations. For example, an "open" U.S./Mexico border would not only induce impoverished Mexican laborers to flood the U.S. labor market, becoming an unprotected pool for capitalist superexploitation, but would also lead to well-financed American "colonists" buying up Mexican enterprises and real estate. (This already occurs to a certain extent, despite vigorous efforts by the Mexican government to prevent it. Ironically, probably the most vigorous opposition to open U.S./Mexican borders would come from Mexico, whose northern border strips are already functionally part of the Texas and California economies.)

Manipulated Immigration and Zionist Expansion

An illuminating example of how unlimited massive immigration can wipe out the national existence of the native population of even a backward country is the case of Israel. The pre-World War II Zionist campaign for the mass emigration of European Jews to Palestine was explicitly based on the calculation that, on a sufficiently mass scale, this emigration would lay the basis for the establishment of a "Jewish homeland" in a territory that was already somebody else's homeland. (And today the infamous Israeli "Law of Return" provides for unlimited immigration of Jews throughout the world —a law which is closely tied to Zionist drives to push ever more Palestinian Arabs from their lands.)

It is true that what was required to bring this nationalist scheme to fruition was the Nazi holocaust and the contemptuous refusal of the Western powers to provide asylum to the Jewish refugees from Hitler. The migrating population consisted in its vast majority of desperate individuals with no other place to go, rather than ideological Zionists. From the individual Jew's point of view, the only real alternative at the time to unlimited Jewish immigration to Palestine was Nazi extermination or, later, European DP (displaced persons) camps. Nevertheless, in their totality these individuals constituted a de facto aggression against the national rights of Arab Palestinians. To have called for "open borders" in Palestine during the period from 1918 to 1948 meant to endorse the destruction of the Palestinian Arab nation by Zionism and to guarantee the local ascendancy of bourgeois nationalism over proletarian socialism in the Near East for several generations, as the more or less inevitable result of massive immigration.

What, then, was the solution for the Jews? Before Hitler's ascension to power the common answer of European socialists, even of the reformist Second International which included the Zionist "socialists," was assimilation. This was also the dominant historical trend, as Zionism was an entirely marginal political movement limited largely to a section of emancipated, but not assimilated, East European Jewish intellectuals. (Even in the Slavic countries Zionism was not dominant in the Jewish ghettos. The nationalist-tinged reformist Jewish Socialist Bund in Russia and Poland was strongly anti-Zionist.)

A common pre-World War II definition of a Zionist was a Jew seeking to convince a wealthy Jew to finance sending a third Jew to Palestine. Moreover, the Zionists colluded actively with the imperialist powers (including Nazi Germany) to prevent the emigré Jews from entering and settling in the other countries of Western Europe and the U.S. During the 1930's and 1940's, the Trotskyists (as well as some liberals and reformist-socialists, most prominently the Jewish Bund) waged a campaign to open the U.S. borders to European Jewish refugees. The Zionists, however, who are today weeping crocodile tears over the fate of Russian Jews, were among the chief opponents of this demand.

"Free Israeli Jewry"?

Having pulled in the homeless survivors of the concentration camps, who had nowhere else to go, the Israeli Zionists found that Western Jews (even the Zionists among them), while passively sympathetic to Israel, had no intention of going there. Moreover, the 1950 Law of Return had an unantici-

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Minute, right-wing Paris daily, attacks immigration. Headline says, "We can't stand this invasion."

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...Immigration/Emigration

pated effect, bringing in large numbers of Near Eastern Jews, particularly from Morocco and Yemen, who took advantage of the law in the hopes of partaking of Israel's higher standard of living. (Predictably, these "black" Jews provoked a racist reaction from the Israelis of European extraction.)

Still looking for more skilled immigrants and lacking sufficient population to realize its grandiose expansionist aspirations, the Zionist ruling class of Israel has zeroed in on the several million Jews in the Soviet Union as the last major available pool of manpower for large-scale immigration. Moreover, this Zionist campaign to encourage Russian Jews to emigrate to Israel and to pressure the USSR's rulers to permit their exit has won a certain amount of support from the U.S. bourgeoisie, particularly from right-liberals anxious that the "détente" not be permitted to liquidate cold-war anti-communism. (It has also been somewhat successful with the Russian authorities who, avidly vying for Western trade credits, permitted more than 30,000 Jews to emigrate to Israel last year—continuing right through the October war, although the USSR was supporting the Arabs!)

As communists we say to Jews of the Soviet Union: remain in the USSR and work for a political revolution to destroy the parasitic stranglehold of the Great-Russian chauvinist, anti-Leninist bureaucracy! Before Stalin succeeded in wresting power from the soviets and the Bolshevik party, the Russian workers' republic under Lenin and Trotsky was the only place where Jews could use their capacities toward satisfying the needs and just aspirations of all the world's working people. Among the cadre of the Bolshevik party there were many of Jewish extraction, who along with the rest of the party built the first state which in practice, and not just on paper, fought racial and national discrimination, while granting national self-determination to all the oppressed peoples of the Russian Empire.

Israel, on the other hand, is a death trap for Jews. Its Zionist ruling class has nothing to offer Hebrew workers but the perspective of, at best, an endless cycle of national war and the eventual likelihood of defeat at the hands of the numerically far superior Arabs. To the anti-communist Zionist propagandists who are so eager to "Free Soviet Jewry," we have a simple question: why, if you are so concerned about the welfare of Russian Jews, have you never called on the U.S. government to admit Jewish refugees or emigrants?

The U.S., of course, has a higher standard of living than Israel, and it is clear Jews are safer in any real sense in this country than they are in Israel, where Russian immigrants are immediately sent to occupy Arab land on the West Bank and/or drafted into the army. The answer is simple: the Zionists are no more concerned with the fate of Russian Jews than they were with the millions who were led to the gas chambers by the cooperation of the Jewish Agency with the Nazis in order to get Hitler's permission to "save" a few thousand well-connected Jews for secret emigration to Palestine. What they are really concerned with is providing cannon fodder and skilled manpower for the clerical-militarist-expansionist Zionist state.

Utopian Socialism vs. Leninism

As Leninists we understand that democratic rights, while an important part of the socialist program, are subordinated to proletarian class issues and in any case cannot be fully attained outside a socialist framework. In the epoch of imperialist decay working-class revolutionists become the only consistent fighters for democracy. But "consistent democrats" are not thereby socialists—any more than are "consistent nationalists," such as the Zionists. Raising democratic demands to the level of principle *independent* of the class struggle leads at best to confusion and utopianism, and at worst can actually become counterposed to the struggle for socialist revolution.

When faced with the growth of separatist sentiment—manipulated by native counterrevolutionaries and foreign fascists—among the Ukrainian peasants in the late 1930's (reacting to Stalin's virulent Great Russian chauvinism and the brutal forced collectivization), Trotsky counterposed to the agitation of Ukrainian nationalists the slogan of an independent *Soviet* Ukraine. Recognizing that the right of self-determination remained valid under a workers state, he insisted that revolutionary socialists must *oppose* any movement for national liberation which did not stand on unconditional defense of the economic gains of the October revolution.

Some leftists, in addition to supporting unrestricted immigration as an absolute democratic right, view it as a positive solution to world poverty. For example, Paul Foot, a member of the British International Socialists, writing in the mid-1960's on the question of immigration projected the desirability of a multi-national, multi-racial Britain based on unlimited immigration. This is merely a variant of utopian egalitarianism—the belief that a just society can be established by sharing out the currently available wealth. Leninists, in contrast, understand that unlimited immigration and the destruction of national frontiers will become a reality only under socialism, as a result of the abolition of material scarcity.

In reality, the economic resources do not now exist to satisfy the material aspirations of mankind, and a policy of worldwide leveling would only intensify conflicts between the working masses of various countries. Rather than utopian dreams of unlimited immigration as an immediate political demand, what is both needed and possible is a campaign for real international labor solidarity. This can begin with joint union action against U.S.-owned corporations to raise the wages of foreign workers in the same industries to U.S. scale and, in relevant industries, the formation of truly international unions. Likewise, instead of calling for the utopian demand of "open borders," labor must demand full citizenship rights for *all* foreign workers—a demand whose justice is independent of capitalism's ability to grant it, but which would be part of the fundamental laws of a workers republic.

What communists have to say to the impoverished masses of the backward countries is that the answer to their desperate social conditions does not lie in an individual ticket to the U.S. or Western Europe, but rather in an international socialist revolution which is the necessary precondition to the economic reorganization of human society through freeing the productive forces from the fetter of private ownership.

W.V. PHOTO

SL/RCY supporters protest legislation discriminating against foreign workers

Full Rights for Foreign Workers!

That we do not advocate the principle of unlimited immigration as an immediate political demand certainly does *not* mean that we support the immigration policies of bourgeois states. The immigration policies of bourgeois governments do not simply defend legitimate national rights, but are *necessarily* chauvinist and oppressive. It would be impermissible, for example, for a communist parliamentary fraction to vote for any immigration quotas, even "liberal" ones, in a bourgeois parliament. Instead, they would vote against all racially and nationally discriminatory immigration quotas, pointing out that the real answer to concerns about "protecting jobs" is united international working-class action and socialist revolution.

It is, moreover, obligatory for communists to fight for the rights of all immigrants and foreign workers, whether or not in the country legally. The labor and socialist movements must demand that *all* immigrants and foreign workers are entitled to immediate and full citizenship rights. Since the bourgeoisie is not about to permit equalization of the conditions of the working masses, we must also fight against every instance of discrimination against foreign workers—against wage discrimination, for the right to strike and join unions, against deportations, etc.

Of particular urgency in the U.S. today is a vigorous campaign on the part of the labor movement, not for such chauvinist measures as deporting foreign scabs, but for full citizenship and trade-union rights for the Mexican farmworkers in the Southwest and other workers currently facing government harassment and deportations (such as the tens of thousands of Haitian and Dominican workers in the Northeast). In the case of the (predominantly Mexican-American) United Farm Workers, we call for an international UFW, organizing farmworkers in Mexico (a large percentage of whom produce for the U.S. market in any case) to achieve wages equal to those of unionized agricultural labor in the U.S.

Finally, while large-scale immigration is inevitably affected by economic factors at the present level of development of productive forces, the question of specific groups of refugees, prisoners, etc., is purely political. Thus, for instance, we are (except for the fact that Castro doesn't want them either) militantly unenthusiastic about the former Batista prison guards, drug dealers and anti-communist emigrés whom the U.S. government accepted with open arms. In contrast, the entire labor movement has a direct interest in vigorously demanding that the U.S. extend the right of political asylum to the trade-union and socialist militants who are imprisoned and threatened with execution by the bloody junta in Chile! ■

Lenin on "Frontiers"

"What does the 'method' of socialist revolution under the slogan 'Down with frontiers' mean? We maintain that the state is necessary, and a state presupposes frontiers. The state, of course, may hold a bourgeois government, but we need the Soviets. But even Soviets are confronted with the question of frontiers. What does 'Down with frontiers' mean? It is the beginning of anarchy.... Only when the socialist revolution has become a reality, not a method, will the slogan 'Down with frontiers' be a correct slogan."

—V.I. Lenin, "Speech on the National Question," April 1917

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Australia...

imposition of overall price controls (excepting incomplete ones for very short periods) is not possible under a bourgeois state as the varying relationships between different prices are essential to the exchange of commodities within the framework of capitalist property relations and thus fundamental to capitalist accumulation. General "price controls" by the bourgeois state do *not* represent a reform in the interests of the working class, but merely an excuse to impose some sort of control over wages. Real control over prices can be achieved only when the anarchistic mechanisms of capitalism in which production is for private profit are replaced by rational economic planning for the welfare of society as a whole, planning which is possible only with social ownership of the means of production. The precondition for this is proletarian revolution.

Price control—a reform that is desirable, achievable under a workers state, but only a reformist charlatan's gimmick under capitalism—is essentially an "anti-capitalist structural reform" of the kind advocated by the revisionist Ernest Mandel of the "United Secretariat of the Fourth International". These fake "price controls" have been too discredited by the recent experiences of Britain and America to be espoused by centrists such as Mandel's Australian agents in the Communist League (CL), who call for a "No-No" vote. What the CL has ignored is the fact that the reformism of the CPA and SPA in calling for a "Yes-No" vote is but a consistent application of the Mandelian method.

For a Class Struggle Programme to Fight Inflation

Although effective price control is possible only in a workers state, the struggle against price rises can be, the Healyite Socialist Labour League (SLL) notwithstanding, a very important element in mobilising the working class against the capitalist state. Furthermore this is an area in which the proletariat has interests in common with oppressed sections of the petty-bourgeoisie which can be mobilised behind the working class. It is not enough to stand before the class and simply cry that Whitlam's referendum is an attack on trade unionism. Says the SLL in their statement on the referenda: "What is the alternative to Whitlam?... The only tendency in the labour movement

which has consistently fought for the interests of the working class is the Socialist Labour League." (*Labour Press*, October 8, 1973) The class can be won to revolutionary politics, and its potential allies mobilised, only on the basis of struggle around a programme which meets the felt needs of the oppressed today and leads to socialist revolution. Such a programme the SLL replaces with economism and simple calls of "Follow me!" This was not the way of Trotsky.

The Fourth International's Transitional Programme—valid in all its fundamentals today—called for "... *committees on prices*, made up of delegates from factories, trade unions, co-operatives, farmers' organisations, the 'little man' of the city, housewives, etc." These committees must not be based on illusions that the state can control prices, nor that their own demands to themselves control prices can be met under capitalism. They must be organised on a programme of: a sliding scale of wages (so they go up with prices); open the account books of business; and nationalisation of industry without compensation under workers control. As the Transitional Programme says, "By this means the workers will be able to prove to the farmers that the real reason for high prices is not high wages but the exorbitant profits of the capitalists and the overhead expenses of capitalist anarchy." (The small farmers Trotsky uses as an example of the oppressed sections of the petty-bourgeoisie are no longer a significant stratum in Australia.) The struggle of the working class and its potential allies against high prices must be led beyond the boundaries of capitalism to proletarian revolution.

SWL Perverts Trotskyism

The reformist Socialist Workers League, which gives lip service to Trotskyism, criminally transforms the call of the Transitional Programme for committees on prices into a classless, single-issue campaign subordinating the working class to petty-bourgeois protest politics. The SWL holds up as a model for an "anti-inflation" movement last May's meat boycott in the United States (*Direct Action*, November 9, 1973), a self-defeating and completely bankrupt tactic cynically used by the "progressive" wing of the American labour bureaucracy to lobby President Nixon for ... a more "equitable" wage-price freeze! The SWL also provides a clear example of the tailist politics of Pabloism in the workers movement when the same issue of *Direct Action* engages in apologetics for the "Socialist Left" in the Victorian ALP: "Real opposition [to the wage freeze] is coming from the Labor movement including some of the leaders of the Victorian Socialist Left of the ALP and ourselves..." We find that this "real opposition" consisted of tacking an *addendum* to the Socialist Left's "Yes-No" position calling for a cost-of-living escalator—which even Whitlam has occasionally endorsed! The SWL's Pabloist methodology leads it to adopt the role of a left pressure on the Socialist Left, which is—apparently—supposed to become the instrument of proletarian revolution. In reality the SWL simply serves as a left support to the union bureaucracy.

For Revolutionary Alternative Leadership in the Unions

The working class needs not left-wing apologies for the treachery of the labour lieutenants of capital, but an alternative political leadership openly based on a programme adequate to the tasks of the proletariat, a transitional programme beginning with the day-to-day, immediate demands of the class and leading inexorably to the dictatorship of the proletariat, the overthrow of capitalist property relations as a whole. Revolutionaries must create an opposition within the workers organisations clearly based on such a full programme of struggle against capitalism, as the only real alternative to the policies of Whitlam/Hawke. ■

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Soul Power or Workers Power?

broadly based trade union. Thus, while the DRUM constitution demanded a membership based on programmatic agreement, it was forced to set up various makeshift levels of "affiliation."

Dual-unionist in principle, the League caucuses nonetheless vacillated in their conceptions concerning the degree to which it was permissible to work within the UAW. At times, they emphasized the similar positions of black and white workers under capitalism, or claimed interest in "a peaceful change in our Local 3. DRUM has always represented all elements of Hamtramck Assembly" (*DRUM Newsletter*, undated). In a march on a UAW Special Convention (November 1969), they demanded "50% representation for black workers on the international executive board" and Reuther's replacement by a black president, yet maintained the need for autonomous League control over the black membership.

Their program raised a number of transitional demands, indicating a certain familiarity with Trotskyism and the Transitional Program. These demands included an end to unemployment through a shortened workweek, organizing the unorganized and unemployed, organization of workers militias for self-defense and the call for a general strike against the Indochina war. However, their work in the plants was characterized by simple shop-floor economism coupled with exposés of company and union racism. The plant newsletters would describe the racist, shoddy medical care provided by the clinic or the racism of an individual foreman or union official. Having rejected the perspective of a long, but necessary struggle to replace the International bureaucracy with a revolutionary leadership, the League rationalized its impotence with an emphasis on local issues: "We must keep our eyes open and see through the elaborate smoke screen of the National contracts and focus on our local supplement which is the point at which we lose or gain" (ELRUM leaflet, 1970).

This parochial outlook resulting from the absence of a program to unite the entire class eventually facilitated a motion away from the auto plants as well as the UAW and led the League to seek support from non-working-class elements in the black community. In *Our Thing is DRUM*, LRBW leader Hamlin said:

> "We always had an impulse to stay with the plants and organize the plants because that's where the power was. That's where blacks have power, they are the producers, they can close down the economy. But after we recognized that we had to involve all our people in supporting those struggles in the plants, we began to look beyond factories.... What had happened was that the League represents a merger of a number of various elements in the black community and includes students...."

That these "various elements," essentially hostile class forces, could not be cohesively unified into a single political formation became evident with the later factional split in the LRBW. The logical conclusion of their nationalism, in a country where no material basis for a black nation exists, was to tail after the petty-bourgeois elements (and Cockrel's personal ambitions) in openly reformist community-control struggles, abandoning the struggle for a militant opposition in the plants. Thus, the caucuses became tools in the struggle for community control, and the League went full circle from seeing the black community as a supportive mechanism behind the vanguard struggle of the black proletariat, to assigning the black worker a supportive role in the community struggle.

The factors leading to the League's rightward shift in emphasis were not accidental, of course, since its dual-unionism, anti-white-worker approach did not accept the reality of American society which the League itself put forward: that black workers are an essential sector of the American proletariat. And while an organization of black workers could play an important role in class struggle if linked to a united proletarian vanguard party, the League's nationalist orientation led it to orient black workers against white, thus condemning itself to impotence in the face of the company and UAW bureaucracy.

The League Splits

Though the split of the League of Revolutionary Black Workers in June 1971 concerned the question of merging with the newly-formed Black Workers Congress, it was a result of the long-standing tension inherent in the League's contradictory "pro-working-class" nationalism. The League had not effectively struggled for programmatic clarity to begin with, and the factional lineups clearly reflected the different sections and appetites in the heterogeneous organization. The faction favoring the maintenance of a separate identity for the League consisted of the worker cadre and those leadership elements involved in the early plant activities—Baker, Wooten, Williams, Luke-Tripp. Rooted in the day-to-day reality of the assembly line, their driving concern was a struggle to change the conditions on the shop floor. On the other side were the petty-bourgeois types like Cockrel, Hamlin and Watson in the pro-BWC faction, who saw black workers as a tool to enable the "black people" to get a piece of the action.

Ostensibly, the major factional issue involved in the split was nationalism. In fact, both sides were strongly nationalist. The pro-LRBW held a third-period Stalinist position calling for the creation of a black nation after a successful proletarian revolution, whereas the ostensibly anti-nationalist Cockrel wing had an openly reformist, popular-front conception of involvement "in mass struggles in the community as well as the plant" (LRBW split documents).

Socialism in One City

The community-control nationalism of the pro-BWC wing was a theoretical mask for its opportunistic appetite for political power in Detroit. Thus, it was Cockrel and Hamlin who served as the League's spokesmen to the white radical community, and it was Watson who achieved notoriety as editor of *The South End*, when he turned that campus newspaper into an unofficial organ of the League and an avowedly revolutionary daily paper. Watson's role in the West Central Organization and the PASCC, and Hamlin's in the Black Student United Front, were the main elements in the League's community-control work.

They, along with ex-SNCC leader, and sometime LRBW leader, James Foreman, were the organizers of the Black Economic Development Conference, a scheme to finance black charities and small businesses through extortion from white churches. Cockrel's major work was in the flashy legal defense cases, and all three were instrumental in setting up the Motor City Labor League and Control, Conflict, and Change Book Club, a white support group. Cockrel and Hamlin viewed the League's isolation in Detroit as a strength and foresaw the possibility of winning electoral control of the city: "the resources we want to acquire in Detroit is, you know, monopolistic control of the use of force... control over the apparatus of state power" (*Our Thing is DRUM*).

If Stalin's theory of "socialism in one country" was a criminal apology for Soviet Russia's isolation, Cockrel's "socialism in one city" is a cover for appetites to win a place in respectable bourgeois politics. Cockrel's direction is straight toward the Democratic Party as a newer model Coleman Young.

This orientation is as far removed from the motivation which initially attracted black workers to DRUM as is

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Soul Power...

the Mayor's desk in Detroit City Hall from the assembly lines at Dodge Main. Their nationalism was a raging reaction to the racism of the bureaucrats and the bosses and a violent disappointment in the apparent apathy of their white class brothers. The pro-BWC faction somewhat accurately accused the other wing of "contending that in essence all League activity should be focused upon Dodge Main and Eldon plants, [and posing] a reformist, economist program that opposed the anti-imperialist line of the BWC with a mass line of 'Black Workers Unite'."

Though it still called for community control, the pro-LRBW wing was motivated by a workerist impulse which nonetheless recognized the BWC's anti-imperialist emphasis as a liquidation of class interests into a classless front:

> "A calling for everyone to struggle against imperialism subsumes one's own struggle to the majority to the extent that the specific form of our struggle is overlooked and we end up for example with anti-war demonstrations as the prime form as opposed to organizing Black people around concrete conditions."
>
> —Split documents, pro-LRBW position

The pro-LRBW wing alternative was "zeroing in on the plant settings with the appropriate use of the Marxist-Leninist method" and "building the mass base of Black workers around proletarian consciousness." Its nationalist line was that "the removal of capitalism does not stamp out racists," and thus, blacks must have "the revolutionary right to self-determination and secession after capitalism is smashed." This position, and the general identification of these elements with Maoism, led a number of them to join the latter-day third-period Stalinists of the Communist League. Of the other faction, only Mike Hamlin was to remain active in the BWC, now closely connected with the right-Maoist Revolutionary Union.

The splintered League left behind a twofold legacy in Detroit: on the one hand, a nationalist-tinged social-democracy-in-embryo (manifested in the complementary appetites of Ken Cockrel and Jordan Sims), and, on the other, a hard nationalist semi-syndicalist cadre embedded in the inner-city auto plants.

Cockrel's pro-BWC position in the split was designed to propel him into a more acceptable milieu for his political appetites. Already, through the Labor Defense Coalition (which he took with him out of the League) and his earlier legal defense work, Cockrel had established ties with white radicals like "Marxist" Judge Justin Ravitz and black liberals like Coleman Young. After his brief stay in the BWC, Cockrel's LDC initiated the anti-STRESS campaign, with its watered-down version of community control of the police.

Cockrel's changing rhetoric is a barometer of his adaptability in pursuit of personal ambitions: his earlier black workerese ("Dig the whole characterization that black people give jobs man: it's a 'yoke,' it's a 'hang,' it's a 'slave'..." [*Our Thing is DRUM*]) gave way to "responsible radical"-sounding declarations of the need "to use the 1973 municipal elections to take power and use that power in the interests of the people." This in turn gave way to a diplomatically neutral, back-handed support for Democrat Coleman Young when Cockrel realized he personally had no chance of winning a mayoral election at this time: "of all the individuals being talked about as being 'electable,' Coleman Young comes closest to an individual with whom we could work" (*Groundwork*, July 1973).

At a time when both bourgeois parties stand increasingly exposed as being unable to satisfy the most minimal needs of the working class, Cockrel is grooming his base in preparation for diverting the dissatisfaction of Detroit's largely black proletariat into the snare of a homegrown social democracy.

The logical complement to Cockrel's city-hall social democracy is, of course, a slicker, blacker, more palatable bureaucracy in the UAW. The fragile position of the present bureaucrats was revealed by the fear with which they viewed the relatively small LRBW caucuses, as well as their panic during the recent Mack Avenue Stamping Plant sitdown, the River Rouge shootout and the UAW's desperate maneuvering to shove the 1973 contract down auto workers' throats.

The League's failure to build a principled opposition to that bureaucracy, not to abandon the existing mass workers organizations but to struggle *within* the UAW for a united movement of class-conscious black and white workers, opened the way for demagogic reformists like Jordan Sims. Sims, now president of Eldon Local 961, saw the futility of the League's separatist line, and then opted for joining the bureaucracy rather than fighting it. In the recent Chrysler negotiations last September, Sims voted *for* the grossly sell-out contract before claiming he had been "duped" into it.

Neither the minimally economist demands that Sims' United National Caucus puts forward in its role as the respectable "left" opposition to the Woodcock leadership, nor the shop-floor economism of DRUM's earlier "mass line," can advance by one iota the political consciousness of workers —black or white! This is not to deny that there are differences. Whereas many of the original LRBW cadre were apparently driven by a revolutionary impulse, Sims is driven by something much more mundane—a thirst to replace the presently isolated, ineffective Woodcock bureaucracy with a more streamlined machine, better capable of serving as the "labor lieutenants of capital."

The other legacy, the League's semi-syndicalist, "third-world" nationalism, as expressed by the pro-LRBW faction, now finds itself supporting the Communist League while clandestinely buried in the inner-city auto plants. Subjectively revolutionary instincts notwithstanding, its members will find no revolutionary solution within the framework of the CL's reformist Stalinism. Once more, they will be confronted with many of the contradictions that wracked DRUM and ELRUM early on.

There may be a militant impulse behind rejection of the Moscow-line Stalinists' pipedreams of a "peaceful road to socialism" and Martin Luther King-style pleas for interracial harmony. But the CL's Peking-brand of peaceful coexistence and crackpot-nationalist theory of a "negro nation" in the Deep South (with a majority of "white negroes"!) are no better.

Only by breaking sharply with the petty-bourgeois politics of trade-union reformism and Stalinism and adopting the proletarian program of Trotskyism can subjectively revolutionary black worker militants contribute to overcoming the crisis of proletarian leadership which is today the decisive roadblock to socialist revolution. In struggling to build a unified Leninist vanguard party based on the Transitional Program and to rebuild the Fourth International destroyed by Pabloist revisionism, it is now possible to lay the bases to replace the symbiotic duo of petty-bourgeois black nationalism and reactionary white racism with proletarian internationalism.

For a United Vanguard Party and Class-Struggle Union Caucuses

The membership of the League was certainly motivated in good part by militant opposition to the pro-company bureaucracy of the UAW and by a desire for a proletarian strategy for black liberation, as opposed to the Panthers' idolization of "brother-on-the-block" lumpen elements. But this is not to ignore the pernicious honky-baiting and anti-white pseudo-nationalism which were also an integral part of the LRBW—and to which so much of the left accommodated or prostrated itself in a pathetic attempt to tail alter the popular petty-bourgeois current of the moment. As Lenin remarked repeatedly, it is the task of the proletariat "to combat nationalism of every kind" ("The Right of Nations to Self-Determination," 1914).

Unprincipled tailism is not the way to win and educate solid communist cadre, capable of leading the masses to victory over capitalism by successfully combatting all forms of reformist false consciousness, among them nationalism. Among the tasks of the Trotskyist vanguard, rather, is to state clearly the responsibilities of socialist militants who claim to stand for Marxism-Leninism and the historic interests of the proletariat.

The "black question" is one of the most difficult, and at the same time strategically most important, problems for U.S. communists. Its solution requires an uncompromising fight against white chauvinism and the myriad forms of special oppression of minority workers and an equally consistent struggle against the bourgeois ideology of nationalism, even in the most "proletarian" guise. The latter is no academic question.

Black workers are a doubly oppressed section of the U.S. proletariat, forcibly segregated at the lowest levels. Consequently, their liberation will come about only through socialist revolution and common struggle with white workers under the leadership of a unified vanguard party. The concept of a separate black nation in the U.S. not only lacks an objective basis in the class struggle and political economy of the country, but actually plays into the hands of those whose answer to social conflicts is race war—the inevitable result of which would be the massacre of thousands of blacks and the triumph of white racism. More than any other social group, minority working people have a direct interest in working-class unity.

In the factories, even with the present level of widespread racial discrimination, separate organizations of black workers would be a hindrance rather than an aid to class unity. Instead, the best guarantee for a struggle against racial discrimination is uncompromising hositility to any form of labor reformism. Thus the SL's call for trade-union caucuses based on the full transitional program, rather than opportunist lowest-common denominator "militant" formations pushed by various fake lefts, is of particular importance for black worker militants.

Though their concerns are not *limited* to the fight against racial discrimination, such caucuses are a much more effective weapon in securing even immediate gains for specially-oppressed minority workers than reformist formations organized around the single issue of racial oppression—which is what the League's caucuses (DRUM, ELRUM, etc.) effectively became. On the other hand, to the extent that DRUM demands such as ending unemployment through a shortened workweek, organization of workers militias for self-defense and a general strike against the Indochina war were intended seriously to pose a *revolutionary* alternative to the bureaucracy (and not some reformist mishmash), then clearly it can only be harmful to divide supporters of such a program on racial lines.

The struggle against white racism and special oppression of minority workers will depend on winning the working masses to understand the need for a class-struggle program on all questions facing the labor movement, and on posing the struggle against special oppression in a manner that strengthens class unity instead of setting one part of the class against another. Thus a class-struggle trade-union caucus would call for ending unemployment through a sliding scale of wages and hours and for an end to all discriminatory practices in hiring and upgrading.

On the other hand, while struggling within the unions for the elimination of all racial, national and sexual discrimination, such a caucus would vigorously oppose taking the union to court, i.e., calling on the bourgeois state to arbitrate disputes within the workers movement. It would raise demands which emphasize the international character of labor's struggle for emancipation (labor strikes against imperialist wars, against protectionism, full citizenship rights for foreign workers, for international strike action) and fight for its program on an explicitly political basis. Thus in opposition to the bureaucracy's policies of begging for crumbs from the capitalist parties (Democratic and Republican) and petty-bourgeois nationalist calls for a black party (which—witness the 1971 Gary convention—end up tailing after black Democrats), we call for a workers party based on the unions to fight for a workers government.

While the Stalinists occasionally pay grudging lip service to Marxist principles when it does not interfere with their reformist maneuvers, their trade-union work is uniformly characterized by simple union militancy. As Trotsky correctly remarked, the purpose of raising transitional demands is to make a bridge between the present consciousness and needs of the masses and the socialist program of the revolution. In the epoch of decaying capitalism, when successful reformism is *impossible*, the trade unions will either be won to revolutionary leadership standing for the Transitional Program or they will serve as instruments of the bourgeoisie in crushing the workers movement and obliterating those gains already won by labor through bitter struggle. Just as worker-militants must transcend narrow trade unionism, so must revolutionists among the specially oppressed social strata transcend the special-interest pressure group strategy—which offers no real solution to their felt oppression—and embrace a socialist world view, which alone provides a consistent strategy for a unified fight against capitalist exploitation and oppression. ■

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REVOLUTIONARY LITERATURE

Continued from page 3

...Long Lines

new form of preferential treatment, it provides the company with a weapon to break the union by creating new layers, owing their advancement to the company-government deal, who view the union as dominated by white, male job trusting.

"Human Communication" with Scabs ... On a Class-Struggle Program?

A class-struggle program against discrimination begins with defense of the rights of the employed workers, opposition to divisive quotas which accept the job market as determined by the capitalists and solidarity with strikes against scabbing. Any support for the government's union-busting "Affirmative Action" schemes, particularly coming from ostensibly revolutionary organizations such as the social-democratic International Socialists or the Maoist Revolutionary Union, is a betrayal of elementary labor solidarity against the bourgeois government. (Another example of such bleeding-heart liberalism came during the strike when, misled by Maoist conceptions that the most oppressed workers are necessarily the most revolutionary, some radicals in Local 1150 organized as the "Bell Workers Action Committee" of *Strike Back*, supported by the Harpers Ferry Organization made excuses for women scabbing. They called for "human communication" with operators as they crossed the picket lines, even opposing the elementary defensive measure of union fines for all strikebreakers!)

A class-struggle program would include the demand for a shorter workweek at no loss in pay, in order to open up jobs in all levels. Furthermore, demands for massive wage hikes in the lower-paid categories, to help equalize wages in the industry; for free 24-hour child care under workers control; and equal access to all job training must be raised. Fairness in hiring and upgrading, on a plant-wide basis from date of entry, should be ensured through union control of employment, including a union hiring hall.

The key to implementing such a program is the question of leadership. The militant-talking Local 1150 leadership, however, has shown no improvement over the record of the pro-company Beirne machine in the International. Candopoulos' verbal enthusiasm (in an interview with *Workers Vanguard*) for "dignity," an end to discrimination and a labor party (in the future!) did not prevent him from supporting Beame for New York mayor and basing his plans not on the mobilized strength of the workers, but on Democratic politicians—who "will be backing us all the way"—despite their miserable anti-labor records. Reportedly, the local meeting which decided to strike also decided to dispense with specific demands against the company, since these would deny "flexibility" to the leadership in the negotiations. This can only mean "flexibility" to dispense with the workers' interests, which is what happened in the strike, giving rise to complaints that the whole action was a misadventure from the beginning.

Victory in the strike would have required full mobilization of the membership behind specific demands of obvious interest to the entire membership. The real issues go beyond the personal grievances of the two workers and the question of who struck first, which confused many members. All company supervisors must be eliminated from the shop floor, to be replaced by productive, non-disciplinary union lead workers. Factory and shop committees, with the power to strike production units (buildings, shifts, etc.) must be set up to handle grievances and draw into struggle the most oppressed workers. More than just redressing the immediate grievance, these demands would directly challenge the company's "right" to organize production as it sees fit and thus lead to a struggle over the fundamental question of who will rule in industry, capital or labor.

Such a struggle goes far beyond shop-floor grievances and requires above all an alternative leadership to replace the present sellout Meany/Beirne labor bureaucracy. This requires the formation of a national caucus based on a class-struggle program for the CWA. A militant leadership would wage a struggle for workers control of production throughout the industry, in which the workers committees would examine the books and records of the company, exposing profits, maneuvers and back-room deals to full public inspection. This would enable the communications workers to launch a campaign to tear the so-called "public" telephone monopoly out of the hands of its avaricious private owners, by nationalization under workers control. The necessary complement of such demands is, of course, a call for a workers government to replace the rule of capital, so that the labor of workers can truly serve the interests of society rather than simply swelling the profits of the giant corporations. ■

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ILWU Militant Fights Blacklist Firing

Systematic purging of reds and militants is a regular feature of life in West Coast warehouses, as employers hope to repress any militant response to their speed-up and productivity schemes before it starts. One recent case promises to focus the fight against rampant blacklisting of militants in the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU). Bob Mandel, prominent anti-war leader of the 1960's (one of the "Oakland Seven"—leaders of the militant but adventurist attempt to shut down the Oakland draft induction center), and a full member of ILWU Warehouse Local 6 since 1970, was "terminated" from his job in an obvious political firing in December.

Blacklisting prevents a worker from getting off probation (90 days) on any job in a Distributors' Association warehouse (most warehouses are in the Association). Mandel has been a victim of the blacklist since 1971, when he was one of the leaders of a petition campaign in Local 6 for a strike in solidarity with the longshoremen's strike of that year. Since then, he has been fired or "laid off" before the end of the probation period from at least 15 warehouses—every warehouse in which he worked. In the most recent case, he was "laid off" despite the fact that he had been there longer than some others and the company has made subsequent attempts to hire other workers.

Blacklisting, often under the direct inspiration or control of the government, is nothing new on the waterfront. In the post-World War II anti-communist witchhunt, reds and militants were screened from the Sailors' Union of the Pacific. During the Korean War, a similar "security" screening combed fully 10 percent of the ILWU membership from waterfront jobs (of these, 65 percent were black). Still in the hands of Stalinist Communist Party supporters despite the anti-communist purge of the CIO, the ILWU leadership remained fair game for government persecution. Five attempts to deport President Harry Bridges were made over 21 years, and in 1953 the union was forced to lead a three-day general strike in Hawaii to protest the Smith Act conviction of its chief Hawaiian leader, Jack Hall.

Having made its peace with capitalism even before World War II, and collaborating with imperialism during the war, the Bridges leadership survived the McCarthyite persecutions by selling itself to local employer interests. Bridges signed away the rights of the membership to resist waterfront "productivity" schemes in two five-year contracts. Today, militants who are fired for fighting grievances on the job or defending earlier victims, get only perfunctory "defense" at best, while the real effort of the leadership goes to conciliating employer abuse of the probation period and ensuring "uninterrupted" production.

Mandel's case coincides with two grievances over similar cases, each involving former shop stewards who have been victimized throughout the industry for militant activities as stewards. One, a CP sympathizer, led a series of work actions culminating in a work stoppage, and the other, supported by the Maoist Revolutionary Union, combatted a dangerous health condition in a chemical laboratory organized by the local. The bureaucracy's response to these typical blacklist cases has been stalling and foot-dragging: in the case of the CP sympathizer, a vote at a membership meeting was required to get the leadership to file a grievance on his behalf; in Mandel's case, a grievance has yet to be filed.

Mandel is an outspoken member of the union who, among other things, recently advocated the "hot cargo" (refusing to handle) treatment for struck lettuce and grapes, in support of the California farm workers' strike, and similar treatment for goods going to or from Chile after the reactionary coup by army officers toppled Allende's popular-front regime. The latter point has been especially embarrassing for CP supporters in the union and the union leadership, since the latter were uncritical of Allende's conciliation of the army. Anxious to preserve their "respectability," the ILWU leaders wish to play down serious struggle against the military junta, particularly sharp class struggle—such as hot cargoing—which would directly involve them. Asked in an interview why he was being persecuted, Mandel responded:

> "I fought for the elimination of the probation period, and for the right to strike against layoffs and bad conditions, for workers control, etc., but in the long run, it is because I call—as at the last union convention—for such things as a workers party and a workers government."

A leaflet on the blacklist signed by Mandel and four other workers has appeared, and the group is circulating a petition demanding action on the three blacklist cases. As the leaflet, "Defend the Union—Smash the Employers' Blacklist," points out, "By allowing the employers to screen out whoever they see fit, the blacklist undermines the hiring hall and opens the door to an all-out attack on the union."

Mandel and other workers are attempting to form a united-front committee which would fight for action in defense of all blacklist victims. Such a committee should allow full expression of different points of view, which is essential for the maintenance of workers democracy. Every union member has an interest in supporting such a committee and smashing the employers' blacklist. ■

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Labor Editor, Workers Vanguard

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Phone workers interested in a class-struggle program for CWA should contact the Militant Action Caucus (MAC) of Oakland Local 9415. The Militant Action Caucus spearheaded the successful drive against Amendment 19-2C (which would have given local bureaucrats a free hand to expel from the union virtually any oppositionist) at the last CWA convention. MAC's program includes points against discrimination, unemployment, and government intervention, and for workers control, a workers party and workers government. MAC publishes a regular paper, Militant Action Report. Samples on request.

MILITANT ACTION CAUCUS, Box 462, El Cerrito, California 94530

WORKERS VANGUARD

Australian Labor Government's Wage/Price Controls Referendum Defeated

To the surprise of the public opinion pollsters and the government, Australian voters decisively turned down the dual referendum on price and wage controls in early December. Some 66 percent rejected wage controls, while 56 percent opposed price controls as well. This decisive "No-No" vote represents a sharp defeat for the Australian Labor Party government led by Prime Minister Gough Whitlam. Whitlam has aspirations to "rationalize" Australia's capitalist economy through a technocratic program of state economic controls. His models are Social Democrat Witly Brandt's coalition government in West Germany and Harold Wilson's Labour government in Britain during the late 1960's. However, unfortunately for the aspiring technocrats of the reformist social-democratic and labor parties, they must still contend with the militant reaction of their working-class base.

While the leading capitalist newspapers, the Australian *and the* Age, *supported the ALP government, calling for a "Yes-Yes" vote, the Liberal Party called for opposition to federal controls, preferring direct confrontation with the unions to Whitlam's maneuvering and apparently desiring to leave the question of economic controls to the state governments where they and the Country Party hold power. However, Australian workers (even in ALP strongholds) voted strongly against both wage and price controls because they were convinced, correctly, that even price controls would simply be an excuse for de facto wage controls. That this was the case was made clear by Prime Minister Whitlam who had declared: "... if the people of Australia give us the power to control prices and if our efforts to contain inflation within reasonable limits then fail, we shall receive the full cooperation of the trade union movement in restraining wages and income" (quoted in* Direct Action, *27 September 1973). Bob Hawke, head of the Australian Council of Trade Unions, was not quite so categorical (if only because he could be more easily unseated by an outburst of militancy from the union ranks), but also made clear his support for "voluntary" wage controls: "We give you the assurance that our wage claims will be reduced if the Federal Government controlled prices," he declared on September 20 (ibid.).*

We are reprinting below the article, "No to Whitlam's Prices and Wages Fraud," from Australasian Spartacist *No. 5, 5 December 1973, published by our comrades of the Spartacist League of Australia and New Zealand. In it they draw attention to the fact that the "Yes-No" (i.e., "yes" to price controls, "no" to wage controls) campaign of the various Stalinist groups tailed after the trade-union bureaucracy and served only to create illusions in the possibility of reforming capitalism. Of the groups mentioned in the article, the SPA is the pro-Moscow Stalinist party in Australia, while the SWAG is composed of Mao enthusiasts and the CPA affects an "independent" Stalinist stance sympathetic to the ultra-reformist policies of the Italian Communist Party.*

THE NATIONAL TIMES (AUSTRALIA)

Left, Prime Minister Whitlam. Right, trade-union chief Howke.

NO TO WHITLAM'S PRICES AND WAGES FRAUD

Under a pretense of a programme to preserve the popular standard of living, Whitlam's government is preparing for exactly the opposite—inflation "controlled" at the expense of the working class.

Whitlam: Fake "Price Controls" and a "Voluntary" Wage Freeze

The two referenda Whitlam is sponsoring—supported by a section of the bourgeoisie—are presented as an effort to gain federal government powers over prices and wages. In fact, however, they are a duplicitous "public relations" exercise: the price control power is being sought only to make more palatable to the working class a policy of "voluntary" wage controls. The incomes control proposal is merely an attempt to placate the less "enlightened" capitalists, who will accept the marginal impositions of the fake price controls on their sectional interests only if these are coupled to the threat of more direct forms of state wage control than that now exercised through the "arbitration" system. That the incomes control question is wholly a fraud is demonstrated by the fact that Whitlam has admitted that the power to control *prices* will probably include the power to control the price of labour—wages—in any case.

Labor Government Carries Out Capitalist Policy

A general and openly state-enforced wage freeze would pose dangers which Whitlam and the predominant elements in the ruling class see as unnecessary at the moment. They hope instead to buy for the trade-union bureaucrats (with the mirage of price controls) the political credit to force "voluntary" wage controls on most of the working class. At a time when the working class is weakened by higher unemployment levels (for example, in next year's expected recession) the ruling class will attempt to impose a tougher policy, with more stringent and direct wage controls. Doubtless they would like some clear legal powers in reserve for this situation, but they could almost certainly find a way without any constitutional change.

DIRECT ACTION

Australian Ford workers strike last summer.

The referendum fraud is lent some credibility by Whitlam's quarrel with the openly anti-working-class Liberals. This quarrel merely reflects a difference in tactics within the ruling class between those like Snedden, who believe that it is already time for direct confrontation with the organisations of the working class, and those who want to postpone the social and political turmoil which would result from such a confrontation. The more "liberal" capitalists (such as those who control the *Australian*) have a policy of wherever possible fooling the working class instead of fighting it. They see the Labor Party, with its contradictory character, as the best steward of capitalism at this time, its leadership completely committed to capitalism on the one hand, and its working-class base subject to limited but real control through the trade-union bureaucracy, on the other. In the pro-capitalist betrayers of the Whitlam/Hawke ALP leadership, the bourgeoisie finds ready tools for defending their profits and their rule in society.

The falling-out between Whitlam and Hawke represents only a minor episodic clash between the zeal of the Whitlam government in promoting capitalist interests and the self-interest of the central union bureaucracy. They are agreed on the desirability of token price controls as a tool to deceive the workers, but Hawke declares that Whitlam is going too far with his incomes control proposal. Hawke is scarcely interested in defending the independence of the trade unions from bourgeois state control over wages as a principle of class struggle. What he wants is to preserve the independence and freedom of manoeuvre of the entrenched bureaucrats who must *appear* to act in the interests of the rank and file in order to maintain their usefulness in the workers movement as agents of the bourgeoisie. Whitlam and Hawke can agree to differ because Whitlam and the Labor Party tops do not want to campaign so hard for wages powers as to alienate the trade unions; and Hawke and the union bureaucrats he represents have long accepted wage controls in another guise.

Fake Lefts Cover for Hawke

Whitlam is given all the flexibility he wants by his referendum: he promises *nothing* about the application of the powers. The workers are not even being asked to vote for a reform under the illusion that Whitlam will carry it out. And he has further covered himself by saying that even the exercise of federal powers over both prices and wages cannot end inflation. So much for the "revolutionary" pretensions of the Communist Party of Australia (CPA), Socialist Party of Australia (SPA), and Socialist Workers Action Group (SWAG), who call for a "Yes-No" vote to give Whitlam powers over prices—so that he has, as a SWAG leaflet puts it, "no excuse not to fight inflation." The policies of the CPA and SPA are the reflection of their leaderships' role as the reformist "left wing" flank of the trade union bureaucracy. SWAG's position is simply one link in the chain of capitulation resulting from their orientation toward the fake lefts of the Victorian labour movement: setting out merely to tail Socialist Left types, they are now eager to fall in step behind the central bureaucracy led by Hawke.

The CPA's campaign for a "Yes" vote in the prices referendum exposes the reformist, social-democratic core behind their pseudo-radical rhetoric—their programme limited to the struggle for reform within the framework of capitalism. Of course, for the CPA "... it is no simple legislative matter for a class battle is involved in which people must become active, and new, socialist values be brought to the fore." (Eric Aarons, "Importance of Price Control", *Tribune*, October 23-29, 1973) That is, for the CPA the class struggle is reduced to a constitutional referendum, and "socialist values" to a legalistic deceit. The CPA's amorphous "action" and petty-bourgeois "values" are just a camouflage to hide their parliamentary cretinism.

"Price Control" Under Capitalism—Reform or Illusion?

The CPA tries to hide the fact that "The official struggle of the government with high prices is only a deception of the masses." (Trotsky, in the Transitional Programme) Even if their referendum were not a complete fraud, the

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WORKERS VANGUARD 25¢

No. 37 — 1 February 1974

UN troops guard tent at Km. 101 where Egypt, Israel generals sign disengagement agreement.

UPI

Arab Oil Price Offensive Heightens Imperialist Chaos

No Peace in the Near East

JANUARY 25—The disengagement agreement signed last week by Israel and Egypt was optimistically hailed by U.S. President Nixon as "the first significant step toward a permanent peace in the Middle East." In a virtually unprecedented situation, both Egyptian President Sadat and Israeli Premier Meir declared themselves to be well satisfied with the negotiations engineered by diplomatic superstar Henry Kissinger. The prestige of the U.S. is at a high point on both sides of the ceasefire line and the Russians, lost in sweet dreams of détente, looked on with approval. What could disturb this blissful scene?

Just about anything. In fact, the disengagement settlement is based largely on secret "understandings" with Kissinger. The Israelis believe the U.S. has guaranteed whatever military aid and support necessary to secure the existence of the Jewish state. Egypt, on the other hand, believes that Israel has agreed to gradually pull back to its pre-1967 borders. Both believe the Palestinians can be safely ignored. But they are wrong.

U.S. commitments are necessarily influenced by domestic pressures and the concerns of empire. Thus, to the great chagrin of Israeli hawks like General Ariel Sharon, American control of supplies was used in the October war to produce an effective military stalemate. No matter how audacious their tactics, the strutting "Prussian generals" of Tel Aviv could not repeat the 1967 performance. The potential for a renewed conflict between Israel and the surrounding Arab states remains—the Israeli and Arab bourgeoisies remain in power and their appetites for conquest, temporarily constrained by Kissinger's diplomatic maneuvers (acquiesced to by the Soviets), remain unabated. The Arab-Israel conflict can be solved *only* by a victorious socialist revolution in the Near East, led by a united struggle of Arab and Hebrew workers.

The Arab Oil Boycott

Much of the State Department's hopes for a lasting peace after the fourth round of Near Eastern hostilities lies in the belief that the radical nationalist colonels have either been placed firmly under Soviet tutelage or effectively removed from the scene by the dramatic impact of the oil boycott and price increases which were initiated by the most conservative, reactionary, pro-Western monarchies. During the boycott, Iraq's left-wing Ba'athist officers have been reduced to sneaking oil into Europe while Libya's Qaddafi has spent his time trying to find someone (anyone!) willing to exchange control of his population for oil riches and Mirage jet fighters (after failure with Egypt and Tunisia, is Chad next?).

While Qaddafi could cause an occasional uproar by supplying Palestinian guerrillas with SAM-7 anti-aircraft missiles, what is that compared to the effectiveness of the oil boycott which has produced pro-Arab policy statements by every member of the Common Market save Holland; and the price offensive initiated by Iran which has sent the price of Near Eastern crude skyrocketing from $1.80 per 42-gallon barrel in October of last year to $7 in late December! The conservatives' motives are the most respectable one could imagine by capitalist standards. Saudi King Faisal made it quite clear that he had no intention of nationalizing American and British holdings, while His Majesty King-of-Kings Shah Reza Pahlevi of Iran declared innocently, "we are going to be a member of your club." When asked his intentions recently by a West German journalist, the Iranian monarch replied matter-of-factly, "why shouldn't I have some shares in Bayer?" (*Manchester Guardian Weekly*, 19 January). What could be more reasonable than that?

The American government, however, has a different view of things. Earlier this month, Defense Secretary James Schlesinger remarked in a television interview that "the independent powers of sovereign states should not be used in such a way as would cripple the larger mass of the industrialized world. That is running too high a risk. . . ." Just what this "risk" amounted to was spelled out soon afterward in obviously "inspired" press articles about a threat that "military power might be used against the Arabs if oil curbs become really severe." The *New York Times* (12 January) reported that British members of Parliament have discussed military intervention with American officials, who were described as (of course) "cautious," although noting that such an operation would be "easy to launch." The influential British *Economist* meanwhile warned the Arabs obliquely not to omit the possibility of military retaliation from their calculations. Saudi Arabia, which has only a 36,000-man army and 70 military aircraft, threatened to blow up the oil fields if attacked.

Shah Reza Pahlevi of Iran

THE MANCHESTER GUARDIAN

King Faisal of Saudi Arabia

Short of this, Nixon has called for an international oil consumers' cartel to put pressure on the producer nations to lower their prices, a view echoed by the Common Market commissioners. Thus the real prospect, far from being a lasting peace, is for sharp conflicts between the imperialist powers and their upstart former clients. In order to take the workers' minds off the grinding inflation and wage freezes, it is to be expected that the bourgeoisie will launch a wave of protectionist sentiment, blaming all domestic ills on "the Arabs." Only by vigorously combatting this national chauvinism and militantly waging the class struggle can the labor movement counteract this drive toward renewed imperialist war.

The History and Consequences of the Oil Weapon

When the Arab oil-producing countries first announced a 5 percent cutback in crude production last fall, neither oil industry nor U.S. government analysts were particularly alarmed. Since only 1 million barrels a day, out of total U.S. consumption of 17.4 million barrels of oil, comes from the Arab states, even a total boycott would have only a small impact. Moreover, since most Arab oil is extracted, shipped, refined and distributed by the U.S.-owned oil majors, any bottlenecks could be easily solved through behind-the-scenes rerouting. Yet the government immediately made plans to cut U.S. consumption by 3 million barrels a day, more than triple the maximum impact of the boycott (*New York Times*, 18 October 1973).

While the oil conglomerates were understandably uneasy about any independent exercise of bargaining power by their erstwhile client states, there were a number of reasons leading them to

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Letters

ECOLOGY

29 December 1974

To the Editor:

"Will Arab Oil Boycott Cripple U.S. Economy?" in *WV* no. 34 reveals a poor understanding of ecology. You claim: "Environmental pessimism is a classic bourgeois ideology and there is little written today by Dennis Meadows or Barry Commoner that cannot be found in Malthus or Ricardo, who also believed that natural resource scarcity, specifically in agriculture, would lead to zero economic growth." In fact, Commoner does not advocate zero economic growth and has even attacked Paul Ehrlich's *Population Bomb* on this question.

I suggest your author read Commoner's *The Closing Circle*, page 140 in particular. "'Economic growth' is a popular whipping boy in certain ecological circles. As indicated earlier, there are good theoretical grounds why economic growth can lead to pollution. The rate of exploitation of the ecosystem, which generates economic growth, cannot increase indefinitely without pushing it to the point of collapse. However, this theoretical relationship does not mean any increase in economic activity automatically means more pollution. What happens to the environment depends on *how* the growth is achieved." (Commoner, *Closing Circle*, p. 140)

As for "environmental pessimism" being a "bourgeois ideology," is the Spartacist League ignorant enough to maintain that pollution is neither dangerous nor increasing? If we agree that under the present capitalist system pollution is both dangerous and increasing, then "environmental pessimism" seems like a pretty accurate outlook. Consider the skyrocketing increase in urban respiratory disease due to air pollution, strikes by the OCAW and the UMW over workplace pollution, fouled waterways all over the nation, the danger of instant nuclear annihilation of the human race; does the S.L. take these facts as evidence of enlightened human progress towards the "realm of freedom?" It would be idealism to believe that man is aloof from the natural environment and is not constrained by the damage he wreaks upon nature.

"There can be no denying that for Marx, man was the measure of things. Marx believed that the inevitable progression of Communism was from nature's domination over man to man's domination over man, and finally, under Communism, of man's domination over nature." (Weisberg, *Beyond Repair: The Ecology of Capitalism*, p. 161)

This is one root of the S.L.'s analytical difficulty. That is, a dogmatic conception of "Marxism-Leninism" that treats Marx's work as iron-clad law, good for all time, instead of experimental hypotheses, historically conditioned. Weisberg, despite his Maoist illusions, has a more dialectical and materialist perspective towards environmental imbalance, as shown in the following: "Because the production and consumption of every living organism have a function, we are completely dependent on all other forms of life. Nothing in the world is 'useless,' without purpose or design. The human hierarchy over nature—which results from hierarchy within human culture—has no justification in the priorities of evolution." (Weisberg, *Beyond Repair...*, p. 2)

David Moore
Austin, Texas

WV replies: *The ecology "movement" is not monolithic and it is true that Barry Commoner is less anti-productionist than the Meadows/Club-of-Rome school. It is nonetheless true that the ecology "movement," taken as a whole, is anti-production/consumption and can serve as a partial ideological justification for bourgeois austerity programs.*

The article in question did not deal with the environmentalists' concerns with pollution, but rather with the consumption of finite natural resources, particularly fossil fuel. Within capitalist society the rate of usage of natural resources is not governed by the rational relation between man and nature, but rather by the conflict between different propertied interests. Thus a popular belief in the need to conserve oil could contribute to larger profits for the oil majors and sumptuous royalties for the Persian Gulf sheikdoms, or to a policy of economic autarky in this sector on the part of the American ruling class.

The popularity and respectability of ecological concern in this country during the past few years is not simply a result of the intrinsic merit of the ideas. Rather, environmental pessimism reflects the increasing dependence of American capitalism on foreign raw materials, just as Malthus' population/agricultural pessimism reflected the conflict between British industrial capital and landed interests.

As for pollution, yes, we certainly recognize that it is unhealthy. Other things being equal, we support measures to reduce pollution, such as cleaner car exhausts and heating fuel. However, where pollution is used as a reason (real or pretended) to increase unemployment, such as by shutting down a factory, we oppose that action since maintaining the labor movement's strength and preventing the lumpenization of the working class is more important by far for the future of humanity than the damage done by increased pollution.

Our position on ecological matters can be highlighted by the more important and extreme case of nuclear weapons. Viewed in the abstract, there can be no question that the relationship between nuclear weapons and mankind is destructive. Nevertheless, we support nuclear weapons in the hands of Russian and Chinese bureaucratically deformed workers states, because without them they would be smashed, perhaps victim to a nuclear holocaust unleashed by the imperialist powers, killing millions of Russian and Chinese workers in the desperate attempt to restore capitalist exploitation. Consequently we do not protest nuclear tests by the USSR and China and have demanded that the Soviet Union extend the nuclear shield to cover Hanoi instead of cynically exposing Vietnamese peasants and workers to the murderous saturation bombing of the U.S. imperialists. We take this position, which clearly entails a certain amount of radioactive poisoning of the atmosphere, even though the Brezhnev and Mao regimes could well use nuclear weapons to the great detriment of socialism, namely in a Sino-Soviet war.

It will be possible to consider production and consumption from the standpoint of the relation of man and nature only after the human race has been unified and become the subject of history, that is, under socialism.

EXCLUSIONISM

1 January 1974

Dear Comrade,

The article "In Defense of Exclusionism... Wohlforth Lies!" (*Workers Vanguard* No. 34, 7 December 1973) serves to correctly expose the hypocritical nature of the recent Workers League attacks on the Spartacist League, especially as they concern workers democracy and the use of the cops at the Jack Tar Hotel incident. The article though seems to me to be incomplete, neglecting similar (and quite dissimilar) statements by Wohlforth's mentor Gerry Healy of the International Committee and Workers Revolutionary Party.

While WL members "sniggered as police identified themselves and ordered the SL to leave" Healy has been informing everyone how revolutionaries never, never have anything to do with the police. His attacks on IMG [International Marxist Group] member Lawless have even gone so far as to contain a condemnation of those who call the police to obtain basic information. Such contradictions between different groups in political solidarity with the International Committee are nothing new. Before Healy discovered that one single word to the cops constituted a form of original sin, he had informed the world in *International Correspondence* (once published by the International Committee) how his organization would not only talk to the cops but use them, through the bourgeois courts, against any other left and workers groups that he wished. So much for the revolutionary principles of Wohlforth *and* Healy.

Comradely,

Paul Abbot
Chicago

ANARCHY

11 January 1974

Spartacist League-Workers Vanguard:

In the 4 January 1974 issue of *Workers Vanguard* you had a well written article on auto and airline workers. In the article you often speak of "capitalist anarchy of production." I really fail to see what relation the capitalist mode of production has with the philosophy of anarchism. The word "anarchy" is properly understood to mean a society without the presence of a state. It does not literally mean "chaos" or "disorder." I realize that you are going to say that Engels used the expression, but that does not make it right either. Your use of the word "anarchy" is similar to the bourgeoisie's use of the word "communism" as meaning the same thing as "totalitarianism," when we all know that that is absurd. In fact communism is actually anarchy! It is merely the last and ultimate stateless phase of proletarian society, according to Marxism.

I have also noticed several debates in WV with the R.S.L. on the class nature of the U.S.S.R. I am not acquainted with the R.S.L. platform and definitely do not agree with the I.S. position but I must question your unconditional statement that the nationalization of an economy means that that state is a "workers' state." Khadafi, of Libya, and Iraq have recently nationalized most of the oil industry in their countries and Bhutto has nationalized the major banks in Pakistan just as Nasser did in Egypt. This does not make their countries any more "proletarian," or does it? What if Nixon nationalized the railroads? Would that be a "proletarian" act?!

In the same vein how can any really revolutionary socialist consider the acts of a conquering army "revolutionary." What was so revolutionary about the acts of the Soviet Army after World War II in East Europe? Usually it is considered that proletarian revolutions are revolutions of the masses of workers and peasants and not palace revolutions carried out by foreign conquering armies, with the working class playing no role at all (except maybe in the case of Czechoslovakia). In fact the workers were opposed to these "revolutionary proletarian" acts as shown again and again in revolts against the Stalinoid bureaucracies.

Fraternally,

Andre Mesarovic
Cleveland, Ohio

WV replies: *Not only did Marx and Engels repeatedly denounce the tremendous hardships visited on the working masses by the anarchy of capitalist production, through cyclical economic crises leading to mass unemployment, but they never identified their goal as anarchy. They merely pointed out that the aim professed by many utopian anarchists, the destruction of the state, would be achieved under communism; but that this final stage, "the beginning of history," would be preceded by a workers state (the dictatorship of the proletariat) during which the productive forces would be raised to the point of eliminating scarcity, and with it the basis for classes and the state.*

Concerning the question of nationalizations, we have stated on several occasions (for instance, in "RSL Claims Russia is Capitalist," WV No. 35, 4 January 1974) that the key question is the expropriation of the bourgeoisie as a class. In the case of the USSR, China, Cuba, North Vietnam and Eastern Europe the property of the entire bourgeoisie (with a few minor exceptions) was nationalized, thus destroying the economic basis of the capitalist class. This act—even though nationally limited by the anti-proletarian policies of the ruling bureaucracies, and despite being (except for Russia) the work of petty-bourgeois ruling cliques rather than of the proletariat—is a world-historic achievement which must be defended by all socialists and class-conscious workers.

On the other hand, the limited nationalizations in Libya, Pakistan, Egypt, etc.—even when they achieve relatively large proportions, as in Burma or Algeria—do not eliminate the bourgeoisie as a class. Such nationalizations, because of capitalist control of the state, actually end up indirectly aiding the bourgeoisie (by providing cheap credit or cheap oil, for instance). Revolutionary socialists would defend such nationolizations against attempts by the reactionaries to return these sectors to private control, but in no way does this imply that these rag-tag military dictatorships and theocratic-bonapartist regimes are workers states.

"LAW AND ORDER"

7 January 1974

To the Editor:

The *Workers Vanguard* article (23 November 1973) on last fall's Detroit mayoralty elections pointed out the lack of real political difference between the two candidates. The correctness of this analysis is now being vividly borne out by events.

If the mayoral campaign featured John Nichols as the gun-toting, anti-labor, racist cop candidate par excellence, then the victor in that race, black Democrat Coleman Young is fast emerging as Detroit's *real* "law and order" mayor. In an inaugural speech that would have befitted Frank Rizzo or Ronald Reagan (and probably caused a race riot had they actually been so bold) Young swore that criminals would no longer be safe in Detroit and had best "hit the road."

Covered with a thin veneer of liberal pablum—"we must build a new people-oriented Police Department, and then you and they can help us to drive the criminals from our streets" (*Detroit News*, 3 January 1974)—Young's hellfire and brimstone attack on the "crime problem" (which in Detroit, as in every other urban center with a large black population, is considered the "black problem") was the first payoff installment to Young's bourgeois backers. In the few days since Young's inauguration, the local bourgeoisie has increasingly become confident and enthusiastic that Young will crack the whip on Detroit's restless black *and* white working class more cleverly, more deceptively, but no less viciously than would have Nichols.

The second installment was not long in coming. Although Young made the abolition of STRESS, the Detroit Police Department's undercover "murder squad," a major point in his platform, held-over Police Commissioner Tannian announced to the press that Young in fact was undecided as to just what to do with STRESS. Tannian was quite clear, however, that even if Young eliminated the STRESS unit, it would only be to supercede it with more efficient

Editorial Miscellany

WORKERS LEAGUE: Surprise! Morrissey/Miller Betray!

Two candidates in recent union elections—Arnold Miller in the Mine workers and James Morrissey in the National Maritime Union—have stood out as leading proponents within the unions of the U.S. government's efforts to enforce anti-labor laws under the guise of restoring "union democracy." The trend they represent is thus a profound threat to the independence and future of labor.

Miller became president of the UMW in 1972 by using the courts to obtain a Labor-Department-run election. Because the corrupt gangster-like regime of Tony Boyle was already so discredited that it was a liability rather than a help to the companies, Miller was elected through the concerted efforts of government lawyers and with the financial backing of liberal sections of the bourgeoisie. Nevertheless, thousands of miners still voted for Boyle, many of them because they rightly saw the courts and Labor Department as tools of the corporations and opposed their interference in the unions. Morrissey was less successful: alter years of "running" for office through the courts, his vote in the latest (1973) election was down substantially from his previous showing in 1969.

Nearly all fake-left groups jumped on the bandwagon of these liberal-favored front men for the Labor Department. The pathetically opportunist pseudo-Trotskyist Workers League, with no base of support whatsoever in either union, was typical. It backed both Morrissey and Miller, despite its formal lack of political agreement with either on the grounds that "their election would open up the struggle to break up the old bureaucracy." Now, however, in a recent article written with a fake "gee-whiz" naiveté, the WL's *Bulletin* feigns great surprise at the failure of either to "open up" any struggle whatsoever and at their inevitable betrayals. But Miller and Morrissey have simply continued along their chosen paths, as promised: it is not they, but the *Bulletin* that has changed its tune.

The theme of the *Bulletin's* new tune ("Where Is James Morrissey?" 15 January 1974) is an attempt to show how Morrissey has allegedly changed: he has been driven "rapidly to the right" because of his lack of politics and the pressure of the "crisis" (whatever that means); he has "devoted himself to challenging the elections [unsuccessfully—*WV*] before the National Labor Relations Board"; and his Committee for NMU Democracy has "virtually ceased to exist." None of these correct characterizations represents anything new, as the dishonest Workers League well knows. Morrissey has always had the same, right-wing bread-and-butter program, has always used the capitalist courts as his main strategy and never led a real committee (it was always run "like a private corporation," according to an unsigned letter from a seaman in the 16 December 1968 *Bulletin*). Since 1969 there has been no "Morrissey Movement" at all in the union.

As for Miller, the same *Bulletin* article unabashedly notes that "already a big opposition is developing to Miller," whose election was supposed to have "opened up" anti-bureaucratic struggle. Unfortunately, partly due to the fact that so many ostensible socialists were tailing alter Miller, there is today no such "big opposition" anywhere to be seen, despite widespread dissatisfaction with the grievance and salety clauses of the current contract. But while there continue to be widespread illusions in the new bureaucracy, Miller has opposed impeachment of Nixon, refused to broaden labor support for the striking Harlan County miners and is waging a concerted campaign to curb wildcat strikes against the pro-company provisions of the contract signed by Boyle.

For Trotskyists, "critical support" means calling for votes for a candidate who is running on a platform which claims to represent a class-struggle alternative to the flunkeys of the corporations, but which stops short of a full transitional program directed against capitalism. In order to draw a class line against the companies and their agents in the labor movement, revolutionaries can call for votes for such candidates with whom there is substantial programmatic agreement, while mercilessly criticizing the inadequacies of their program. But for the opportunist WL, "critical support" means cynically calling on the workers to vote for candidates whose *entire* political thrust is counterposed to the paper demands in the *Bulletin*. And this means lies, evasions and inconsistencies.

The biggest lie of the *Bulletin's* NMU coverage is its complete failure to mention the Militant-Solidarity Caucus, from whose program it copies most of its slogans. The M-SC calls for a fight against unemployment by demanding a shorter work week with no loss in pay, through two alternating crews and a four-watch system; autonomous unions for NMU shoreside workers; international organizing; opposition to economic nationalism; and a workers party to fight for a workers government. Its candidate, Gene Herson, received 358 votes in the 1973 election running against both Morrissey and Curran's hand-picked successor, Shannon Wall. The *Bulletin*, however, despite its paper demand for a labor party and the call for "revolutionary leadership" of the NMU tacked on to the end of its articles, urged NMUers to vote for Morrissey, who had no caucus and promised nothing.

The Spartacist League rejects such "critical support" betrayals and calls instead for the building of real class-struggle opposition groups, such as the NMU Militant-Solidarity Caucus, in all unions.

OCTOBER LEAGUE: Slinking Back to the Anti-Monopoly Coalition

The current "Unity Statement" of the October League purports to be a simple reprint of the "Statement of Political Unity of the Georgia Communist League (M-L) and the October League (M-L)" of May 1972. However, it appears the OL has continued to "learn" from its mentors, Stalin and Mao, and is now surreptitiously rewriting its own documents, as there are some important changes in the May 1973 edition. Taken together these changes amount to a blanket attempt to wipe out any remaining traces of "leftism" in the OL, which not so many months ago claimed the Revolutionary Union was trying to sneak in the reformist Communist Party's theory of "two-stage" revolution through the RU's "united front against imperialism." Now the OL openly embraces this refurbished "anti-monopoly coalition."

Characteristically for a Stalinist organization, this marked change was not proclaimed openly, but accomplished by literary sleight-of-hand. Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky, in contrast, valued revolutionary honesty, and when they wished to correct errors or inadequacies in earlier works they did so by writing new introductions, not changing the original. The following are examples both of the OL's rightward shift and the dishonest way it was done:

First, the original edition states:

> "...the proletariat must maintain its own ideological, political, and organizational independence. This can only be done under the leadership of a genuine Marxist-Leninist party. The party must link the immediate struggles to the final aims of the dictatorship of the proletariat and proletarian revolution. Communists must consistently sum up the experiences of the masses, raise the level of mass struggle step-by-step, and educate the masses in Marxism-Leninism and revolutionary struggle.
> "To regard the immediate struggle as everything and to forget the final aims of the proletariat and the necessity to educate the masses in a revolutionary spirit, can only lead to tailing the liberal bourgeoisie and is out and out reformism.
> "On the other hand, to deny any role to the non-proletarian forces opposed to imperialism, isolates the proletariat and strengthens the bourgeoisie."
> —pp. 16-17 [May 1972 edition]

Now these paragraphs have been removed and replaced by the following:

> "To deny the need to win over non-proletarian forces to the side of the working class, as the Trotskyites and ultra-leftists do, is to turn over to the bourgeoisie the reserves of the proletarian revolution. While intellectuals and middle classes enter the revolutionary struggle with their own petty bourgeois prejudices and are vacillating elements, the proletariat must, through patient work, win these reserves to the side of the revolution by adopting specific policies to unite with them.
> "The working class and its party must maintain their political and organizational independence and initiative within the united front, by leading the day to day struggles, by promoting the fight for reforms in a revolutionary manner and by pointing out, in this context, the final aims of the movement."
> —pp. 16-17 [May 1973 edition]

Secondly, we were told in the original statement that:

> "Especially important, at this time, is the struggle against narrow practicism, or placing the day-to-day struggle of the working class ahead of its final aims. The tendency to bow to the spontaneity of the mass movement, to tail behind it, must be fought by linking Marxism-Leninism with the working class movement. We must develop propaganda and agitational organs that can bring communist ideas to the working class and unite the class struggle. This must be done on a national scale with emphasis now on broad political propaganda directed primarily at the advanced workers."
> —p. 20 [May 1972 edition]

The "reprint" throws out the above paragraph and replaces it with:

> "While the principal danger in the general peoples' movement is posed by the right opportunist CPUSA, within the young communist forces the main danger is ultra-leftism. Due to inexperience and still shallow roots among the basic sections of the working class, the danger of a "purist" view towards the mass struggle and negation of the united front pose an important obstacle. A manifestation of this ultra-leftist influence is the view of 'building a party first, then later engaging in the mass struggle.' Sectarianism and unprincipled attacks within the communist movement are also symptoms of idealism and dogmatism."
> —p. 22 [May 1973 edition]

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police methods. Young championed in his campaign the more-cops-on-the-beat concept and has lost no time alter his installation putting Tannian to work dralting the details for opening police storefront "mini-stations." Detroit residents can look forward to, albeit with some trepidation given the Detroit police's notoriously brutal reputation, not only having *more* cops, but also having them right down the block!

Young's railings on the law and order theme, however, have not abashed his old friends in the Communist Party. Young's long history in CP front groups (see *WV* No. 33) and his rise to prominence in liberal Democratic circles continue to win him jubilant coverage in the *Daily World*. The 4 January issue of *Daily World* started off with the headline "4,000 hail swearing in of Detroit Black mayor" and ended up: "All this week, young and old, Black, white and Latin, are celebrating the inauguration of this new Black mayor, who was an auto worker and who grew up in the ghetto."

Is it necessary to point out that Richard Nixon was a poor boy who worked his way through college? But for the CP, Nixon represents the reactionary section of the bourgeoisie, while Young is precisely the liberal bourgeois politician with whom it would like to consummate an "anti-monopoly coalition." Sociological origins aside, Young and Nixon simply represent different shadings within the framework of bourgeois politics. For Marxists, political support of a section of the bourgeoisie is ruled out in principle. For the CP, however, crossing the class line has become such a commonplace that one imagines it envisions an expressway over it!

Far more significant than the CP's groveling at the new mayor's feet is the support for Young from the labor bureaucracy. A fitting end to a week of inaugural celebration came with Friday's business-labor luncheon for Young, where he was flanked at the main table by Leonard Woodcock and Henry Ford II. Only a few short weeks alter shoving down the throats of the Ford workers the most wretched settlement of their history, and in the midst of gigantic layoffs by the auto barons throughout the industry, Woodcock followed Ford to the podium to confirm his abject capitulation to the bourgeoisie and its politics: "Although Detroit was the focus of historic labor-management struggles, we have developed a common interest and responsibility. We are happy to join this new, new coalition. This is an historic event" (*Detroit News*, 4 January, 1974).

Woodcock notwithstanding, this chapter in Detroit politics does not represent a "new, new coalition" but a slightly refined repetition out of the old book of class collaboration, one that Woodcock has studied in earnest. The coalition of Fords and Woodcocks in the support of Coleman Young offers nothing to the working class except slick liberal demagogic wrapping on a package of intensified exploitation and oppression. As the *WV* noted in its initial article on Young's election: "The only way forward is the path of class struggle, beginning with the struggle to form a working-class political party based on the trade unions to fight for a workers government."

Comradely,

J. W.
Detroit

Shachtman's Snotty Grandchildren...

A Look at the RSL's Family Tree

Over the past several years the Socialist Workers Party and International Socialists have spun off a series of left oppositions which present themselves as orthodox Trotskyists. These include the former Communist Tendency (CT), Proletarian Orientation Tendency (POT) and Leninist Faction (LF), of the SWP, and the Revolutionary Tendency (RT) and Leninist Tendency (LT) of the IS. Despite their relatively small numbers, these groupings had considerable potential importance to the extent that they could effectively expose the fraudulent claims of the Pabloist SWP and Shachtmanite IS to represent the continuity of Leninism.

However, while the LT and a large part of the LF membership have gone on to assimilate the program of proletarian Trotskyism and join or fuse with the Spartacist League, most of these former left oppositionists have stopped half-way in the struggle against Pabloist and Shachtmanite revisionism. Thus today the leaders of the ex-CT, ex-RT and ex-LF all proudly proclaim themselves (each of them) to be the very first Trotskyists since Trotsky himself, yet find themselves curiously united with one another and their parent organizations in support of popular, left-talking trade-union bureaucrats. Like the IS and SWP, all of them supported (with varying degrees of "criticism") the election of the Labor Department's man in the United Mine Workers—"progressive" Arnold Miller, who has spent his first year in office suppressing wildcat strikes, pushing lawsuits and dissolving his "rank-and-file caucus"!

RSL Contradictions Will Lead to Its Demise

The contradictions of such centrist politics are particularly sharp in the case of the Revolutionary Socialist League (RSL), formerly the RT of the International Socialists. The leadership of the RSL claims not only to have definitively buried the ghost of Max Shachtman but, moreover, to have better assimilated the method of the Transitional Program than any other ostensibly Trotskyist tendency.

Thus in debating the Spartacist League last summer, RSL leader Sy Landy's repeated theme was: whatever the RSL lacks in the way of concrete program, it amply makes up for in the richness and brilliance of its analysis; all the sectarian SL has is mere "positions" (see "RSL Gives 'Critical Support' to Trotskyism," *WV* No. 27, 31 August 1973). Yet while claiming to have exhaustively analyzed the roots of the IS' Shachtmanism, the RSL maintains that there is no class difference between the Soviet Union and the imperialist West and remains agnostic on the question of democratic centralism!

Is it possible that these "brilliant theorists" have failed to notice that it was precisely over the "Russian question" and the "organizational question" that Shachtman broke with Trotsky's "positions" (and with the Fourth International) in 1940? The RSL's terminology may be different (Max termed the USSR "bureaucratic collectivist," while Sy calls it "state-capitalist"), but its methodology and essential conclusions are classical Shachtmanism.

Having falsely identified Shachtmanism with the trade-union adaptationism of the International Socialists, the RSL turns around and endorses in practice (e.g., the Mine Workers' election of 1972) the same tailism that is the stock-in-trade of the social-democratic IS. Not content to block in practice with admitted Shachtmanites, the RSL even claims that the rotten reformist IS is "centrist." This is an appalling case of self-amnesty, whose sole justification is to paper over the long years during which Landy &Co. were formulating and propagandizing these same reformist politics.

The "creative Marxists" of the RSL apparently believe that their claim to stand 100 percent on the Transitional Program absolves them of Shachtmanite sin. Certainly, as we have pointed out, the RSL has written some fine phrases on the subject, including on the necessity "to fight for an explicitly working class program, and more generally to raise the demands and slogans of the Transitional Program, even when these may be unpopular . . ." (Ron Tabor, "On the Transitional Program"). However, the RSL abandons these principles in its practice (where was Miller's working-class program?), and denounces the SL's supposed wooden sectarianism. Hence, according to RSLer Bruce Landau, groups like the SL:

> "carry the program with them in a mobile ark-of-the-covenant. When they encounter a member of the uninitiated, they fling open the ark's doors wide. Whoever does not instantly make obeisance to every word in the scripture is given up as forever lost, a hopeless sinner."
>
> —"Trotskyism, Centrism and the IS"

If they had really made a serious study of the history of Shachtmanism, the RSL leaders would have discovered that the Workers Party of the early 1940's claimed to be vigorously upholding the program of the Fourth International—better, they claimed, than the "bureaucratic-conservative" Cannonites of the SWP. In fact, while they were still a minority in the SWP, Shachtman, Abern, Bern and Burnham wrote in 1939:

> "Neither in committee nor in their public writings and speeches have they ["the Cannon faction"] made a single illuminating analysis of a single event; they have made no predictions, suggested no guidance whatever. They merely repeat, parrot-like, in their own phrasing and rhetoric, the ideas already presented by Trotsky.
>
> "Here, too, there is nothing exceptional. The same situation *exactly* obtained in the case of the 'Transitional Program' adopted at the N.C. plenum held in the spring of 1938. . . .the Program was, and remained, for Cannon not a policy but a substitute for a policy. Endorsement meant not understanding, not the effort to apply the policy in the concrete life of the movement, but simply the ritualistic nod of agreement with its *words*. Shachtman, Burnham and others, including Goldman at the time, insisted that it meant nothing merely to 'accept' the transitional program; . . . distinction would have to be made . . . between those slogans which were of a general propagandistic and educational character and those suitable for immediate agitational uses; and they insisted further that the *concrete* meaning of many of the general concepts of the program had to be sought in terms of living developments in this country. For Cannon, the test of the true believer was whether he made the sign of the cross with proper piety. 'All or none!' —100 per cent *verbal* acceptance of the program just as it stood, *and nothing more*."
>
> —"The War and Bureaucratic Conservatism"

Perhaps, if one accepts the RSL's identification of the SL with airy references to the "Cannonite faction of Trotskyism," one can tell from the above in what school Landy & Co. learned *their* politics. Despite its supposed "bureaucratic conservatism" the Fourth International was capable of understanding the fundamental class distinction between imperialism and the Russian degenerated workers state (and the elementary socialist duty of defending the latter against the former), something which escaped Shachtman's analysis. Still lauding their superior analyses, contrasted to mundane *program*, the latter-day Shachtmanites of the RSL show their *"concrete"* understanding of the Transitional Program by declaring Russia to be capitalist (consequently, if they are consistent, refusing to support it against imperialist attack), and backing Arnold Miller because he was more "democratic" than the corrupt Boyle regime.

Max Shachtman — THE DONALD PRESS

Democracy and Class

With its Shachtmanite background and politics it is not surprising that the RSL discovers "democracy" as the ultimate decisive criterion for all class questions. Thus the RSL trumpets about its most profound extension of Marxism, "the application to the United States of the theory of Permanent Revolution." By this it means that, "The 'promise of bourgeois democracy' can be fulfilled only through the socialist revolution" (*Torch* No. 2, November 1973).

How very profound! Until now we thought that it was a commonplace among Marxists that because bourgeois society is a class society, ruled over by a narrow layer of exploiters, bourgeois democracy is ultimately a fraud for the toiling masses. Were Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky wrong? Or is it that the "creative Marxists" of the RSL have come up with a formulation to assure its petty-bourgeois friends that socialists of the Shachtmanite stripe are for the "promise of bourgeois democracy" too... and, by the way, opposed to the bestial totalitarianism of state capitalist Russia and China?

What lies behind such a statement must necessarily be profound illusions concerning the real meaning of bourgeois democracy. This is convincingly evidenced by Bruce Landau's hysteria (see *Torch* No. 3, 15 November-15 December 1973) over the SL's rejection of the theory that Watergate is a sign of impending fascism or full-scale bonapartism, and our statement that, "In fact, it is just the opposite—Congress is restoring the norms of U.S. bourgeois democracy..." (*WV* No. 31, 26 October 1973). Landau claims that this means we share the view of the Communist Party that Nixon's impeachment would "remove the peril to world peace and our security" (*Daily World*, 26 October)!

Only someone who believes that bourgeois democracy means sweetness and light could make this grotesque amalgam. The SL has no illusions about bourgeois democracy which in the U.S. has been compatible with the Palmer Raids; jailing the leadership of the CP, SWP, IWW and SP at different times; the Coal and Iron Police; concentration camps for citizens of Japanese ancestry in World War II; lynchings of blacks; the imperialist war in Vietnam; etc.

This consistent petty-bourgeois fascination with democracy in the abstract is also behind the RSL's position on the Russian question. Thus when, according to Landy & Co., the last vestiges of workers democracy were eliminated in the USSR by Stalin's Great Purge Trials in 1936-38, then the class difference between Stalinist Russia and Nazi Germany suddenly disappears! The RSL will soon discover that such a position leads straight into the arms of the democratic imperialist bourgeoisie and to support for bourgeois counterrevolutionary forces. For, given the police-state conditions of the Soviet Union, if it is simply one more capitalist state, then a restoration of *bourgeois* democracy would be a considerable improvement. The ability of the RSL to maintain any pretense of revolutionary Marxism is simply a luxury of the Nixon-Brezhnev détente.

Vanguard or Tail

As with all Shachtmanites, the RSLers' idolization of abstract "democracy" actually represents crawling before bourgeois public opinion. By extension, they are also eager to demonstrate their willingness to capitulate to the present, bourgeois consciousness of the working class. In consequence they effectively liquidate the vanguard role of the revolutionary party, as the *leader* of the class. This shows up most vividly in their conceptions of communist work in the unions.

In contrast to most of the U.S. left, the Spartacist League has been virtually alone in upholding the traditional Leninist concept of struggling for the leadership of the labor movement on the basis of the full program representing the historic interests of the working class. This struggle is carried out within the trade unions by caucuses based on the transitional program, which complement the struggle of the communist party in the class as a whole.

Jack Gregory, RSL — WV PHOTO

The RSL counterposes a "stages" conception of a series of blocs with "militant" formations (like Miller's now-defunct "Miners for Democracy") that will at some undefined point magically result in the RSL's ascendancy in the labor movement. Out of fear of "sectarianism," these Shachtmanites abandon the struggle for the Transitional Program in the trade unions, in effect denying that it represents the objective needs of the working class in the imperialist epoch. Instead, they conceive of the program of the Fourth International as simply a menu of demands, from which one periodically selects an enticing dish in order to attract militant workers.

To the RSL, Lenin's emphasis on the need to replace trade-union consciousness with socialist consciousness (the heart of *What Is To Be Done?*) is "substitutionism."

The Trotskyists do not deny the validity of the tactic of united fronts with opposing tendencies within the labor movement. But to be effective in educating the mass of the workers in socialist politics and splitting them from their present reformist leadership, it is necessary first that the revolutionaries constitute a firm and clear programmatic pole. Tactical maneuvers can only be carried out from a granite foundation.

Study History

Landy identifies Shachtmanism with the later evolution of Shachtman into State Department socialism of the Norman Thomas brand during the 1950's. But the RSL resembles nothing so much as Shachtman's early Workers Party during the World War II U.S./USSR détente. (Of course, it only took the end of the wartime honeymoon and the onset of the cold war for Shachtman to realize that his theory, like the RSL's, makes bourgeois democracy preferable to Stalinism. He drew the conclusions, and ultimately ended up supporting U.S. imperialist butchery in Vietnam.)

Another quite similar Shachtmanite formation was the very leftist Johnson-Forrest tendency, which also held that Russia was "state capitalist." This group left the WP in 1947 (as the latter was moving to the right) to join the SWP. Johnson-Forrest were resolutely opposed to even the progressive wing of the bureaucracy (unlike the RSL), and took a strong position for Bolshevik party discipline (again unlike the RSL). They had, however, a strong workerist outlook and expected the proletarian revolution to be just around the corner. When the SWP opposed U.S. imperialism during the Korean War, this and their frustrated apocalyptic visions of instant revolution, catapulted them out of the SWP. Some chose ultra-left irrelevancy, while others left the Marxist movement altogether.

A more contemporary precedent, perhaps even more relevant because of its rapid demise, is the ill-fated American Socialist Organizing Committee (ASOC). Landy is himself directly familiar with its sorry history, for at the time it parted company with the Socialist Party in 1964, Landy, Hal Draper and their fellow Shachtmanites were comfortably ensconced in the cold-war anti-communist SP.

ASOC issued out of the SP's youth group, the Young Peoples Socialist League, which had experienced a certain growth during the early 1960's due to its activities in the civil rights movement and in pacifist protests against nuclear weapons testing. (YPSL more or less controlled the Student Peace Union.) But with the passing of the "Freedom Rides" and the signing of the 1963 Kennedy/Khrushchev test ban treaty, the social-democratic youth came upon hard times. By 1964 YPSL's stagnation had produced an increasingly sharp internal political polarization.

This came to a head during the fall, beginning with the 1964 Labor Day convention at which the delegates passed resolutions censuring the YPSL National Action Committee for its response to the Kennedy assassination (when it had expressed "grief" and "mourning"). They also mandated the new left-wing YPSL leadership to ignore SP discipline until the SP prevented its national leadership from supporting Lyndon Johnson, the Democratic candidate, for president.

The SP leadership thereupon placed its youth group under receivership, leading the YPSL leadership to dissolve the organization. A small section of YPSL subsequently regrouped with the SL; another (the Draperites) remained in the SP while forming the Independent Socialist Clubs that several years later became IS; and a third grouping led by the YPSL leadership of Bob Brown and Tom Barton went on to form ASOC, a militant "third-camp" formation. Contrasting themselves to the SP's support for Johnson, the future ASOC leaders had pushed the slogan "Vote No for President!"

But ASOC was destined to live a rather short life. Caught between a leftward impulse and its Shachtmanite "third campism" (i.e., opposing equally capitalism and "communist imperialism"), it was torn apart by the first class question it faced: the Vietnam war. This contradiction was acutely felt in the leadership with Barton, on the one hand, stating at the November 1965 ASOC convention that "I am for the defeat of U.S. imperialism in Vietnam, by the NLF if necessary"; and a right wing led by Kim Moody (later of the IS) which, as Barton put it, "would rather see Vietnam a U.S. colony than see it independent under Stalinist leadership...."

Unable to resolve their sharp differences, the two tendencies simply drifted apart. This led Brown to introduce a motion to dissolve ASOC at its April 1966 national conference. Writing shortly afterwards to a former ASOC member who had resigned to join Spartacist, Brown remarked pathetically: "I am both happy and chagrined to admit your views on ASOC are absolutely correct....I vehemently disagreed with the Baltimore abstentionist Vietnam point of view at the time it was adopted.... Chicago ASOC people would have left the organization back in Nov. 65 had we not hoped to salvage some people and perhaps enough of an organization to rebuild ASOC along more left-wing lines. But alas, it was not to be."

On the Road to Nowhere

Today, the left-Shachtmanite RSL finds itself in the same impasse. The Soviet Union in 1941; Eastern Europe in 1947-48; China in 1949; Korea in 1951; Cuba in 1960; Vietnam today—it is impossible to avoid the "Russian question." If the RSL were to follow the political logic of its "state-capitalist" theories, it would have to be defeatist on both sides in the Vietnam war. Instead it is content to settle for the IS solution to the problem (namely, to support the NLF militarily because it is popular in petty-bourgeois circles, while pretending to hold a principled third-camp position) by insisting along with the Stalinists and the ex-Trotskyist SWP, that the war is for "self-determination."

The future for the RSL is bleak indeed. In the trade-union arena it will be continually upstaged by the IS and the political bandits of the Workers League, who give "critical support" to sellouts with a shamelessness that even Landy will fear to imitate (at first). And to the extent that the RSL does attempt to go beyond talling sub-reformists like Miller and win militants to the Transitional Program, it will discover that the advanced workers do not exist in a vacuum apart from bourgeois society. They are infected with bourgeois ideology, with Stalinism and every other sort of revisionism. To the surprise of the workerists of the RSL, sinking roots in the class will require a sharp political struggle with the existing bureaucratic misleaders of labor and with the various left-wing tendencies, first among them the Spartacist League.

To those militants in the RSL who do not wish to slip back into the old IS swamp or to prostitute themselves in political banditry in the manner of the Workers League, we say: take up the fight for the program of Trotskyism; for its implementation in practice, not just in "creative analyses"; and study the history of your predecessors. The Russian question hangs over the RSL like Damocles' sword. Not only does it threaten to shatter the organization at the first international crisis (since the cynical ex-CTers claim to hold an orthodox position of unconditional defense of the degenerated and deformed workers states against imperialist attack); but the violence done to Marxism by the claim that Russia, China, etc., are capitalist will profoundly corrode whatever formal adherence to Trotskyism the RSL now possesses. ■

Nazis Clash with Leftists in San Francisco

SAN FRANCISCO—On January 8 thirteen members of the American Nazi party, in full uniform with swastikas, attended a public meeting of the San Francisco Board of Education, which was discussing an integration plan for the city's schools. The audience was justly outraged at this deliberate provocation, and one black teacher/activist, Yvonne Golden, got to the microphone to protest the presence of the Nazis. Soon afterwards a scuffle broke out between the Nazis and supporters of the Workers Action Movement (WAM) and Progressive Labor Party.

PL/WAM suffered a considerable beating, especially after 50 city cops rushed in to protect the Nazis and restore "order." As is typical of bourgeois justice, none of the Nazis were arrested, while several PL/WAM supporters were arrested on various misdemeanor charges as well as a felony charge of battery against police officers. Yvonne Golden was arrested later on charges of inciting to riot, disturbing the peace and disturbing a lawful assembly.

EXAMINER

Nazi throws punch at January 8 San Francisco Board of Education meeting.

It is the elementary duty of all Marxists to demand the immediate dropping of all charges against those arrested. It is irrelevant to us whether or not the Nazis actually threw the first punch—despite their small size, the Nazis represent a potentially mortal danger to the working class if allowed to freely organize and recruit. Furthermore, workers must have no faith in the capitalist state to stop the fascists or other reactionary movements—indeed, bourgeois justice has always shown leniency toward them. In the last resort, the fascists are the tool of the capitalists against the workers movement. Thus, laws which empower the bourgeois state to limit the civil liberties of "extremist" groups should be opposed on the grounds that such alleged "anti-fascist" laws are invariably used against the working class and the left rather than any right-wing threat.

The Chilean Allende government's gun-control law, for instance, ostensibly aimed against the right wing, in fact enabled the police and military to disarm the *workers*, thus ensuring the success of the generals' September coup. As part of an overall transitional program, workers must create armed workers militias to deal with the fascists. It would have been a relatively easy matter for a workers' detachment to remove the Nazi scum from the school board meeting. Communists rely neither on the bourgeois state nor on the isolated actions of a small vanguard to stop the fascists. While there are occasional instances in which a favorable relation of forces permits one or another left group by itself to prevent a few Nazis from speaking or marching, these are not frequent, if only because of the police protection often given to the fascists. The Leninist answer to the fascist menace is to crush it through mass action of the working class.

Reformism and Ultra-Leftism

PL/WAM made their essentially reformist thrust clear by their full support to the program of the "Ad Hoc Committee Against Nazism and Racism," which states:

> "...we are demanding that the San Francisco Board of Education:
>
> 1) Not allow the attendance of Nazis (members of the National Socialist White Peoples' Party) at meetings of the Board of Education.
>
> 2) Not allow Nazi youth groups to have organizations in the public schools.
>
> 3) Take no action against Yvonne Golden, Henry Hitz, or any other teacher who protested the Nazis' presence at the January 8th Board of Education meeting. And that your body recommend to the District Attorney's office the dropping of charges against those people arrested at the January 8th meeting."

This program emerged out of the January 13 meeting of the "Ad Hoc Committee," which is an amalgam of PL/WAM, the Teachers Action Caucus, IS and several miscellaneous groups and individuals. The last point is of course supportable, but the first two are a classical liberal/reformist approach to "fighting fascism" by relying on the bourgeois state. This of course is consistent with PL's previous long campaign to "fight racism" by creating coalitions with liberal professors to abolish racist textbooks, instead of organizing the working class to fight concrete *acts* of racial oppression. Like the liberals, PL separates fascist and racist theories from their material basis in the capitalist system. Thus, in continuation of their Stalinist heritage, PL/WAM supporters tried to argue that World War II was a war to "fight fascism," which was the excuse used by the Stalinist Communist parties to support their "own" bourgeoisies and to make no-strike pledges.

As Lenin noted, opportunism and ultra-leftism are two sides of the same coin; both seek to bypass the struggle for leadership of the working class with shortcuts. PL persists in serving as a classical example of this point. A few days after the above meeting, there was a regular meeting of WAM. Here, away from the "mass" movement of liberal teachers, students and "community activists," PL came out with its hard "worker" line. The key words this year are "Bold Action," which, as any *Challenge* reader knows, means wildcat strikes. One PL/WAM supporter reported enthusiastically that the Detroit

continued on page 11

The Gulag Archipelago Exposes Stalin's Crimes, but

Solzhenitsyn Embraces Anti-Communism

by D. Chembar

Editor's Note: The following article is based on the excerpts from Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn's The Gulag Archipelago, 1918-1956 *which have been published in the* New York Times. *A complete English translation is not available as yet. However, the intense discussion of the book and Solzhenitsyn's politics currently engaging the bourgeois press, the Russian government, the pro-Moscow Stalinist parties in the West, the Maoists and tendencies proclaiming themselves Trotskyist, requires that we publish a preliminary assessment at this time.*

Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn as officer in 1944 (left), under detention in 1946 (center), and after 1953 release (right). AP

Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn's major political work, *The Gulag Archipelago*, is being treated like a bombshell on both sides of the "Iron Curtain." The CIA and leading capitalist newspapers have latched onto certain of Solzhenitsyn's statements identifying Lenin with the crimes of Stalin to provide grist for their anti-communist propaganda mills. In the Soviet Union the bureaucracy has seized upon remarks in the book which favorably compare tsarist Russia to life under Stalin in order to denounce all "Soviet dissidents" as agents of bourgeois reaction. With all its contradictory aspects, combining valuable data on the crimes of the bureaucracy with Russian nationalist rejection of the October Revolution, *The Gulag Archipelago* must be evaluated as a major political statement of one of the leaders of the current generation of Soviet oppositionists. It thus necessitates a serious examination of the nature and role of anti-Stalinist intellectuals in the Soviet Union and the paths of political revolution in the deformed workers states.

Solzhenitsyn's personal history epitomizes the tragic process of disillusionment and demoralization which has sapped the socialist consciousness of some of the most outstanding representatives of the Soviet intelligentsia. His radical transformation from dedicated communist to consistent opponent of socialism is a damaging indictment of a narrow nationalist bureaucracy which is unable to channel the energies and talents of its youth and intellectuals into the cause of world socialist revolution, but rather impels them into the camp of counterrevolution.

The bureaucracy struck its first blow at Solzhenitsyn, then a young officer in the Red Army, by arresting him for criticizing Stalin's disastrous misleadership in the early months of World War II. In discussions with various inmates of the "Gulag Archipelago" (Stalin's vast network of prisons and labor camps spread across Russia and Siberia), Solzhenitsyn began to develop a critique, not only of the bureaucracy, but of socialism in general, which he came increasingly to identify with Stalinism. In one of the *New York Times* excerpts from his book, he recounts the impact on him of several conversations with an Estonian prisoner, Suzi:

> "Now he was telling me, with fascination, about everything that was his. About Estonia and democracy. Even though I had never expected to become interested previously in Estonia, or bourgeois democracy, nonetheless I kept listening and listening to his loving stories of twenty free years of that unsensational work-loving small people.... I listened to the principles of the Estonian Constitution which had been taken from the best of European experience, and how their one-house parliament consisting of 100 members had worked. And it was not clear *why*, but I began to like it all and all of it began to be stored away in my experience."

All these experiences which Solzhenitsyn stored away during his years in the Gulag Archipelago began to pour out in literary works after his release. His first literary productions did not explicitly attack the bureaucracy or socialism in general, although it is now known from Solzhenitsyn's own account that he had already moved away from socialism to a belief in abstract democracy.

Solzhenitsyn's *One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich*, recounting the miseries of Stalin's labor camps, was sponsored by Khrushchev as part of the "de-Stalinization" campaign, and this proved to be the only one of all Solzhenitsyn's works which would meet with approval from the bureaucracy.

Another early novel, *For the Good of the Cause*, contrasted the idealism of Soviet youth with the bureaucratic routinism of officialdom. In the short story, *Matryona's Home*, Solzhenitsyn depicted the Soviet peasantry (collective farmers) in a neo-populist fashion, as the spiritual mainstay of the Russian people. What these earlier works had in common with his later novels *The First Circle* and *Cancer Ward*, is their concern with the realities of contemporary Soviet life, their vivid portraits of representatives from all layers of Soviet society and their groping for a moral solution to the evils in the society.

In his moral quest, Solzhenitsyn was forced to take up the problem of Stalinism, examined from the point of view of its victims. In *The First Circle* and *Cancer Ward* Solzhenitsyn attempted to lay bare the ugliness of the Stalinist system, which consisted not only in camps and bureaucrats, but in moral emptiness and degradation of the human personality. He also revealed the beauty of those people who remained uncorrupted by Stalinism. In all of these books we sense the presence of the author himself speaking, now through one character, now through another, commenting, criticizing and passing judgement. In *The First Circle* Solzhenitsyn relives the endless discussions in which he must have participated in the various prisons and camps: in the figure of Communist prisoner Lev Rubin we can see the young Solzhenitsyn himself, or perhaps a parody of him, loyally defending Stalin and the revolution from the attacks of the other prisoners. The hero of *Cancer Ward*, Kostoglotov, is Solzhenitsyn in a further stage of his evolution: a labor camp prisoner (zek), undergoing a cure for cancer, he seeks comfort in the ideas of Christian socialism and in his dream of a "magic herb" which will save his body from the disease. *Cancer Ward* is undoubtedly Solzhenitsyn's greatest re-creation, in literary images, of Soviet reality in all its forms.

As the author became increasingly ostracized by Soviet officialdom and its stooges in the literary clubs (*The First Circle* and *Cancer Ward* were banned from publication in the Soviet Union and Solzhenitsyn himself was expelled from the Writers Union), and as he evolved farther to the right, toward religious mysticism and anti-communism, Solzhenitsyn turned his literary eye from the present to the past. Seeking the moral regeneration of Russia through discovery of its initial "fall from grace," Solzhenitsyn began a huge work dealing with pre-revolutionary Russia, the first part of which has been published as *August 1914*.

Here his heroes are no longer prisoners, communist and non-communist, but tsarist officers and patriotic peasants. His representative revolutionary, Sasha Lenartovich, is a coward who deserts his platoon rather than pass another day under shellfire. While future generations may consider *August 1914* to be, from the aesthetic point of view, Solzhenitsyn's greatest work, the ideological content of this book is certainly very shallow. An incidental character, Varsonofiev, expresses, in trite aphorisms, Solzhenitsyn's views:

> "...we should develop our *soul*. There is nothing more precious than the development of a man's own soul; it is more important than the well-being of countless future generations ..."
>
> "...the best social order is not susceptible to being arbitrarily constructed, or even to being scientifically constructed....Do not be so arrogant as to imagine that you can invent an ideal social order....history is not governed by reason."

When Varsonofiev's student asks, "but is it right to join the [tsarist] army and go to war?" the scholar replies, "I must say—yes it is." He explains: "For some reason it is important that Russia's backbone not be broken. And for that, young men must go to war."

August 1914 is Solzhenitsyn's account of the breaking of Russia's backbone, a breaking which led Russia into the arms of the Bolsheviks (who, he implies, were fools for thinking they could build a new social order on a scientific basis). Now Solzhenitsyn says that the cowardly, utopian revolutionaries of *August 1914* led the country, inevitably, to Stalinism!

Gulag: Main Administration of Corrective Labor Camps

It is not possible to give a comprehensive review of the contents of *The Gulag Archipelago* from the excerpts printed in the *New York Times*, the only sections of the book so far available in English. It is clear from these extracts and from the commentaries of Harrison Salisbury that Solzhenitsyn's 600-page work encompasses an enormous amount of material concerning political repression under Stalin, parts of it previously unknown in the West. Some of the material, however, is unsubstantiated for obvious reasons—the executioners cannot be expected to keep accurate records of their crimes. Moreover, the selection and commentaries by the *New York Times* may distort the work. Thus, according to Salisbury:

> "Mr. Solzhenitsyn presents a detailed statistical comparison [not published in the *Times* excerpts] between conditions under the Czars and in the Soviet Union. For every category—arrests, terms of imprisonment, executions—he finds that the Soviet Government has exceeded Czarist rule by a factor ranging from 10 to one to 1,000 to one. In comparing the Soviet Government to that of Hitler, Mr. Solzhenitsyn suggests that the Nazis were almost benign by comparison. He declares that the total of Soviet victims in more than 50 years dwarfs that of Hitler's years."
>
> —*New York Times*, 29 December 1973

Whether or not Solzhenitsyn actually called the Nazis "benign," it is clear that his figures cannot be accepted uncritically. However, the book is not limited to Solzhenitsyn's account of Stalin's purges (which were amply documented by Trotsky in the 1930's, and about which Roy Medvedev has published accounts based on government archives). It also includes an important description of the impact of Stalin's mammoth repressive apparatus on those of its victims who were not immediately shot, among them Solzhenitsyn himself.

Unfortunately, Solzhenitsyn's own perceptions of Russian realities seem to be distorted by his prison-camp experience. He essentially equates Leninism with Stalinism and considers life in Stalin's labor camps as the archetype of life in the USSR as a whole. In consequence, his works do not reflect the sharp differences between, for example, former Red Army officers or Communist Party members and religious Ukrainian nationalist peasants. In a Vorkuta prison camp they all became comrades in opposition to camp guards and management. However, during the Nazi invasion these social groups behaved quite differently from each other (though they all had reasons to hate Stalin). Solzhenitsyn's politics are, in a word, "prison-camp" politics and do not deal with the realities of a bureaucratically deformed workers state surrounded by imperialism.

An indication of this in Solzhenitsyn's novels is his uniformly flat treatment of all bureaucrats, epitomized by his characterization of Stalin in *The*

First Circle. That it is possible to write about bureaucrats and managers without depicting them simply as one-dimensional caricatures, while still conveying a powerful social critique of the parasitic bureaucracy, is shown by Victor Serge's novel *The Case of Comrade Tulayev*, written about the period of the purge trials in the late 1930's, or by Dudintsev's *Not By Bread Alone*, written during the "thaw" of literary censorship during the 1950's. However, seen from the perspective of the prison camp, it is hard to imagine how bureaucrats could be portrayed as anything but one-dimensional oppressors.

This is not to deny Solzhenitsyn's stature as a writer. He is, in fact, one of the few real artists to emerge in the Soviet Union in recent decades. It is a devastating comment on the pernicious bureaucratic repression that any real attempt at literary creativity is relegated to the *samizdat* [self-published] underground editions, and that it is precisely Solzhenitsyn, the product of the labor camps, who is the most prominent Russian novelist today.

But beyond the individual case studies and evaluation of the purge trials, *The Gulag Archipelago* will inevitably be judged primarily as one of the main political documents of the current Russian oppositionists. It is for this reason that it is necessary to deal explicitly with Solzhenitsyn's politics, as presented in the excerpts available to us, and in particular his equation of Stalinism with Leninism and explicit rejection of socialism.

TERROR AGAINST WHOM?

That Solzhenitsyn actually believes that Bolshevism equals Stalinism is clear from even the mangled fragments of *Gulag Archipelago* reprinted in the *New York Times*. We see Lenin in 1918 planning the reign of terror which Stalin loyally carried out in the 1930's and '40's: "V.I. Lenin proclaimed the common, united purpose of a '*purge* of the Russian earth of all harmful insects.'"

What is the truth of such accusations? Was Lenin the architect of the Stalinist Terror? On 1 December 1921 Lenin wrote the following note:

> "Rough Draft of a Decision for the Politburo of the C.C., R.C.P.(B.) on the Vecheka [the Soviet secret police, founded in 1918 to combat counterrevolution and sabotage].
> 1st: jurisdiction to be narrowed.
> 2nd: right to arrest still narrower.
> 3rd: term less than 1 month.
> 4th: more weight to courts or only through the courts.
> 5th: name.
> 6th: pass radical relaxations through the *All-Russia Central Executive Committee*"
> —*Collected Works*, Vol. 42, pp. 366-7

Lenin advocated the easing of the terror at the end of 1921 precisely because the danger of counterrevolution had eased with Soviet victory over the Whites and their imperialist allies and with the defeat of the various attempts at counterrevolution and sabotage instigated by the Mensheviks and both wings of the Social Revolutionaries in alliance with White Guardists. Trotskyists must distinguish between the terror of 1918-1923, which (despite some excesses) was directed against the counterrevolutionaries, and the terror of the Stalin era which was directed against Trotskyists, Old Bolsheviks and the masses.

Solzhenitsyn would be consistent (as a pacifist) if he condemned all terror and violence as equally immoral. However, enamored of "democratic" American imperialism, he has refused to condemn American aggression in Vietnam and criticizes American liberals for their concern over the plight of blacks in South Africa. In other words, Solzhenitsyn condemns *only* the violence committed by leaders of the Soviet state and covers up for the aggression of American imperialism against the workers of the world. In this he follows in the footsteps of Karl Kautsky—also a great "moralist"—who delivered the German workers into the hands of the butchers Scheidemann and Noske and then turned around to condemn the Bolsheviks for their "brutal-

continued on page 8

Women Bureaucrats Front for Ford Foundation, Labor Dept. at NY Conference

NEW YORK—A meeting billed as the "First New York Trade Union Women's Conference" was held here January 19 at the Hospital Workers Local 1199 hall. Upwards of 600 women (and about a dozen men) attended. The conference was sponsored by the Cornell University School of Industrial and Labor Relations (ILR), in cooperation with the U.S. Labor Department. It was, in addition, endorsed by the NYC Central Labor Council, AFL-CIO, and about thirty individual unions. Many of those involved in organizing this conference are also supporters of the Coalition of Labor Union Women, which has been sponsoring a series of regional conferences leading up to a meeting to be held in Chicago in March with the aim of launching a national membership organization.

These efforts mark a shift in the main focus of the movement for women's equality, from the virtually defunct petty-bourgeois feminist movement to the trade-union and electoral (Equal Rights Amendment) arena.

The Spartacist League fought in the women's liberation movement from its inception for a class-struggle strategy, arguing that the needs of women could be secured only by the strength of the labor movement and, furthermore, that women's issues could not be artificially separated out from the program for liberation of the entire working class through the struggle to overthrow capitalist rule. This perspective requires a relentless fight against the reactionary, pro-capitalist bureaucracy of the labor movement.

However, the organizational initiative for the recent conferences has come primarily from lower-echelon labor bureaucrats, whose aim is to increase their clout by recruiting some aspiring female bureaucrats and increasing women workers' participation in union affairs as a potential power base. Their goal is to use the issue of women's oppression at the workplace, and the unresponsiveness of existing union leaderships, to build a following for their own personal advancement in the union bureaucracy.

Despite the rhetoric about militancy and solidarity, despite the union songs and the words of praise for the strength of the labor movement, the conference was an exercise in class collaboration. As one participant protested: "I work for GM, and Ford's no better. These companies have no interest in securing gains for women, but on the contrary try to smash the unions. The companies don't attend our union meetings; why are they here?"

And indeed the companies and their government were there in force. The Cornell ILR women's project, according to its own literature, is funded by the Ford Foundation, notorious for its union-busting, whose director is McGeorge Bundy, architect of Johnson's "Vietnamization" scheme!

A leaflet distributed at the conference by the Spartacist League exposed the Cornell ILR School as having received, according to government records, $289,500 from foundations identified as CIA conduits in 1961-63. The money was used, according to the *New York Times* index of 1967, for "international labor training projects ... union members and officials interested in international affairs of their unions were subsidized under the program"—i.e., in funding the complicity of the labor bureaucracy with U.S. imperialism.

The SL leaflet explained:

> "The Cornell program proposes taking women from the trade unions into graduate study to 'train them for leadership.' Presumably after such training they re-enter the unions as part of the international affairs departments, etc. This type of 'training' has a precedent in the 'training' of Latin American leaders in Washington by the American Institute of Free Labor Development, the major union cover for CIA intelligence in Latin America. AIFLD's president is George Meany and the treasurer is the same Joe Beirne of CWA who 'unknowingly' was linked to the 1961 Cornell program. On AIFLD's board of directors, beside leaders of the AFL/CIO are ITT, Anaconda Copper and the United Fruit Company."

WV PHOTO

Democrat Bella Abzug speaking at N.Y. Trade Union Women's Conference.

The leaflet documented the Ford Foundation's union-busting role ("community control" vs. the 1968 NYC teachers' strike, the "Philadelphia Plan" in the construction trades) and denounced government-controlled programs like "Affirmative Action" as cynical tokenism whose real aim is to destroy union-based job security and the union hiring hall. The real alternative to reformist tokenism and reliance on the capitalist government is the struggle for "30 for 40" to provide full employment at the companies' expense instead of pitting the various sections of the working class against one another in the competition for jobs. Women workers must join with other militant unionists to root out ethnic and sexual discrimination in the unions through struggling to replace the conservative, sell-out "leaders" by a class-struggle leadership. The leaflet concluded by demanding a complete break with the government and the Ford Foundation—for a workers party to fight for a workers government!

Nixon's Watergate government was directly represented at the conference by a speaker from the Women's Commission of the Labor Department. A motion from the floor to exclude her and to reject Ford Foundation funding was ruled out of order. The only explicit defense of the Ford Foundation came from conference co-chairman Judith Berek of Local 1199: "It's not that we *like* the Ford Foundation, but we should take advantage of the opportunity to *use* them." Throughout the proceedings the chairmen—Berek and Connie Kopelov of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers—repeatedly intervened to put forward their own politics, while insisting that "political" subjects like Watergate and too sharp criticism of the existing trade-union leaderships were out of order or irrelevant.

The keynote speaker was Addie Wyatt (chairman of the Coalition of Labor Union Women). She stressed that the goal was not to divide the labor movement but to build a stronger labor movement through increased and active participation by women union members. Implicitly arguing both against the anti-union prejudices of the New Left/feminist women's movement and against militant criticism of the sellout union bureaucrats, she insisted that she was "not always satisfied" with the labor leaders and their policies on women's issues, but that women must look toward the union movement in spite of its weaknesses. She of course offered no programmatic demands for overcoming these "weaknesses."

The floor dicussion and workshops revealed a wide spectrum of differing and counterposed views and concerns among the participants. Some urged women unionists to work for the election of female politicians, while others advocated independent political action by labor. Several speakers criticized the existing union leaders for ignoring the needs of women workers, suppressing union democracy and selling out membership militancy. A few called for rank-and-file caucuses, while others wanted women's committees for the explicit purpose of "pressuring" union leaders to pay attention to women's issues.

Over considerable opposition from the floor, the chair presented the surprise guest speaker—female Democrat Bella Abzug. When Ms. Abzug was announced, the floor speaker interrupted at the mike suggested that Abzug get in line like everyone else. Nevertheless, Abzug extended her greetings to the conference.

However, the warmest reception was for Dolores Huerta of the Farmworkers. In typical fashion, Huerta proceeded to use the widespread sympathy for the farmworkers to push the reformist politics which dominated the conference. Ignoring the crucial lessons of the farmworkers' struggles, she said not a word about the need for real acts of solidarity by organized labor, nor about the struggle to unionize the doubly oppressed and largely unorganized sections of the working class—a crucial question for those truly committed to the rights of women workers. Instead, her exhortations were: send letters of protest to Teamster head Fitzsimmons, publicize the lettuce and grape boycotts and raise funds for the farmworkers (she suggested fasting and sending in the money you save). If Huerta had explicitly asked the assembled unionists to repudiate using the strike weapon, hot-cargoing and other forms of real labor solidarity to assist their fellow workers' struggles, the message could not have been clearer: work for reforms; struggle and sacrifice to make the existing system a little more humane; all we want is our fair share of the pie.

If the movement of women trade unionists for equal rights results simply in gaining equal representation for women in the ranks of the sellout union bureaucracy, it will be a tragic waste of the opportunity to mobilize militant women workers against their felt oppression. The only road forward lies not in rejection of the unions, and not in class collaboration, but in working women's taking an active and leading part in the construction of programmatically based union caucuses to oust the "labor lieutenants of capital"—both male and female—and turn the tremendous power of the organized labor movement against the capitalist system itself. ■

Continued from page 7

Solzhenitsyn

ity": "Shooting—this has become the alpha and omega of communist governmental wisdom," he complained in his polemic against the Bolsheviks, *Terrorism and Communism*. But, as Trotsky pointed out, the cruelty of the Red Terror grew in direct proportion to the recklessness of the old ruling classes, determined to win back their property and their country from the working class. The peak of the Red Terror, understandably enough, coincided with the height of White strength:

> "A solid front in the north and south, west and east. Besides the Russian White Guard armies of Kolchak, Denikin and others, against Soviet Russia there step forth simultaneously, or one at a time: Germans and Austrians, Czechoslovaks, Serbs, Poles, Ukrainians, Rumanians, French, English, Americans, Japanese, Finns, Estonians, Lithuanians....In a country in the grip of blockade gasping from hunger, there are unceasing conspiracies, uprisings, terrorist acts, the destruction of warehouses, roads and bridges."
>
> —Trotsky, *Terrorism and Communism*, 1920

As Leninists, we defend the accomplishments of the Russian Revolution (and the necessary measures used to achieve them, including the Red Terror of Dzerzhinsky) despite the degeneration of the Bolshevik party under Stalin and his successors into the mouthpiece for the bonapartist bureaucracy, which usurped power from the working class and liquidated its best leaders. This degeneration of a section of the Old Bolsheviks was rooted in the material conditions of backward, isolated Russia, in conditions beyond the control of the Bolsheviks themselves. Nevertheless Thermidor conquered in Russia only through a bitter struggle with the best, most revolutionary elements in the Bolshevik party.

Solzhenitsyn, however, sees the Bolshevik party as a degenerated movement from its very inception because the Bolsheviks believed that the ends justified the means!

SWP Turns Toward Shachtmanism

Can Solzhenitsyn's moralistic Koestlerite anti-Bolshevism offer any kind of solution to the tasks facing the Russians, and all the Soviet peoples, as well as the masses of China and Eastern Europe?

The SWP thinks so. Having uncritically latched onto the Soviet oppositionist movement of the 1960's and '70's, it is unwilling to let go of its heroes, even after two of the leading "dissidents," systematically built up by the bourgeois press—Sakharov and Solzhenitsyn—have revealed themselves as demoralized, anti-communist apologists for Western Imperialism. From the very beginning of the 1960's oppositionist movement, the SWP failed to provide a careful analysis of the weaknesses of the movement—its emergence as a wing of Khrushchevite "anti-Stalinism"; its lack of continuity with previous opposition movements, especially the Left Opposition; its social base among professionals and intellectuals—a stratum intersecting, both socially and ideologically, the lower levels of the bureaucracy itself; and, finally, its explicitly *liberal* program (appeals to the UN, calling only for democratic rights rather than raising explicitly anti-bureaucratic socialist demands).

These weaknesses indicated well in advance the path many "dissidents" would follow if they proved unable to overcome the movement's limitations and link up with the broad proletarian and peasant masses in the Soviet Union. But instead of analyzing the movement in this fashion, the SWP sought rather to capitalize on the popularity of the dissidents in the West by printing fulsome articles about their activities and reprinting, without comment, their articles. The SWP did not raise any criticisms even regarding the most serious anti-socialist actions of such people as Yakir (who appealed to that bourgeois den of thieves, the United Nations, to investigate the Russian penal system) and Sakharov (who called on the chiefs of American imperialism to blackmail the USSR into softening its attitude toward dissidents).

Such actions are analogous to a union member's taking the union to a bourgeois court to enforce democracy, something any socialist would oppose on principle—yet the SWP, letting slip only a few mildly critical remarks for face-saving reasons, continued to defend Sakharov's specific actions ("What else could he do?" asked an SWPer at a Militant Forum last fall in New York) on the grounds that the Soviet oppositionist movement, which the SWP calls "the movement for proletarian democracy" (see *Intercontinental Press*, 24 December 1973) is *objectively revolutionary* (like nationalism), whatever it does.

For example, an *Intercontinental Press* article (15 October 1973), after detailing Sakharov's various anti-Soviet statements (the USSR must be controlled "so that it cannot become a threat to its neighbors"; Western aid to the USSR is harmful because it would enable the Soviet leaders "to concentrate on accumulating strength" and "the world would become helpless before this uncontrollable bureaucratic machine"—shades of Shachtman!) and the gleeful response of the American bourgeoisie and its ideologists, then goes on to say piously: "But Sakharov was not responsible for the way the imperialist propaganda machine seized on what he said."

Not responsible indeed! Sakharov is an intelligent and experienced man who directed his appeals exactly where he wanted them to land—in the "imperialist propaganda machine."

Nor is Solzhenitsyn an innocent child. Well connected (Swiss lawyers and other agents, both official and unofficial, in the West) and with a keen sense of military strategy, Solzhenitsyn has won the respect of the bureaucracy itself for his stubborn and well-thought-out struggle against it, as noted by Harrison Salisbury in the *New York Times* of 31 December 1973:

> "That the Soviet Government views him with respect as an opponent was emphasized by one of Mr. Solzhenitsyn's literary colleagues. In describing the Kremlin's attitude this writer said: 'They are afraid of him. He is the voice from there [the land of the slave-labor camps]. When he speaks they hear the voices of the millions who perished there. And they are afraid.'"

No doubt the bureaucracy fears not only the "voice from there" exposing its past crimes, but also the voice of one for whose safety certain sections of the American ruling class are willing to threaten economic sanctions and political blackmail—at a time when the bureaucracy is desperate for détente.

However, the bureaucracy will not be overthrown by men like Sakharov and Solzhenitsyn. While their admirers in the American bourgeoisie would gladly use their tremendous military and economic power to crush the USSR and restore capitalism, at present liberals of the Solzhenitsyn and Sakharov stripe are merely isolated reactionaries, capable neither of revolution nor of counterrevolution. As Trotskyists we defend their right to free speech in the Soviet Union, to publish and disseminate their views, however anti-Marxist they may be. (We would, of course, take a *very* different attitude to actual counterrevolutionary acts which threatened the military security of the USSR.) We condemn the repressions of the bureaucracy and demand the release of political prisoners, particularly the many socialists such as General Grigorenko, who have been incarcerated solely because of their anti-bureaucratic views.

These demands are not based on any belief that Solzhenitsyn is serving the cause of political revolution, whether consciously or unconsciously, in spite of the SWP's claims:

> "Though the Gulag Archipelago is... tainted with Solzhenitsyn's misconceptions, it nevertheless is a powerful blow against the bureaucratic caste in the Soviet Union and a confirmation of the Marxist critique of Stalinism. Any work that has the potential of revealing part of the truth about Stalinism to the Soviet people can only strengthen the movement for socialist democracy in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe."
>
> —*Intercontinental Press*, 14 January 1974

To say that any exposure of Stalinism aids the movement for socialist democracy is sheer opportunism. Did the exposés of Stalinism by ex-socialists like Burnham, Silone or Koestler aid the cause of socialist democracy? No—they aided the cause of the liberal "critics" of Stalinism. But Burnham and Co. were nowhere near as popular as Solzhenitsyn!

The SWP's constant whitewashing of pro-bourgeois statements by Sakharov and Solzhenitsyn can only serve the interests of the capitalists and the Stalinists. On the one hand, the bourgeoisie is aided by building up these elements hostile to socialism as the representatives of all Russian dissidents. And the Stalinists can then claim that "Trotskyites" simply serve as a cover for counterrevolution. During recent days the American CP's *Daily World* has been running virtually daily columns on Solzhenitsyn, distorting his statements into support for Hitler and then identifying Trotskyism with Solzhenitsyn on the basis of quotes from the *Militant*.

Trotskyism has always been characterized by intransigent struggle for its program of proletarian internationalism. Repeatedly, Trotsky emphasized the unbridgeable gulf which separates the political revolution to overthrow the bureaucracy from social counterrevolution to restore capitalism. Never did he block with bourgeois-restorationists against the bureaucracy. (He refused to make a programmatic bloc with right Bolsheviks, such as Bukharin, against Stalin.) Never did he assert that *any* exposé of Stalinism was positive. On the contrary, his struggle was always to demonstrate that it was the Fourth International which best *defended* the USSR against bourgeois counterrevolution, and it was Stalin's criminal purges and capitulation to the imperialist bourgeoisie which were endangering the conquests of the October Revolution.

Proletarian revolutionaries must mercilessly expose the crimes of Stalin and his successors—their jailing and extermination of hundreds of thousands of oppositionists, their sabotage of the Chinese and Spanish revolutions, their anti-internationalist policies of "socialism in one country" and détente with the imperialists. We must resolutely fight for a return to Soviet democracy (including freedom for the victims of the bureaucracy's anti-socialist repression, and freedom to publish even for anti-Marxists like Sakharov and Solzhenitsyn), and for a political revolution to shatter the bureaucracy of the degenerated and deformed workers states. But we must never blur the ideological lines which separate revolution from counterrevolution, socialism from barbarism.

Trotskyist parties can be built in the deformed workers states only in the course of a determined struggle to defeat all alien modes of thought in the working class and intelligentsia, from the bureaucratic liberalism of the Dubcek variety to all types of workerism and anarchism to the openly pro-capitalist views of Sakharov and Solzhenitsyn. While Solzhenitsyn's *Gulag Archipelago* performs a valuable service to historians of the Stalinist Terror, it does not advance the cause of political revolution by one inch. Rather, it attempts to divert the Soviet masses from the struggle against Stalinism into the reactionary struggle for bourgeois democracy.

The task of Trotskyists is not to apologize as the SWP does for the ideological misleadership of the present Soviet oppositionists, but to explain to Soviet workers the difference between Leninism and Stalinism; between political revolution and bourgeois counterrevolution; between unconditional defense of the workers states and apologetics for the "democratic" imperialists. ■

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REVOLUTIONARY LITERATURE

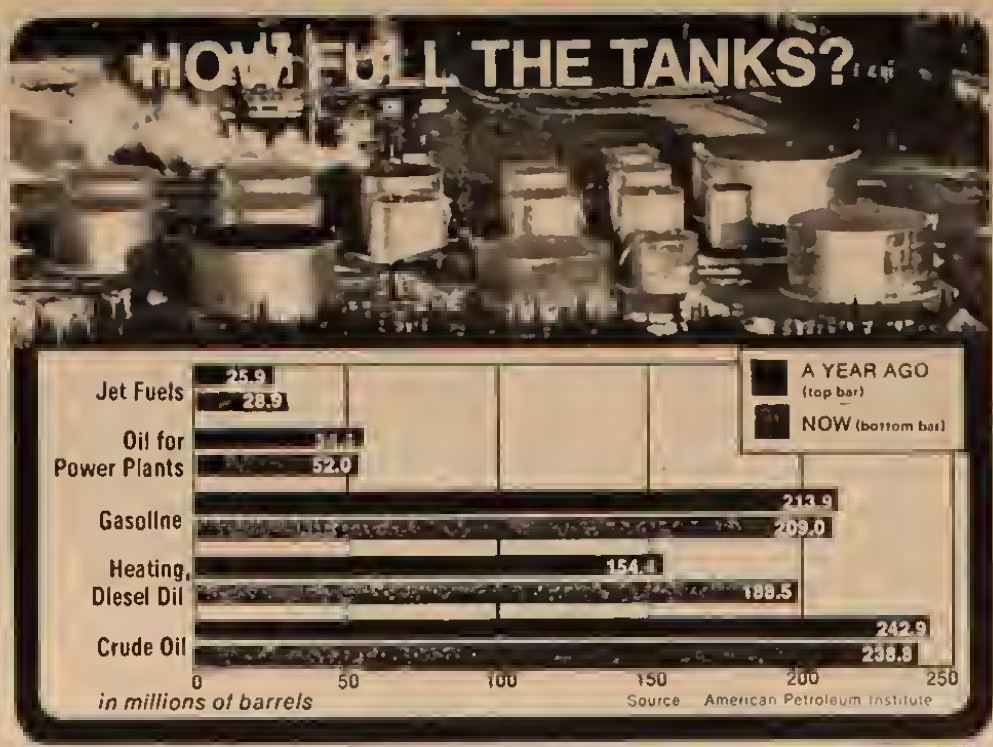
Continued from page 1

...Near East

view the boycott with favorable "neutrality." For one thing, it offered a convenient excuse for raising prices. Thus even though two-thirds of all U.S. crude oil consumption is domestically produced (and supposedly subject to price controls!), and while imports from the Near East make up only 6 percent of the total, the Arab boycott was used as an excuse to raise the price of refined petroleum products (gasoline, heating fuel) by *125 percent* in 1973 (*New York Times*, 9 January). These price increases sent oil company profits skyrocketing last year, with Exxon up 59 percent over the last quarter of 1972, Mobil up 68 percent and Texaco up 70 percent.

Another indication of the oil companies' attitude toward the boycott was given in remarks by Union Oil Company President Fred Hartley before the October war. Arguing that petroleum should be used primarily for transportation, coal and nuclear energy for electricity, and natural gas for petrochemical production, Hartley warned, "we're going to have to get used to higher priced petroleum in order to force these other sources of energy into the marketplace" (*New York Times*, 19 September). It just happens, of course, that since 1966 every major oil company has been diversifying into these fields so that in 1970, of the top 25 petroleum companies all 25 had holdings in natural gas, 18 held oil shale lands, 11 were involved in coal production, 18 held uranium reserves and 7 held tar sands (*Bulletin of Atomic Scientists*, October 1971)!

A third "positive" influence of the oil boycott (from the U.S. companies' viewpoint) was the damage it would do to Japan. While a little over 1/20 of U.S. crude consumption comes from the Near East and 72 percent of Western Europe's supplies, Japan is almost totally dependent on the Arabs. (The increasing oil prices are having the effect of greatly reducing the competitive edge of a large range of Japanese industrial products in the world market, reducing exports 15 to 25 percent and forcing a tremendous $10 billion deficit in Japan's balance of payments last year, the first since 1968 according to the *New York Times* of 23 January.) Because of the pressure this takes off the U.S.' own balance of payments there have even been suggestions that the American government actually encouraged the Arab oil boycott.



What fuel shortage?

18 OHLSSON

The Shah's Oil Price Offensive

Prices are a somewhat different matter. While the boycott was a limited political measure primarily directed at putting pressure on Israel, the price offensive initiated by Iran in mid-December is a real threat to the economic stability of the advanced capitalist states, particularly at a point where they were already heading into a worldwide recession. When Libya raised its posted prices to $18 a barrel early this month there was a rash of warnings of an international depression from leading bourgeois economists. Since this would hardly aid the oil-producing states, it is unlikely that prices will go above the $7-11 level being offered by the more realistic Iranians.

But even at this level the additional cost to oil-importing countries is calculated by the OECD at roughly $50 billion per year (*Le Monde*, 28 December 1973), an amount which could send *all* the advanced capitalist countries into substantial balance of payments deficits simultaneously, with Japan exhausting its monetary reserves by the end of 1974, giving the Arab oil sheiks the power to cause an international financial crisis at will. The U.S. would be far less affected than the other major capitalist powers, but even so both the American and Western European bourgeoisies will certainly find such a power in the hands of upstart landlords intolerable. Not only would they be able to dictate domestic economic policies or foreign policies in Europe and Japan (as the U.S. did for almost a decade after World War II through its handmaiden, the International Monetary Fund); but if, as the Common Market is proposing, the Arabs invest their new-found billions in European industry, a good chunk of it will go to buy out the existing capitalists.

Already the Shah is dreaming of Iran's becoming, along with perhaps Brazil, one of the world's five most powerful countries by 1980, ahead of China and Japan. As for the Chinese, he remarks, "how could you really supply the needs of an advanced society of one billion and a half people?" On Japan (one of Iran's biggest customers): "I don't know what is going to happen to Japan, because Japan has no coal, they have no shale, they don't have oil, they have nothing, absolutely nothing. The whole scale is changing around" (*Manchester Guardian Weekly*, 19 January). But the Shah forgets that Brazil's rapid development has been as a client state of U.S. imperialism, which remains militarily far stronger than a handful of non-industrial oil emirates and kingdoms. He forgets that when Japan's rapid economic expansion began to threaten the American sphere of influence in the 1930's, Washington deliberately provoked it into war by progressively embargoing all its crucial raw materials, including oil. Were he a Marxist, Mohammed Reza Pahlevi would understand that his desire to become a new capitalist power by peaceful economic growth is a pipe dream which, if persisted in, will lead inevitably to direct military conflict with the dominant imperialist powers.

On the other hand, the Shah is no pacifist and has been rapidly expanding his arms budget, increasing from $8.5 million in the early 1960's to $168 million in 1968 and rising to an astronomical $2 billion per year under the current plan (*Le Monde*, 12 January). His concern is to create a massive military establishment to prevent a domestic uprising, while establishing a de facto Greater Iran by granting military "aid" to the former British protectorates on the southern shore of the Persian Gulf (there are already several thousand Iranian troops fighting leftist guerrillas in western Oman).

NEW YORK TIMES

Oil tankers waiting to unload . . .

The Saudis are following suit by concluding arms deals with the French and the U.S., and even tiny Abu Dhabi has ordered 14 Mirage-5 fighters. However, such deals could easily backfire with the emergence of "Nasserite" nationalist (or conceivably even pro-Western) groups of leading officers who could easily unseat the monarchs. It is certainly not accidental that the U.S. accompanies its arms supplies with substantial "advisory groups" (some 3,500 U.S. military "technicians" in Saudi Arabia for instance), who traditionally provide the Americans with effective dual control of the military (or at the very least, with accurate intelligence).

The Western imperialist powers are hardly likely to sit by passively as

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...Blacklist

considers itself a specific response to a specific attack, which does not preclude—but rather would aid—militant response to other attacks as well. Mandel's well-established reputation as a militant opponent of all forms of racial discrimination has caused open CP-backed attacks on him in the hiring hall for "racism" to get nowhere with the numerous black and Chicano members of the union.

CP supporters also objected to the united-front nature of the Committee; in which all participants would remain free to express their different points of view. Following the model of a popular-front alliance across class lines, these Stalinists favored a gag rule under which members of a "broadened" committee would have to refrain from criticizing each other or expressing differences. They thus would have provided a shield for continued bureaucratic inaction.

CP supporters proved this by behaving as the most grovelling flunkies of the bureaucracy at the meeting. They continually attempted to cut off discussion, and, after the Committee's resolution passed, a CP supporter raised another resolution more to the bureaucracy's liking, which passed easily. It called for an investigation of all forms of discrimination by the General Executive Board of the Local (a bureaucratic body standing above the Divisions), as though another bureaucratic "fact-finding" mission were required!

Unlike their more craven CP Stalinist mentors, the supporters of the right-Maoist Revolutionary Union, including the other ex-steward blacklist victim, signed the Committee's petition and voted for the resolution at the membership meeting, though they refused to speak. The RU supporters, however, stated that defense work with "revisionists or Trotskyites" is their "lowest priority" as a matter of principle. Thus out of sectarian abstentionism they refused to join the Committee and the blacklist-victim supporter even refused to speak in defense of the blacklist victims when Committee members spoke at his warehouse!

In addition to the CP's grovelling prostration before Bridges & Co., CP and RU supporters only reveal their sectarianism by attacking and refusing to support the campaign against the blacklist: like the bureaucracy and the blacklisting companies themselves, they don't like what the Committee's chief spokesman stands for. While the CP and RU were content to passively and uncritically support the turn-the-other-cheek liberalism of the Chavez leadership of the Farmworkers, Mandel called on the ILWU to "hot cargo" (refuse to handle) struck lettuce and grapes during the farmworkers' strike. He advocated similar treatment for Chilean cargo after the reactionary military coup overthrew Allende's popular-front government. Annoying those such as the Stalinists who seek to restrict the workers' struggle to narrow, trade-union limits, Mandel calls for a class-struggle approach, including a break with capitalist politics and a struggle for a workers party to fight for a workers government.

Despite their mutual disagreements over ultimate goals, all union members have an immediate interest in banding together to defeat direct company assaults, such as blacklisting. This is the principle of the united front and of unionism. Without such a consciousness on the part of the workers, the union cannot survive; but with it, the basis for future victories can be laid. ■

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...Near East

their balance of payments is threatened, billions of dollars siphoned off into the coffers of desert chieftains and the normal operation of industry threatened by disruption at any moment. But with the Vietnam war still fresh in the memory and the domestic class struggle heating up dangerously, neither American nor Western European rulers are likely to be enthusiastic about direct military intervention at this point. For the time being, the Europeans are intently trying to work out direct government-to-government deals (bypassing the U.S. oil majors), while Nixon wants to organize an international cartel of the leading oil-importing nations with the obvious intent of threatening to cut off industrial or food exports to the Arab oil producers if they continue the boycott indefinitely or raise prices "unreasonably." But behind threats of economic boycott lies the reality of naked military force.

Whatever Happened to NATO and the Common Market?

One of the most noted casualties of the October war in the Near East was the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). When Britain's Heath and the French foreign minister made pro-Arab statements at the beginning of the hostilities, U.S. Secretary of State Kissinger accused them of being "more interested in gaining marginal individual advantages than in cooperating on united actions.... the Europeans acted as though the alliance didn't even exist" (*Newsweek*, 12 November 1973). This conflict is now repeating itself with Brandt, Heath and Pompidou all hurriedly dispatching arms merchants and industrialists to the Near East in the hope of working out special delivery contracts with one or another of the oildoms.

The tensions within the so-called "Atlantic Alliance" are nothing new. Since DeGaulle took French troops out of NATO and tried to build up an independent French franc by accumulating mountains of gold in the mid-1960's, the likelihood of the Western imperialists' acting in a unified manner in a world political or economic crisis has been questionable. In particular, there has been a sharp reaction of the European ruling classes to Kissinger's Metternichian plans for a new counter-revolutionary Holy Alliance under U.S. leadership. When the U.S. Secretary of State proposed a "new Atlantic Charter" in a speech last spring, the European reaction was almost uniformly negative. And when Nixon demanded a joint statement last fall, the European version left out any mention of "mutual interdependence," "common interests" and "faithfulness to the Atlantic alliance" desired by the U.S. Instead, the European version posed the joint statement as between the United States on the one hand and a united Common Market on the other, while the U.S. version spoke of the 10 countries separately (*New York Times*, 9 November 1973). In any case, all work on a joint statement stopped on October 26, when President Nixon ordered U.S. forces on worldwide alert without informing NATO allies.

WV PHOTO

Recent demonstration against "fuel shortage" called by UAW-IUE bureaucrats in Linden, N.J.

Consequently November saw a rash of articles proclaiming the demise of NATO. On the Common Market side, bourgeois journalists accused the U.S. of failing to understand that three quarters of their oil came from the Near East; on the American side, pundits denounced the Europeans for deserting under fire. But the degree of the conflict can be easily overstated. It was also notable that a Common Market declaration on the "European identity" in December stated unequivocally that "in present circumstances there is no alternative to the security provided by the nuclear weapons of the United States and by the presence of North American forces in Europe," a point that was underlined explicitly by *French* Foreign Minister Jobert. A striking indication of the real inability of the European powers to attain military great power status is the fact that today Syria has more than twice as many tanks as Great Britain.

Walter Laqueur, a leading cold-war-liberal supporter of NATO and European unification remarked recently that:

> "The real victim of the [oil] crisis was not the growth rate and prosperity; it was the myth of European power and unity. It suddenly appeared that Western Europe with 40 per cent of the world's gold reserves, 20 per cent of its industrial product and 10 per cent of its population counted for precisely nothing in terms of political power. During the Middle Eastern crisis Europe's voice was not heard and when European solidarity was put to the test for the first time in connection with the oil embargo, it appeared that unity had been a mere chimera."
>
> —"The idea of Europe runs out of gas," *New York Times* Magazine, 20 January 1974

He noted caustically the failure of France, Germany or Britain to supply Holland with oil when it was placed on the embargo list along with the U.S. and Portugal. (The oil monopolies made "informal" arrangements to supply the Netherlands anyway, although they apparently refused to service the U.S. Sixth Fleet in the Mediterranean!)

In reality what has occurred as a result of the October war and the oil boycott/price offensive is a sharp intensification of the level of interimperialist rivalries generally. And behind the current realities of boycotts, trade war, competitive monetary devaluation, etc., stands the threat of world war. The Moscow-line Stalinist Communist parties think this danger can be averted by the "détente" and a "democratic" peace in the Near East on the basis of UN Resolution 242 (which calls for Israel to withdraw from the territories occupied in the 1967 war, but also endorses Israel's right to "secure" boundaries). They are dreaming.

At the time of World War I, in contrast to Kautsky's reformist-pacifist illusions about a harmonious "ultra-imperialism" Lenin insisted that inter-imperialist war was inevitable so long as capitalism was not destroyed by socialist revolution. Now, however, since the Khrushchevite 20th Congress of the CPSU, Moscow-line Stalinists maintain that "wars are no longer fatally inevitable." Consequently they call not for a struggle against capitalism, but for an "anti-monopoly coalition" which can impose "democratic" and "peaceful" foreign policies on the imperialists.

The Response of Labor and the Left

The "oil crisis" dramatically demonstrates the defeatist and ultimately fatal consequences of reformism in the epoch of imperialism. Yet to date the response of the American working class, tied down by a rigid reactionary bureaucracy, has been virtually nil—not even rising to the level of reform struggles. After a year of truly massive inflation relentlessly grinding down the living standards of the working population, the total lack of response by the labor movement has raised eyebrows even in the bourgeois press. Not *one* of the contracts negotiated by supposedly powerful unions (UAW, Teamsters, ILWU) comes close to keeping up with the 8.9 percent increase in consumer prices last year. (During 1973 the average factory worker's real take-home pay declined by more than 3 percent. But faced with inflation on the order of last year's wholesale price hikes—18.2 percent—even contracts with the most liberal escalator clauses will amount to massive wage cuts in 1974.) Nor has there been any response to the tens of thousands of layoffs attributed to the alleged (but never proven) "fuel shortage."

The efforts of the AFL-CIO to respond to the "oil crisis" have been directed at pressuring Congress into enacting a tax on "unconscionable" "excess" profits. This is a completely meaningless gesture, indicated by the fact that Nixon (the steadfast friend of the oil companies) has himself endorsed it. Since the petroleum monopolies control the extraction, shipping, refining and distribution of petroleum, they can simply follow the standing practice of juggling prices their "separate" companies charge each other to transfer profits to those areas where taxes are lowest (for instance, to Liberian or Panamanian registry tankers). At present, as a result of such practices and innumerable tax loopholes (depletion allowances, foreign tax credits, etc.) the oil majors pay only 2 percent taxes on their profits! In any case, such proposals imply that the working class has a duty to support capitalist exploitation by guaranteeing or permitting a "conscionable" profit level. Once you accept that, everything else—inflation, fuel shortages, layoffs, speed-up, etc.—automatically follows.

At the lower levels of the bureaucracy the rhetoric against the giant corporations is frequently more militant, though the action no more effective. Thus in a recent demonstration called by IUE, UAW and state AFL-CIO officials at an Exxon research center in New Jersey by union leaders, no effort was made to mobilize their members. Only 200 showed up, overwhelmingly bureaucrats and supporters of various left-wing groups. There was not even an effort to bring out the OCAW workers at a nearby plant. This publicity stunt contrasts sharply with the current situation in Europe. In France, the Stalinist leaders of the CGT labor federation—who have no more intention of struggling to overthrow capitalism than Woodcock or Meany—were forced to call a national one-day general strike to protest inflation. In Britain, the Stalinist and Labourite leaders of the Mineworkers' union are (despite their best efforts to restrict action to the level of particularistic trade-union struggle) waging a wages battle which objectively threatens the state wage controls and the Tory government itself. Thus in the short run the prospect is for both sharper trade-union struggles and the continuation of certain illusions in their leaders on the part of French or British workers; and the possibility of a sharp (but initially undirected) explosion by U.S. workers against the stranglehold of their do-nothing, pro-company, reactionary "leaders."

In either case, the key to victory lies in achieving a revolutionary leadership of the workers movement which offers a program to unite the labor movement in struggle against the capitalist system as opposed to isolated impotent reform struggles. Instead of "excess profits taxes" the clear need (which would receive immediate support from millions of working people, far beyond the limits of the organized labor movement) is for nationalization of the oil companies without compensation, under workers control. Rather than meaningless publicity-seeking pickets, the necessary response to massive layoffs is an industry-wide auto sitdown (factory occupation) strike, raising the demand for

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Exxon pipelines in Libya. GEORG GERSTER—RAPHO GUILLUMETTE

a shorter workweek with no loss in pay in order to provide jobs for all. Likewise, to counter the perfidious liberal Democratic "friends of labor" who repeatedly vote for wage controls and strike-breaking legislation, it is necessary to call for the formation of a labor party based on the unions, to fight for a workers government.

The point is that such transitional demands can only be implemented by a new leadership which is not simply a jazzed-up, European-style reformist version of the same pro-capitalist bureaucracy, but rather one that is committed to a consistent class-struggle policy and prepared to deal with its inevitable consequences. Since a revolutionary leadership of the labor movement would inevitably be faced with a sharp reaction on the part of the ruling class, it would have to begin now to explain the necessity of armed self-defense of picket lines and ultimately a workers militia. Similarly, since a policy of continuing militant trade-union struggles during times of "national emergency" would inevitably lead to a capitalist ideological offensive against labor, it is necessary for a class-struggle leadership to educate the membership now as to the true interests of the working class, in order to prevent it from being overwhelmed by chauvinist propaganda at the point of decisive battle. Thus it would explain that it was necessary for class-conscious workers to oppose both the Arab and Israeli bourgeoisie during the recent October war, while standing ready to fight against an imperialist attack on the Arab states as a result of the difficulties caused by the oil boycott/price offensive. It would also explain why revolutionaries must give unconditional military support to the Soviet Union, while calling for a political revolution in all of the deformed workers states—to overthrow the short-sighted and rapacious bureaucracies that sabotage the defense of the economic conquests of the revolution through their policies of compromise with imperialism.

Two Sidelights

Those who are new to socialist politics are frequently confused by the multitude of groups all claiming to represent the interests of the working class. "Why can't everyone unite in support of such obviously necessary demands," is a frequent lament. The fact is that the tremendous power of bourgeois ideology causes many groups to restrict "socialism" to abstractions, while capitulating to the current backward consciousness of the masses in practice. Some, such as the reformist Stalinist Communist Party, make no bones about their desire to find a niche as the left wing of the labor bureaucracy. (A few years ago the CP called for socialism by constitutional amendment in an effort to demonstrate its utter respectability.) Among those claiming to represent Trotskyism, a common indication of their opportunism is their capitulation to the popularity of various petty-bourgeois nationalists in the backward countries.

Thus while the Spartacist League called for a Leninist policy of revolutionary defeatism on both sides in the recent Arab-Israel war, both the ex-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party and the political bandits of the Workers League called for support to the Arab side. Recent events cast a revealing light on these betrayals. Thus the WL, for instance, distinguished itself by bombastic claims that a revolutionary anti-imperialist struggle had been unleashed by Sadat's invasion of Israel. Today, however, Sadat is relying on U.S. imperialism to work out a deal with Israel, blatantly ignoring the Palestinians over whose fate the Arab regimes are supposedly so concerned. Moreover, having (he hopes) achieved the reopening of the Suez Canal, Sadat is systematically trying to attract foreign investment by reducing state controls over the economy, reviving the stock exchange, liberalizing exchange controls, establishing tax-free zones and legal guarantees against expropriation (*Wall Street Journal*, 27 December).

Equally opportunist are the policies of the so-called "United Secretariat," a fake-Trotskyist "International" which is sharply split between a reformist minority led by the American SWP and a centrist majority led by the Europeans under Ernest Mandel. Both sides, however, support the non-existent "Arab Revolution," though they are more cautious in their opportunism than the Workers League. Thus instead of hailing a "revolution" unleashed by Sadat, the USec sees the Palestinian nationalists leading the mass upsurge.

However, the two sides have different heroes. Thus the SWP prefers the respectable Al Fatah led by Arafat, while the Europeans praise the Democratic Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (DPFLP) led by Hawatmeh. However, these ex-Trotskyists want to play on more than one string, as the saying goes, and recently founded their own organization, the Revolutionary Communist Group, in Lebanon. But when the RCG joined in a December Beirut demonstration protesting the "peace" negotiations of Sadat-Meir-Kissinger, they were brutally attacked by members of Palestinian groups who now favor a "peaceful solution" (i.e., capitulation to the imperialists) for the Palestinian question. Their assailants: Al Fatah and the DPFLP (*Intercontinental Press*, 14 January). Opportunism does not pay, comrades of the USec! ■

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Nazis Clash with Leftists...

Mack Avenue auto wildcat last summer was a tremendous success because WAM grew from 5 to 20 members, and all demands were met, even though 120 workers were fired! This claim is of little comfort to the 120 fired workers, let alone the thousands of militants left with no strategy to fight the "anti-communist" witchhunt launched by the Woodcock bureaucracy since the wildcats.

Needless to say, it is the duty of communists to stand with the workers in any spontaneous mass action against the capitalists and the labor bureaucrats. But a conscious *policy* of wildcats, which avoids a struggle to oust the reformist traitors from leadership in the unions, can only serve to exhaust and demoralize the advanced workers and discredit the adventurists. At this WAM meeting, spokesmen from the CWA's Militant Action Caucus (MAC), as well as some individual trade unionists, argued strongly for the need to fight the labor bureaucracy on the basis of program and warned of the danger of trying to use the capitalist state to fight fascism.

At one point the chairman attempted to intimidate a MAC spokesman with bureaucratic demagogy in an attempt to evade the political issues posed. Such tactics are a hallmark of WAM, whose founding meeting in the Bay Area in October 1971 broke up abruptly when PL goons attempted to physically beat up and evict supporters of the Spartacist League for raising their political program.

Fake Lefts Undermine Defense

The campaign to defend the victimized militants is complicated by the jockeying for power of various reformists inside the local AFT (American Federation of Teachers) chapter. The Teachers Action Caucus (TAC), a reformist caucus launched over a year ago primarily around alliance with the "community" (including support to "affirmative action" programs) and "improving democracy in the union," is challenging the leadership of the local. TAC receives heavy political support from PL/WAM, as well as the International Socialists, presently tailing PL/WAM, their Stalinophobia having momentarily succumbed to their opportunist appetites.

The local AFT leadership under James Ballard is allied with the national social-democratic "Progressive Action Caucus" of Albert Shanker. In true social-democratic tradition, Ballard has stifled internal union democracy, to the point of eliminating the union's general membership meetings, and is heavily red-baiting the TAC. "I came out of the left myself, but it was the democratic left, not the totalitarian left," Ballard said in a recent interview with the local bourgeois press. Predictably, Ballard, along with the ACLU and other liberal groups, have come out in defense of the "free speech" rights of the Nazis. The opportunist TAC caucus has of course been quick to make use of this wretched betrayal.

At the same time, the reformist Communist Party has jumped into the act by pledging all-out support to Yvonne Golden, while failing to defend the PL/WAM victims. In fact, at the "Yvonne Golden rally" on January 20, which was heavily supported by *People's World* and attended by such figures as Vincent Hallinan (Golden's lawyer), the organizers attempted to chase away PL/WAM supporters who were distributing a leaflet outside, on the basis that, "this is Yvonne Golden's rally!"

Typically, the rally was a parade of liberal professors, pacifists, "community leaders" and Democratic Party politicians. (It was noted that Yvonne Golden herself belongs to the National Women's Political Caucus.) The "high point" of the rally was a speech by black Democratic Assemblyman Willie Brown, who said, "I am amazed that anyone would think that the Nazis are entitled to free speech." Thus, if the liberals and the CP get their way, some kind of "anti-fascist" law may be passed for future witchhunting against the workers movement.

Part of the "program" presented called for the recall of Dr. Eugene Hopp, the present president of the Board of Education. According to the CP, Hopp and Mayor Alioto "were in large part responsible for the removal last year of Dr. Thomas Shaheen as superintendent of schools, a man committed to integration, and affirmative hiring" (*People's World*, 19 January). Needless to say, Dr. Shaheen was another featured speaker at the "Yvonne Golden rally." Thus the fight against the Nazis has become merely a political football within the Democratic party, with the liberal/CP Democrats using the Nazi issue to attack present incumbents. Like their Stalinist and social-democratic forbears in Germany, the reformists could unwittingly pave the road for fascism through relying on the bourgeois state. Only the working class acting independently can smash fascism! ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

ILWU Ranks Back Blacklist Victims

Local 6 Votes Grievance Fight

OAKLAND, Calif., 24 January—Warehousemen in the East Bay Division of Local 6, International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, took the first step toward a fight against witch-hunting yesterday by endorsing a campaign of militant defense of victims of company blacklisting. A slanderous, denunciatory attack by Local 6 President McLain against the Committee to Fight the Blacklist, which had brought a resolution defending the victims to the meeting, failed to prevent the membership from voting for the Committee's resolution. There were no opposing votes. McLain, his bureaucratic flunkies and backers such as the supporters of the reformist Communist Party managed to induce many workers to abstain; these elements, however, could not work up the courage to openly vote against the anti-blacklist campaign, despite McLain's demagogic claim that it was "an attack on this union."

The Committee to Fight the Blacklist is fighting for union action against political firings of militants such as Bob Mandel, a leader of the 1960's antiwar movement (one of the "Oakland Seven") and a full member of Local 6 since 1970 (see *WV* No. 36, 18 January 1974). Mandel has been "terminated" from a second warehouse (with contradictory explanations from the company adding evidence to the existence of the blacklist), since the campaign began over an earlier political firing. His case, which has now been adopted as a grievance by the union as a result of the membership's action yesterday, coincides with grievances over similar cases involving blacklisting of two former union stewards.

Petition Campaign Slandered

In the three weeks prior to the meeting, the Committee had conducted an intensive campaign of visiting warehouses to discuss the blacklisting with the workers and obtained 400 names on a petition protesting the firings and calling for union action against the blacklist. Support among the membership increased rapidly as the evidence of the blacklist's existence mounted. McLain's response to this legitimate petition of the leadership was to falsely accuse the Committee of attempting to go around union channels! The petition contained the Committee's resolution, which was passed at the meeting:

> "Whereas the ILWU constitution affirms 'the right of everyone to a job without discrimination because of race, creed, color, sex or political belief' and,
> "Whereas the existence of the blacklist poses a threat to all union militants and ultimately to the existence of the union itself,
> "Therefore be it resolved: 1) that the union shall undertake a vigorous fight in defense of itself and its membership against the blacklist, and 2) that the union shall file a grievance on behalf of brother Bob Mandel under Secs. 5 and 18.3 of the contract for discrimination becuase of union membership or activities and shall pursue speedy resolution of Mandel's and the other two grievances of like nature already filed."

Blacklisting of militants by the Distributors Association, an employer group to which most warehouses in the Bay Area belong, is accomplished through firing the militant from every employer to whom he is sent from the union hiring hall prior to the end of the 90-day probation period, so that the victim never gains seniority or full union protection on any job. Mandel has been blacklisted since 1971, when he led a petition campaign for a warehouse strike in solidarity with striking longshoremen. Some employers abuse the probation period regularly in this way by firing all full members of the union, in order to prevent establishment of a stable work force and jack up productivity.

McLain was incensed because the Committee to Fight the Blacklist exposed the cowardly inaction of the reformist bureaucracy of Harry Bridges & Co. in fighting attacks on the union. Spending virtually half of his annual "state of the union" report at the meeting attacking the Committee's campaign, McLain discredited himself by denying the factual basis of Mandel's blacklisting, even denying that there were any warehouses which discriminated against full members—a phenomenon with which working warehousemen are well aquainted.

WV PHOTO

Bob Mandel, warehouse blacklist victim.

According to Committee members who were interviewed by *Workers Vanguard* after the meeting, they were at first denied the right to respond to McLain's attack or raise their resolution and were forced to wait until "new business." McLain's factual slanders were refuted by a member who had been present when Mandel received verification of the existence of a letter from the Distributors Association which had resulted in his firing. Mandel spoke, noting that the blacklist was an attack on the hiring hall—the primary gain of the 1934 general strike which established the ILWU. Another member pointed out that the right to petition did not contradict "union channels" and that, in fact, the Committee had been very careful to bring its petition to the union stewards and house committees in each warehouse it had visited. Incensed, this member underscored that it was outrageous to be charged with "an attack on the union" for petitioning the leadership!

CP Supports Race-Baiting

Supporters of the craven Communist Party, which has consistently tailed after "left" bureaucrats like Bridges since the 1930's, actively supported the leadership against the Committee, despite the CP's own experience of victimization through blacklisting. When a black woman business agent implied that the blacklisting of three militants, including two former union stewards, was relatively unimportant because they are white, a CP supporter and one of the ex-steward blacklist victims mentioned in the Committee's resolution said explicitly that the blacklist was actually a "white list" (whatever that means) and that you can't start such a campaign by defending three white men!

This capitulatory, self-defeating race-baiting nonsense reconfirmed the hypocrisy of the CP sympathizers. Previously they had refused to join the Committee on the grounds that it should be "broadened" into a committee against all forms of discrimination. The purpose of this demand was simply to bury the issue and avoid criticism of the leadership. The Committee

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DEFEND LOS TRES!

Police Agents Frame Up Chicano Militants

On July 27, 1971 three Chicano militants, now known as Los Tres del Barrio—Alberto Ortiz, Juan Ramon Fernandez and Rodolfo Pena Sanchez—were arrested and charged with shooting and wounding federal police agent and provocateur Robert Canales, whom they had believed to be a heroin pusher. The three were associated with "La Casa de Carnalismo" (the House of Brotherhood), a radical Chicano community-organizing group then involved in an attempt to drive drug peddlers out of the Los Angeles housing project areas of Pico Gardens and Aliso through direct (and armed) confrontations. The Carnalismo group had resorted to vigilante-type actions to purge the barrio of the drug traffic which was thriving under police protection.

The government prosecution achieved a conviction of Los Tres with extremely heavy sentences of 10 years prison for Ortiz, 25 years for Fernandez and 40 years for Sanchez. In fact, the case is a frame up of three political militants. The militants around the Casa de Carnalismo had been long-time activists in the Chicano movement, participating in the East Los Angeles high school student rebellions of the late 1960's, the Chicano Moratorium and other activities in the Los Angeles and West Coast area.

The group had been subjected to frequent police harassment, violence and infiltration by provocateurs as its activities became increasingly annoying to the extremely repressive paramilitary Los Angeles police apparatus. Last year federal agent Frank Martinez (of the Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms Division of the Treasury Department) revealed that after becoming chairman of the Chicano Moratorium and a leading member of the Brown Berets (where he engaged in provocations such as parading around with a shotgun and leading a physical attack on Senator John Tunney) he had been instructed to infiltrate the Casa in order to discredit it and that its activities were being monitored in order to provoke just such an incident as occurred in July 1971. Another indication that the case was an attempt to paralyze the Casa de Carnalismo group was the fact that immediately after the shootout between Los Tres and Canales police entered the organization's offices looking for two of the three defendents.

The railroaded conviction of Los Tres confirmed the case to be a crude frame up. Actively hostile Judge Lawrence Lydick (a former law partner of Richard Nixon) refused to permit the defense to present a case on the basis of entrapment or self-defense. (Los Tres did not know at the time of the incident that Canales, alias "Bobby Parker, the pusher," was a federal agent; therefore the charge of "shooting a federal agent" cannot be legally justified.) Judge Lydick continued to deny the political character of the case, "proving" this by refusing to hear the testimony of federal agent Martinez and squashing all attempts by Los Tres' lawyers to demonstrate that the three were in fact well-known political activists in the community. The jury was subjected to searches to give them the impression that Los Tres were highly dangerous criminals; several supporters, witnesses and one of Los Tres' lawyers were threatened with reprisals by the FBI.

Bail had been set at $50,000 each, but it wasn't until after Los Tres had been convicted, sentenced and on their way to separate prisons that this high sum could be raised, to be applied while Los Tres were appealing their convictions. The courts then refused to accept the bail, forcing a new round of hearings on the collateral behind the bail. Los Tres were finally released on November 7-9 and are now appealing the sentences meted out by Judge Lydick.

While the Spartacist League is politically critical of the community-oriented tactics of La Casa de Carnalismo, we unconditionally defend all members of the working-class movement under attack by the government. A successful appeal of the Los Tres case will depend on a widespread outcry at this vicious frame up. Public cynicism about the government, and especially about the police and their active involvement in the drug traffic, is at an all-time high. This sentiment must be tapped and turned into a massive protest. Inquiries and financial support may be directed to:
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WORKERS VANGUARD 25¢

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Oust Nixon! Expropriate the Oil Trusts!

Independent Truckers' Protest Fizzles

Government Refuses Fuel Price Rollback

FEBRUARY 10—In recent weeks the level of public discontent over the so-called "fuel crisis" has risen dramatically. In many large metropolitan areas there are frequent days on which more than 90 percent of all gasoline stations are closed, while lines extending for blocks are found at the few which remain open. The result has been numerous shootings, broken windows, fist fights, price gouging, hijacking of fuel tankers and generalized frustration. Almost universally President Nixon and the oil companies are blamed for a crisis which has caused tremendous hardships and declining living standards for millions. One indication of the trend of opinion: a New Jersey man with a Wallace bumper sticker on his car was quoted by the *Wall Street Journal* (8 February) as saying, "I'm for either him or the Communists, I don't care, just anybody who wouldn't be alraid of the big companies."

In Britain working-class protest against being forced to suffer the consequences of a phony "energy crisis" has been partly expressed through the unions in miners', engineers' and power station operators' wage disputes. In France the national labor federations were forced to call a one-day protest against inflation in order to pacify the union ranks. But in the U.S., where the labor leadership is not made up of Stalinist and social-democratic reformists but rather of timid liberals and arch-reactionaries for the most part, the unions have acted as obstacles to any form of mass struggle during recent months. Consequently, whatever organized resistance there has been to skyrocketing fuel prices has come largely from outside the ranks of labor.

Sections of the bourgeoisie itself are expressing concern about the dangers of permitting the present chaotic situation to continue indefinitely. While U.S. economic power relative to Europe and Japan has been greatly enhanced as a result of the Arab oil boycott, the outflow of billions of dollars threatens international monetary chaos and a worldwide recession, neither of these being reassuring prospects for the bourgeoisie. At the local level several states are now investigating allegations of fraud, black marketing and hoarding by the oil monopolies as part of their efforts to drive up fuel prices. New

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NEW YORK TIMES

National Guard moves against truckers' protest in Pennsylvania.

Not Ford, but a Workers Government!

UPI

FEBRUARY 11—Just over one year ago Richard Nixon was riding high. In the greatest electoral triumph in U.S. history, he had carried 49 of 50 states against his Democratic Party opponent George McGovern. After his crushing defeat of McGovern at the polls Nixon saw a mandate to conduct a reactionary campaign to re-establish the old virtues of patriotism and respect for bourgeois authority so badly eroded by the Vietnam war. Typically, just prior to his election he had warned his "children," the American people, that the "era of permissiveness" was about to end.

Nixon's reactionary political offensive, directed most immediately at those who had opposed U.S. military adventures in Indochina and ultimately at the labor movement, had as its goal the establishing of a reliable home base from which the capitalist class could better pursue its global designs. Free, at least for the time being, of the Vietnam quagmire, U.S. capitalism could now turn its full attention to coping with its resurgent imperialist rivals in Western Europe and Japan.

Vietnam had for some time been an albatross around the neck of the bourgeoisie. Nixon's success in obtaining Moscow's and Peking's collaboration in ending direct U.S. involvement on terms which kept the puppet Saigon government intact earned him the solid support of most of the U.S. ruling class. Further, through a series of astute diplomatic moves conducted in the name of détente, Nixon had secured the pledges of Moscow and Peking to "peacefully coexist" with U.S. imperialism in exchange for a series of trade deals and some diplomatic concessions.

Nixon was also successful on the economic front. He managed to easily obtain the active collaboration of all sections of the U.S. labor bureaucracy in enforcing his program of wage controls. Along with a number of monetary and trade measures, these laid the basis for a struggle against the capitalists of Western Europe and Japan. With all these solid "accomplishments" in his favor it came as no surprise that the bourgeoisie preferred Nixon to the ineffectual dilettantish McGovern, darling of the petty-bourgeois liberals and the Communist Party.

Waiting for Divine Guidance

But today, scarcely one year later, all of Nixon's past services to U.S. imperialism count for nothing with his bourgeois masters. This is so in spite of his very real "success" in the past year in handling the Near East war, in improving the U.S. position vis-à-vis Europe and in turning around the U.S. balance of payments from a $6.9 billion deficit in 1972 to an $800 million surplus in 1973 (*Economist*, 2 February 1974). All of his fantasies about an end to the "era of permissiveness" lie in a shambles. In the wake of Watergate a speech by Nixon on "law and order" would have about as much credibility as a lecture by Charles Manson on mental health. Aside from an occasional fire-breathing speech to a gathering of military personnel, Nixon's recent public utterances have been more along the lines of his remarks at a national "prayer breakfast":

> "What all of us need to do, and what the nation needs to do, is to pray in silence and listen to God to find out what he wants us to do."
>
> —*Time*, 11 February 1974

While Nixon listens for divine guidance the evidence of myriad illegal and underhanded maneuvers continues to pile up against him. The most recent revelations—such as the finding by a panel of experts agreed to by Special Prosecutor Jaworski, Judge Sirica and the White House that the tape of a crucial conversation between Nixon and Haldeman was purposefully erased, the reported objection of Nixon's chief Watergate council James St. Clair to

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For a General Strike in Britain!

Heath Calls Elections to Defeat Miners

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NEW YORK TIMES

Pepsico Closes Brooklyn Brewery—

Rheingold Workers Occupy Plant

FEBRUARY 9—In a typical display of the corporations' crass disregard for the welfare of their employees, the giant Pepsico beverage conglomerate announced last month that because of operating losses it was closing down the 119-year old Rheingold brewery in Brooklyn, New York. While the 1,500 workers at the plant, most of whom are in their fifties and know no other trade, face the threat of permanent unemployment, the company hoped to improve its profits by writing off the operation as a tax loss.

Its public relations story to the contrary, Pepsico made only desultory efforts to find another owner (and that only because of legal reasons and union pressure), moving to shut down the plant on January 30 even though negotiations with one prospective buyer were underway. The management announced its decision by simply telling the workers to go home and stop by later for their last paychecks and started to dump some 3.2 million gallons of beer into the city sewer system! In a dramatic move, 500 workers on the second shift began a sitdown "strike" that same night, demanding that the company come to terms with the union on back vacation pay, severance pay and other matters, and that the plant remain open until the issues were settled.

However, the four-day plant occupation was to remain only a gesture, as the union leadership (headed by Johnny Hoh of Local 3 of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters) is relying entirely on the courts and on its Democratic Party politician friends to find another boss. When Judge John Bartels granted a partial stay of the plant closing until February 8, the union called off the sit-in. The IBT leadership hopes that wealthy Democrat Jerry Finkelstein will buy the operation or, failing that, that the courts will force arbitration on pension and severance pay. Above all, Hoh, the head of the Teamsters' brewery and soft drink division, has no intention of challenging the capitalist system which is responsible for the hardships caused by such plant closures. (As we go to press, the U.S. Court of Appeals has rejected the union's bid for a court order to prevent Pepsico from closing the brewery until some 14-15 issues arising from the current contract are arbitrated. A union spokesman, however, stated that no resumption of the sit-in was contemplated.)

WV PHOTO

John Hoh (right), president of Teamsters Local 3, pays a visit to Rheingold plant sit-in.

Pepsico Financial/Legal Shenanigans

For the owners, closing the plant is no loss at all and certainly not a threat to their livelihood. Pepsico also owns a number of highly profitable companies, including Frito-Lay, Yago Santgria, Cold Duck, North American Van Lines and Wilson Sporting Goods, among others. It claims that Rheingold lost $9 million last year and can no longer be operated profitably. However, prior to its acquisition by Pepsico, Rheingold was not in danger of collapse. In addition to its own label, the company also had Ruppert's Knickerbocker (together accounting for roughly 20 percent of the New York market), a small New England label and four profitable Pepsi Cola franchises in the South.

Moreover, about $8 million worth of improvements had been installed prior to the Pepsico takeover, including new hoppers and cooking vats, feeding into the largest copper brew kettles in the U.S. The number of men necessary for operation had been cut in half, largely through attrition. As a result, the average age of the Rheingold brewers is over 50 and there has not been a new apprentice in over 15 years. Despite the steady displacement of local brands by the nationally-distributed beers, Rheingold—one of the two remaining New York breweries—was not in danger of financial ruin.

The real cause of the Pepsico takeover was the Pepsi franchises held by Rheingold. The brewery company had sued Pepsi over its inflated syrup prices, and Pepsico countered by buying up Rheingold stock until it had control. From the beginning of its management in April of last year, Pepsico was determined to dump the brewery as a tax loss. First the profitable soft-drink franchises were split off. Then the negotiations to acquire the Piels label (underway at the time of Pepsico's takeover) were dropped. Despite boom conditions throughout the industry, beer production at Rheingold was cut back to 50-60 percent of capacity last summer. All work was halted on the installation of the new cookers, which only need electrical connection. Beer deliveries were deliberately neglected, inducing customers to switch to other suppliers.

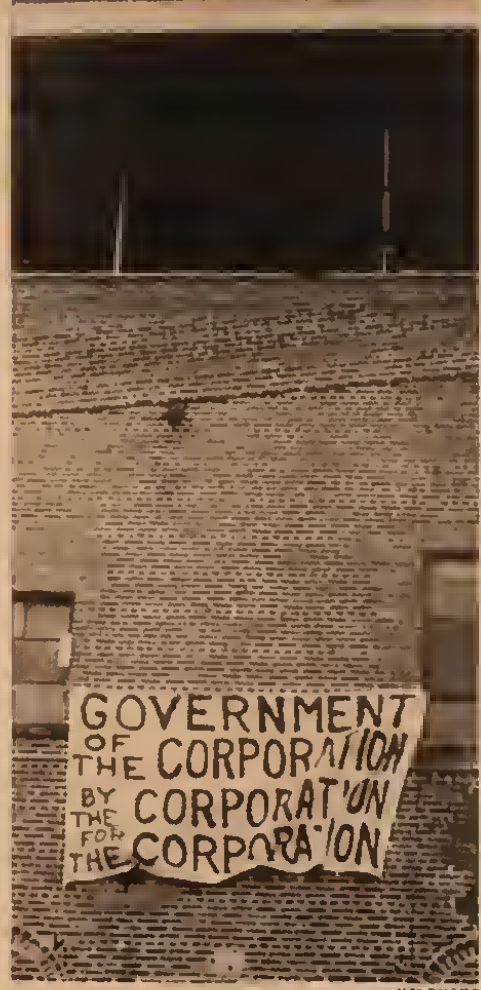
The response of the union, IBT Locals 3 and 46 (brewers and drivers), has been capitulation to the power of the companies at every step. In an effort to keep Rheingold profitable (!), Hoh agreed in last year's contract to push the 35-hour workweek back to 40 hours, with no increase in pay or cost-of-living escalator. This concession was not only a pay cut, but it gave up the shorter workweek gained as the result of an 84-day strike in 1949. Then, anticipating a shutdown, the IBT bargainers got two clauses into the contract saying that if Rheingold beer is sold in New York it must be made in the Brooklyn brewery and that the Rheingold label cannot be sold without permission from the local. Now, when Pepsico has gone through with its plans to run the operations into the ground and then close the plant, the union leadership is relying on the courts and on housewives and college students to push a boycott of Pepsico products.

Fat Cats and Bureaucrats

For many of the older, more conservative Rheingold brewery workers the events of the last year have served to open their eyes as to the relationship between the government and the corporations in the U.S. Although few identify capitalism as the enemy there is a widespread feeling, as one worker put it, that "it's like that fellow Justice Douglas said, this is a country 'of the corporations, by the corporations, for the corporations'." Another worker brought this point home by noting that "Nixon was Kandall's lawyer, you know." Kendall is head of Pepsico.

While the Teamster leadership has been working through the courts, Judge Bartel's initial dismissal of the union case was not unexpected to the brewers. "You know the judge in this case was appointed by Nixon just a few months ago," remarked one of the workers. He concluded: "We haven't got a chance." If he reflected on the close ties between Teamsters' president Fitzsimmons and Nixon and the complete sellout of last year's Master Freight Agreement negotiations by the IBT tops in order to help the government's wage-control program, he would have come to exactly the same conclusion.

Many of the workers still have illusions in the union leadership. While Fitzsimmons' stock is uniformly low, some recall Hoffa's regime with favor and others say that the local president Hoh is all right. But Hoffa is no less a friend of Nixon's than Fitzsimmons, and Hoh has done nothing to bring out the Pepsi Cola workers despite his position as head of Teamsters soft-drink division! Rather than isolated cases of corrupt individuals, the real obstacle to victory is an encrusted *bureaucracy* in the labor movement, whose members fear nothing more than even a hint of serious class struggle against the corporations' rule. Their goal is to work out a private deal with one or another company, offering them a guarantee of labor peace in return for a little gravy for the union tops. While this may pad the bureaucrats' bank accounts and advance their personal careers, it can only mean suffering for the mass of the union membership—as Rheingold workers are finding out to their dismay.



WV PHOTO

Banner at Rheingold plant during sit-in.

A leadership of the unions committed to waging a class struggle instead of finagling private deals would not rely on the courts or seek to entice a new boss with promises of giving up one after another of labor's hard-won achievements. Instead it would have immediately called out Teamster workers in Pepsi plants in order to apply the pressure where it counts. Likewise it would have declared an indefinite mass occupation of the brewery, thereby holding the expensive equipment hostage to force an equitable settlement. And since such actions are illegal under capitalist law (the Taft-Hartley Act forbids secondary strikes and a sit-down strike violates the

companies' "property rights"), it would immediately proceed to mobilize labor support throughout the metropolitan area to prepare for a possible showdown with the government.

"Every Class Fight Is a Political Fight"

It is, of course, possible that the company will insist on its "constitutional right" to throw 1,500 workers out of work and into the unemployment lines because it claims it cannot make sufficient profit. The labor movement must ignore such hypocritical pleas of poverty (particularly coming from such wealthy conglomerates). The union should demand that Pepsico prove its claims by opening its books to workers' inspection. If the companies refuse to operate the plants, then the operations must be immediately expropriated without compensation, to be run under the control of a committee democratically elected by the workers.

There is no reason why the working class must pay with its taxes to reimburse the corporations for operations providing them profits for years while they run them into the ground (as is occurring in the case of the public-private rail passenger corporation, Amtrak). And if management is in the hands of the state (controlled by the same capitalists), it will simply seek to bankrupt the public corporation (as happened for years with Britain's nationalized steel and coal industries). On the other hand, we demand nationalization because it is the workers' right that they be guaranteed jobs, and cooperatives almost always fail under capitalism since they are subject to the same pressures from the giant monopolies as any other small business.

Of course, as the courts, the politicians and the union bureaucrats will immediately reply in unison, this is all incompatible with "free enterprise." That is true. And for this reason it is absolutely necessary to widen the fight beyond a simple dispute over severance pay or even jobs. It is necessary to achieve a fundamental social revolution, to replace the rule of the companies with the rule of labor. This means first of all a political fight to install a workers government, which would expropriate the giant corporations and dismantle the state apparatus which serves the capitalists, to replace it with one based on democratically elected workers' committees. As part of the struggle for a mass revolutionary workers party, labor militants must fight to construct a labor party based on the unions to carry out this program. And this, in turn, requires a determined fight in the unions themselves to replace the corrupt, reactionary, pro-capitalist bureaucracy with a new class-struggle leadership committed not to finding a new boss, but to doing away with bosses altogether. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

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Hungarian Maoist Sentenced for Attacking Income Inequality

While the bourgeois press is currently pushing its campaign to build up the prestige of "liberal" Russian dissidents such as Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn and Andrei Sakharov, it has systematically ignored the cases of socialist opponents of Stalinism, such as General Piotr Grigorenko. (The World War II Soviet combat hero has been confined to a mental hospital since 1968 for the "crimes" of opposing the Soviet Union's invasion of Czechoslovakia and denouncing the bureaucracy's Great Russian chauvinism toward ethnic minorities in the USSR.) A recent example of the bourgeois liberals' selective "concern" for Soviet dissidents is the complete blackout in the U.S. press of the sentencing last month of the Hungarian writer Miklos Haraszti.

Haraszti, whose politics are vaguely Maoist, was given an eight-month suspended sentence for "incitement against a fundamental institution of the Hungarian state"—the wage system. This "incitement" consisted of distributing his unpublished work, *Piece Rates*, which exposed the extreme inequities of the Hungarian labor market. The relative mildness of the sentence reflected widespread sympathy for Haraszti's criticisms within Hungary and significant support for him by the West European left. However, the suspended sentence still means that Haraszti can be imprisoned at any time at the pleasure of the police authorities.

History of a Left Dissident

In 1965 Haraszti helped organize the independent (from the Communist Party) Committee for Solidarity with Vietnam. The Committee collected money for the NLF and organized demonstrations at the U.S. embassy until it was suppressed by the Kadar regime, which wanted to avoid embarrassing Lyndon Johnson. Subsequently, Haraszti and his co-activists (condemned by the authorities as "Maoist conspirators") apparently recognized that Kadar's placing diplomatic niceties above the fate of the Vietnam revolution reflected the nature of Hungarian society.

For the next several years, Haraszti's articles and poems concentrated on attacking the anti-socialist aspects of East European social and economic life. According to the Italian leftist daily *Il Manifesto* of 25 August 1973 (translated in the U.S. Department of Commerce "Translations on Eastern Europe," 21 September 1973), he wrote that "there are no longer Soviets in the Soviet Union"; that in Hungary today "tranquility is everything, the objective is nothing"; and "the gap between the masses and the elite becomes wider...."

Haraszti is part of a circle whose politics are a combination of New Leftism (admiration for "Che" Guevara) and Maoism. However, given the rigid restrictions on political intercourse and literature in East Europe, it is doubtful that the Hungarian leftists know what Maoism really is, seeing it rather as a left-communist opposition to the status quo. Do they know, for example, that Mao played a pivotal role in pressuring Khrushchev to crush the 1956 Hungarian Revolution and install the same Kadar regime which oppresses them today? In fact, Mao stated later that he had supported Kadar because he had full confidence in the latter's political views (see Janos Radvanyi, "The Hungarian Revolution and the Hundred Flowers Campaign," *China Quarterly*, July-September 1970).

Whether the "Maoism" of Haraszti and his circle is the result of ignorance or of mistaken political conceptions, it offers no real alternative to the present bureaucracy. Thus socialist militants correctly protest the absence of real soviets in the USSR. But they will find none in China or Cuba either. As for mobilizing the working class to do away with bureaucratic rule, Mao was quite explicit during the so-called "Cultural Revolution" that he had no intention of eliminating the bureaucracy, only the "bad" bureaucrats (i.e., Liu Shao-chi and others who failed to perceive the infinite wisdom of the "Great Helmsman").

Despite his vague political views, Haraszti clearly differs from "liberals" such as Amalrik and Solzhenitsyn, who oppose socialism and foresee a society run by "humane" technocrats, in wishing to base himself on the strength and interests of the proletariat. In 1970 he was expelled from the university and put under police surveillance because he "wants to subvert the regime from below by penetrating the ranks of the working class." Police surveillance in Hungary is a category of punishment, imposed *without trial*, which entails a 10 p.m. curfew, weekly reports to the police, prohibition from attending public functions and enforced exile from one's city of residence. In the past three years, Haraszti has twice been imprisoned.

Views from the Red Star Tractor Factory

Haraszti worked in several factories after being expelled from the university, using this opportunity to write on the wage system and working conditions. Hungary has gone almost as far as Yugoslavia toward "market socialism." And, as in Yugoslavia, this has meant greatly widening income differences and job insecurity. For example, a factory manager can receive up to 80 percent of his salary through "profit sharing," but a worker can receive no more than an additional 15 percent of his basic wage in bonuses (Nove and Duti, eds., *Socialist Economics*). While the *complete* elimination of income and wage differentials is impossible until the achievement of socialism, communists seek to reduce such inequalities to a necessary minimum. Haraszti's protest against widespread large wage inequality thus places him in a different camp from the Czech reform bureaucrat Dubcek, who in 1968 called for *increased* wage differentials in favor of professionals and technicians.

Haraszti's *Piece Rates* was judged particularly effective because it contains lengthy quotations by workers denouncing the increasingly capitalist features of the labor market. Consequently, despite the fact that his manuscript was originally commissioned by several publishers and magazines, due to pressure from the authorities it was never brought out, one editor being fired for his temerity. When Haraszti distributed it privately he was arrested for "incitement against a fundamental institution of the state"!

Dissidents on Opposite Sides of the Barricades

The Haraszti case has an important bearing on the nature of struggle to build revolutionary socialist (that is, Trotskyist) parties in Stalinist East Europe. The reformist Socialist Workers Party constantly tries to minimize the importance of distinctions between socialists and anti-socialists among Soviet dissidents, while apologizing for the latter's politics. Thus the SWP speaks of a "Soviet democratic movement" whose "dominant trend and thrust" is "wholly progressive" (*Militant*, 19 October 1973). And after Sakharov called last fall on U.S. imperialism to use economic pressure to "democratize" the USSR, the SWP recognized that "he equates the Stalinist regime with socialism and condemns both," but then tried to prettify his bourgeois liberalism by remarking: "But Sakharov's statements make clear what he stands for: democratization of Soviet society to make it provide the benefits to humanity that official propaganda claims it provides" (*Militant*, 14 September 1973).

This position ignores the fundamental distinction between bourgeois and proletarian democracy and denies the potential danger to the cause of socialist revolution represented by the spread of bourgeois liberalism in the deformed workers states. It also implies that the struggle for political revolution against Stalinist regimes must pass through a liberal phase. The very existence of subjectively revolutionary, working-class-oriented groups like Haraszti and his circle shows how utterly false and reactionary are the SWP's apologetics for Sakharov/Solzhenitsyn.

It is not possible to treat the East European dissidents as a united current. Despite their illusions about Maoism, Hungarian leftists like Haraszti want proletarian democracy so that the East European workers can play a vanguard role in fighting for a socialist world order. Haraszti stands on the other side of the barricades from a Sakharov who looks forward to a reign of personal liberty through the triumph of the "Free World" over "Soviet totalitarianism." And unlike a Roy Medvedev, who foresees liberalization through bureaucratic self-reform induced by peaceful coexistence, Haraszti (or the Poles Jacek Kuron and Karol Modzelewski, who wrote in 1964 that the deformed workers states are a new form of class society) is not looking for a Dubcek/Nagy-style "reform" bureaucrat with whom to throw in his lot.

The future Trotskyist cadre will be won through political struggle with the incorrect and vague ideas of people like Miklos Haraszti and his comrades, not by apologizing for anti-socialists like Solzhenitsyn/Sakharov or modern-day Bukharinite right-bureaucrats on the order of Dubcek and Nagy. While favoring the widest possible soviet democracy, even allowing freedom of expression for opponents of socialism (of course excluding overt counterrevolutionary acts or real jeopordizing of the military security of the Stalinist-ruled states vis-à-vis imperialism), Trotskyists must never blur the fundamental class line of *proletarian* democracy, which is the heart of the Marxist program.

For full legalization of all political parties and groupings which stand for soviet democracy! For freedom of the press and freedom for political prisoners in the USSR and Eastern Europe, victims of anti-socialist repression! Down with the Nixon/Brezhnev détente—For a united front of Russia and China against U.S. imperialism! No concessions to bourgeois liberalism and bureaucratic reformism—Forward to the political revolution against bureaucratic rule in the deformed workers states! For the rebirth of the Fourth International, the world party of socialist revolution! ■

Forum

Communist Work in the Trade Unions

Speaker: CHRIS KNOX
Labor Editor, Workers Vanguard
SL Central Committee

TORONTO

Thursday, February 14, 8:00 p.m.
Hart House Debates Room
University of Toronto

HARRY RING DOWN UNDER:

SWP Fronts for Chavez Betrayals

George Meany and Cesar Chavez

UPI

SYDNEY—The Socialist Workers Party's Harry Ring has done a great disservice, not only to his audience in a recent forum here on the United Farm Workers, but also to the workers whose case he was supposedly pleading. Sponsored by the SWP's Australian counterpart, the SWL, Ring began his January 19 talk by distinguishing the UFW from those unions held back from using their potential power by conservative, bureaucratic leaderships: "it [the UFW] is the vanguard of the trade-union movement in the U.S. in terms of the kind of struggle it is conducting against an important section of the capitalists. . . ." He explained that the special significance of the UFW is that "its dynamism is related to the fact that it is a Chicano union. It appeals to workers on a national basis as well as a union basis."

In a deliberate attempt to distort reality to conform to the SWP's strange view that consistent nationalism leads to socialism, Ring grossly exaggerated the extent of explicit nationalist sentiment among Chicano workers, leaving those among his audience who had only his account to rely on with the impression that Chicanos, to a man, believe in the mythical nation of Aztlan, which most have never even heard of, since it is the invention of petty-bourgeois nationalists—a reactionary utopian pipe dream.

Aside from the cynical dishonesty and Pabloist rejection of the primacy of working-class struggle in favor of parochial and self-defeating petty-bourgeois nationalism reflected in the SWP's position, the significance of Ring's analysis lies in its excusing of the betrayals of the UFW's Chavez leadership and abandonment of the ranks of farm workers to its treachery.

In place of revolutionary criticism and a program to replace the Chavez mini-bureaucracy with a class-struggle leadership Ring spoke of the "limitations" of the UFW leadership, explaining that Chavez was not a bureaucrat in the strict sense of the term simply because he does not receive a high salary. Therefore there is supposedly no material basis for bureaucratism. This obscures the fact that Chavez acts and can only act as an appendage of the central union bureaucracy (and the liberal Democrats), a bureaucracy which is not a collection of individuals but a consciously class-collaborationist stratum within the workers movement.

But, says Ring, the progressive character of the struggle remains: its objective character as a "national liberation" struggle predominates over any "false policies" of the leadership.

In fact, these "false policies" which Ring writes off as a minor hindrance to the forward motion of the struggle could spell the death of the UFW. The Teamster/grower offensive aimed at smashing every gain, especially the union hiring hall, made by farm workers through UFW organization has successfully reduced the number of Farm Workers' contracts by two thirds. As of last August the UFW had gone from representing 40,000 farm workers to 6,500.

So in the face of attack Cesar Chavez, martyr-hero of liberals in search of a cause, called off the strikes in the fields (which had been 90 percent effective) and dispersed the pickets to parade impotently in front of urban supermarkets. Instead of escalating the strike—appealing to the Teamster rank and file, waging a campaign for real labor support through refusal to handle scab products (hot-cargoing), arming the picket lines and a California-wide general strike and expropriation of the fields under workers control—Chavez rededicated himself to pacifism alter several farm workers were murdered by the growers and Teamster goons.

In response to speakers of the Spartacist League of Australia and New Zealand in the audience who criticized Chavez' boycott tactic, pacifism, class collaborationism, and specifically his use of the capitalist government and courts against the Teamsters, Harry Ring resorted to the time-worn demagogic tactics of bureaucrats and proceeded to describe the plight of the small, defenseless farm workers' union up against the overwhelming armed might of the capitalist state, the point supposedly being to justify Chavez' pacifism.

The SL's slogan for a general strike in defense of the farm workers was ridiculed as not only unattainable, but as an example of sterile sectarianism as opposed to a "viable socialist approach." Ring defended the effectiveness of the boycott tactic—"the *only* possible tactic." Militant picket lines and their armed self-defense were labeled the "height of political irresponsibility."

The SWP has seen one alter another of the "mass movements" (antiwar, women's liberation, etc.) to which it sought to attach itself dry up into nothing, as a result of their reformist political bankruptcy (to which the SWP contributed a great deal). The appetite of the SWP toward the farm workers' struggle is quite clear and can be seen by Ring's one criticism of the boycott: "it is not sufficiently organized and needs to be developed in the way that the antiwar movement was." Having tested the winds to determine their direction, the SWP is now offering to do for left-talking trade-union bureaucrats of the Chavez/Arnold Miller stripe what it did for Vance Hartke.

In the face of such capitulation to the trade-union bureaucracy's desire to work within the capitalist system, Trotskyists must warn the working class against the wretched betrayals of the SWP reformists and continue the fight to destroy them politically as one more obstacle in the path of proletarian revolution. ■

Reformists Duck Layoffs Fight at Fremont GM

FREMONT, Calif.—As the U.S. economy plunges into recession, the question of labor's response to layoffs has been sharply posed before the entire union movement. Hardest hit so far has been the 1.5 million-strong United Auto Workers, whose officials estimate that some 100,000 of their members are on indefinite layoffs. Predictably the top union brass has adopted a cringing do-nothing attitude toward the company attack on the workers' livelihoods. Speaking at a press conference during the December convention of the United Mine Workers, UAW President Woodcock remarked, "I'm afraid there will be more layoffs. There's not much we can do. We're certainly not going to strike on it." Since then the union leaders have come up with what they consider an answer of sorts: the UAW is now asking Congress for legislation to limit auto imports, supposedly to save "American jobs" (*Detroit Free Press*, 31 January). By abandoning the union's formal opposition to protectionism, Woodcock is in effect saying that foreign workers, not the companies, are the enemy.

At UAW Local 1364, covering the Fremont, California GM assembly plant, permanent layoffs have hit several hundred workers, including some with more than six months' seniority, in addition to three (so far) one-week layoffs of the entire passenger car production line. Typically, the impact of the capitalist economic crisis has been utter chaos in production. For a time, Fremont's truck assembly operations were working overtime while the passenger car lines were completely shut down. Additionally, the company has launched an all-out disciplinary offensive against workers and local union officials in order to "tame" a potentially rebellious work force into accepting the layoffs and the accompanying line speedup and work overload for the remaining workers. Various disciplinary actions, as well as petty harassment through enforcing work rules normally overlooked, have increased sharply in recent weeks.

The response of the Local 1364 leadership, that is, of the reformist Brotherhood Caucus, to the layoffs and the company disciplinary offensive was a leaflet for the January union meeting calling on the members to "stand up and fight." However, in the next paragraph, the Brotherhood leaders ruled out the strike as a weapon to fight layoffs, leaving the workers with no answer to this threat to their jobs. Shop Chairman Earlie Mays verbally opposes the layoffs (so does Woodcock, and even GM calls them "distressing") just as he "opposed" the contract last fall. But his gutless conduct in the period leading up to the contract vote, like the Brotherhood's rejection of strikes against layoffs, fills the membership with a spirit of resignation. Mays, of course, innocently asserts his own militant credentials and, like bureaucrats everywhere, points the finger of blame at the workers.

According to union members interviewed by *WV* following the January local meeting, a proposal dealing with layoffs was made not by the union leaders but from the floor. A proposal for a committee on the unemployed originated with supporters of the *Bay Area Worker*, a newspaper reflecting the views of the right-Maoist Revolutionary Union. The proposal was amended from the floor to broaden its purpose, from merely servicing those already laid off, to joining with other locals to fight unemployment and stop the layoffs. The proposal passed overwhelmingly. While this could represent a starting point to work for union action against layoffs, the crucial test will come in the implementation and particularly over the question of striking to protect the members' jobs. It is also necessary to provide an answer to the increasing unemployment by pushing for a shorter workweek with no loss in pay to create jobs for all.

Not only does the Brotherhood Caucus have no answer to layoffs, but neither do the political groups which support it, notably the right-Maoist October League. In none of the recent issues of the OL newspaper, *The Call*, is there a mention of a program to fight the rising tide of unemployment. At the January meeting of Local 1364 most of the discussion was provoked by one member of the Brotherhood Caucus (a member of the local women's committee) who asked that the local investigate ways in which women might be retained on the work force in the event of large layoffs, in violation of the seniority system, to compensate for the discrimination in hiring that women have suffered historically. Apparently reflecting the views of what is emerging as the right wing of the Brotherhood, the speaker not only failed to offer a program to fight unemployment but also explicitly opposed any strike against layoffs.

Numerous union members spoke vehemently against this blatant attack on labor's only form of job security achieved so far (the seniority system) and spoke for the retention of the plant-wide seniority system as a protection for male and female workers alike. Several women workers pointed out that the union must strike to stop all layoffs and called for reducing the workweek at full pay for everyone, regardless of seniority. The supporters of the *Bay Area Worker* are now trying to distinguish themselves from the ever more blatantly opportunist Brotherhood Caucus, although they supported it at the time of elections last spring. However in practice the differences are negligible. Not only did they fail to oppose this attack on the seniority system, but they too failed to raise a program to fight layoffs.

Thus the recent dramatic increase in unemployment once again demonstrates the need to go beyond the simple reformism and meaningless promises of "democracy" which are the stock-in-trade of reformist fakers like the Brotherhood Caucus, who once in power become indistinguishable from their predecessors. The mass layoffs point out the need for a class-struggle opposition in the unions which is based on a full program of transitional demands which answer the needs of the working class, irrespective of whether or not capitalism can fulfill them. Not simply responding to the effects of capitalist economic crisis, such a program would struggle for a society in which production is for the needs of the masses, not the profits of the few. ■

Argentina – A Warning:

Peron Prepares to Crush Left

PART 1 OF 2

The enactment of "anti-terrorist" legislation by the Argentine Congress late last month is only the most recent indication that the bonapartist Peronist regime is preparing for a general offensive against the left and every manifestation of working-class militancy. Using a January 19 guerrilla attack by the "People's Revolutionary Army" (ERP) on the Azul tank garrison as a pretext, conservative Peronists pushed through the government's new law against "incitement to violence" and "illicit associations" while police blocked off the Congress plaza to prevent demonstrations. Setting the tone for the week, General Perón announced shortly after the guerrilla action that "the small number of psychopaths who are still left will be exterminated one by one for the good of the republic" (*New York Times*, 26 January).

The "anti-terrorist" bill led to the first open break with the government by left-wing Peronists, as eight Justicialista congressmen resigned rather than vote for the law which, with its vague wording and stiff sentences, was obviously intended to be used not only against supposed Marxists and guerrillas, but also against the Peronist left. Only a few days earlier, policemen dressed as civilians had publicly burned the edition of the leftist *El Mundo* before it reached the newsstands, and at mid-week masked policemen raided the offices of the most important left-Peronist magazine, *El Descamisado*.

The Peronist Left Against the Wall

As part of the reactionary Peronist trade-union bureaucracy's attempt to crush all militant opposition in the guise of purging "Marxist infiltrators," thugs have unleashed a wave of assassinations of left-Peronist labor leaders this fall. The victims include Pablo Fredes of the Transport Workers' Union, Enrique Grimberg of the Peronist Labor Youth (JTP) and several others. A leading Peronist senator, Hipolito Solari Yrigoyen, was seriously injured by a car bomb in retaliation against his opposition to the new "Law of Professional Associations" which gives the top labor bureaucracy the power to perpetuate itself without elections and remove dissident local leaders. Earlier in the fall, Rodolfo Puiggros, another left Peronist, was ousted as rector of the University of Buenos Aires.

In response, the Peronist left has been unable to go beyond pathetic pledges of loyalty to its supreme leader. According to Dardo Cabo, a leading Peronist leftist, "if sometimes we are in disagreement, Peron still gives the orders around here" (*New York Times*, 29 November 1973). As a result, the congressmen adhering to the Peronist Youth voted *for* the professional associations law out of "esteem" for General Perón, despite the fact that the Peronist Labor Youth had organized a mass protest of some 20,000 against the law less than a month earlier! The Montoneros, a left-Peronist guerrilla organization, could only reply weakly to Perón's "anti-terrorism" law that "something must be wrong if a populist government must revive this type of legislation to maintain internal peace." Something must be wrong, indeed!

What the left-wing Peronists refuse to face up to is the fact that this reactionary orientation of their idol is nothing new. While the Peronist Youth was demonstrating in favor of an immediate Perón presidency last July, the supreme leader was relying on a group of right-wing advisers including his wife, now vice-president, Isabel Martinez de Perón, Colonel Jorge Osinde and other long-time Peronist hacks. He has also been consulting with old-time anti-Peronists such as the conservative representative of landowner interests, Ricardo Balbin. Even Hector Cámpora, who was elected president as Perón's man last March is, due to his supposed "center" position, now being questioned by the Peronist Supreme Command as to his loyalty (*Avanzada Socialista*, 1-8 November 1973).

The most dramatic indication of this increasingly right-wing course was the attack on the Peronist Youth and guerrilla contingents by Peronist gunmen last June 20 during the welcoming festivities at Ezeiza airport for the arrival of "El Viejo" from Europe. The gun battle, initiated by thugs working for the union bureaucracy, was organized by Colonel Osinde and left 34 dead out of the crowd of close to one million enthusiasts. As a reward for his operation, Osinde was appointed head of security for the General soon afterwards.

But the same course was already indicated at the time of Perón's brief stay in Buenos Aires during late 1972, which was welcomed by the then-head-of-state, General Lanusse, as a "positive step," particularly because Perón spent his time negotiating with conservative politicians rather than making speeches to the masses. And shortly after his arrival this summer, "El Viejo" set the theme for his new government in an emotional speech centering on two slogans—"now is not the time for loalers" and "from home to work and from work to home"—i.e., telling the workers to get out of politics. Instead of taking up the slogan of the Peronist Youth for a "socialist fatherland," Perón called on all Argentines to "place their destiny within the scale of established values. First the fatherland, then the [Peronist] movement and then the individuals" (*Avanzada Socialista*, 27 June-3 July 1973).

Attack on the "Marxist" Left

Perón is using both the carrot and the stick with the Peronist left. Thus after sacking the leader of the Juventud Peronista (JP—Peronist Youth) last spring, the General has sought to offer the youth leaders "constructive" tasks, launching the Argentine Political Youth as a sort of domestic peace corps. Toward the non-Peronist left his attitude has been uniformly hostile yet, at the same time, more hesitant. Thus he has taken as a constant theme the danger of "infiltration" of the unions by "Marxists," and Perón's first command after Cámpora took office in late May was "get the Trotskyists" (*Le Monde*, 6 June 1973). But while the 200,000 members of the JP may rapidly desert their "leftist" leaders in the face of a determined offensive by the General, the "class-struggle" left wing of the trade-union movement has a certain amount of independent support.

It has been remarked by a number of observers, both "socialist" and bourgeois, that the Peronist mass support in recent months is overwhelmingly drawn from the petty bourgeoisie rather than the working class. Gone are the large contingents of workers marching in factory delegations. Moreover, while the largest part of the Argentine proletariat voted for Perón in the September elections, most of the working-class Peronist activists are connected with the leftist Peronist Labor Youth, currently under sharp attack by the Justicialista (Peronist) leadership.

AVANZADA SOCIALISTA

Buenos Aires, 20 June 1973: Hired gunmen of the Peronist union bureaucracy attack leftists, leave 34 dead, 342 wounded.

General Juan Perón

UPI

This situation, contrasting sharply to the 1946-55 period, is due to the fact that the labor movement has been firmly under the leadership of a conservative Peronist bureaucracy since the late 1950's, a bureaucracy which has consistently sabotaged every effort to overthrow military rule or resist U.S.-imposed austerity programs.

Thus in 1958 the Justicialista bureaucracy of the General Confederation of Labor (CGT) supported Frondizi for president, who after winning the election drove unemployment to record levels and cut real wages by 40 percent. When Justicialista candidates won a plurality and ten governorships (including strategic Buenos Aires) in the 1962 elections, the military annulled the elections. The bureaucracy's response? Complete passivity. The CGT leadership was one of the main forces favoring the imposition of direct military rule, by General Juan Carlos Onganía, in June 1966. But despite its labor support, the new regime proceeded to put down strikes by army intervention, to place rebellious local unions in receivership and to fire thousands of union militants.

Consequently when the unrest of the working masses reached the flashpoint in the May 1969 *Cordobazo* (a three-day general strike and workers' uprising in the key interior industrial center of Córdoba), the movement was directed in large part against the local union bureaucracy. As a result, there developed a layer of working-class militants who were independent of the control of the Peronist bureaucracy and oriented, in an embryonic way, toward class struggle both at the trade-union and political level. It was the existence of this layer which made possible the appearance of the independent "clasista" (class-struggle) unions SITRAC and SITRAM at Córdoba's Fiat factories during 1970 and 1971.

The military government immediately recognized that the existence of combative unions outside the control of the Peronist bureaucracy of the CGT represented a mortal danger to capitalist rule. At the first opportunity it moved to deny legal recognition to the "class-struggle" unions, a move which succeeded in destroying SITRAC/SITRAM in late 1971. Subsequently the militant workers in key Córdoba factories have given their support to non-Peronist leftist bureaucrats who have had a certain amount of autonomy within the bureaucracy. Among these are Rene Salamanca of SMATA (auto) workers and Augustín Tosco of the light and power union.

Once in power last summer, the Peronists immediately began attacking non-Peronist leftists in the bureaucracy. At the Fiat plants the reactionary UOM (metal workers' union) dispatched goons to beat up SMATA militants during representation elections in June, then announced it had won although it had the support of less than 10 percent of the workers. In July goons of the right wing of the local Peronist bureaucracy attempted a machine-gun and bomb attack on the headquarters of Tosco's light and power union. The attack was beaten off and the next day the auto and power unions staged a one-day strike in protest, but the battle had only begun (*New York Times*, 18 July 1973). This fall, the national congress of Luz y Fuerza (the power union) gave Tosco 60 days in which to abandon his combative attitudes or else be deposed. Within SMATA, rightist sectors of the national and provincial bureaucracy are mobilizing to depose Salamanca.

Against these frontal and indirect attacks the response of these Marxist bureaucrats has been to seek to get as close as possible to the Peronist left for protection from the national bureaucracy. However, the Peronist leftists, also under attack, have been trying to prove their loyalty to the new regime by dissociating themselves completely from the "Marxist infiltrators." Thus, when Tosco and Salamanca called for a one-day strike last October 10 to defend the Córdoba provincial government against attacks from the Peronist right, the result was an absurd spectacle of a non-Peronist union leadership supporting a left-Peronist government but with absolutely no support from the "rank-and-file Peronists" it was supposedly trying to influence (*Política Obrera*, 20 October 1973)! In times of sharp class battles opportunism does not even work in the short run.

[TO BE CONTINUED]

For a General Strike in Britain!

Heath Calls Elections to Defeat Miners

FEBRUARY 9—Taking advantage of the Arab oil boycott, the British miners have mounted a sharp counter-attack against capitalism's assault on the living standards of the entire British working class. While the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) leadership has largely treated the dispute as an exceptional case, the impact of the struggle is to further deepen the current economic crisis faced by British capitalists. If the current strike were generalized to the other industries it would not only eliminate the hated "Phase III" wage controls, but it would also prevent the bourgeoisie from carrying out its plans to pass sharply increased fuel and food prices to the consumers.

Faced with the reactionary Tory regime of Edward Heath, the NUM leaders first chose the tactic of a slowdown in the form of an overtime ban. The Heath government counterattacked with a series of measures culminating in a nationwide lockout—a state-imposed three-day workweek. By passively accepting the lockout, Britain's labor leaders brought the miners to the edge of defeat. Coal reserves increased sufficiently so that Heath could relax the shortened workweek, defusing the immediate crisis, and wait out the miners' slowdown until summer. Knowing this, the miners voted overwhelmingly (81 percent) for a full-scale strike; without a total strike, the miners simply would have lost. Facing the strike, Heath's election call is an attempt to deflect the miners from action with electoral hopes and to return to office by running an anti-reds, anti-miners, "law-and-order" campaign.

Heath Deploys His Anti-Labor Weapons

The Heath government has prepared for the miners' strike as seriously and ruthlessly as British imperialism mobilized for its major wars. Business publications such as the influential conservative *Economist* are discussing the case of the 1926 British general strike (which was also sparked by a coal strike and defeated due to the treachery of the top trade-union leadership), coldly calculating what level of force would be necessary to break a strike of similar magnitude. The question of military force has already played a major role in the Heath/miners battle. When Mineworkers union Vice President Mick McGahey, a prominent member of the Communist Party (CP), was asked how the union would react to the army's transporting coal, he replied that it would appeal to the soldiers, many of whom have working-class backgrounds, not to break the strike. Such appeals to soldiers called upon by the government to crush strikes are solidly within the traditions of elementary trade unionism. In the U.S., politically conservative local leaders issued similar appeals when Nixon used the National Guard to break the 1970 postal wildcat.

Expectedly the Tories pounced on McGahey's statement with the absurd claim that he was fomenting red revolution. The Labour Party leadership joined in the Tory red-baiting, grovelling before bourgeois law and order. The Labour executive put out a statement asserting:

> "We utterly repudiate any attempt by Communists or others to use the miners as a political battering ram to bring about a general strike or to call on troops to disobey lawful orders in the event of a strike."
>
> —*New York Times*, 30 January

Labour Party head Wilson accurately located his class position by calling Heath and McGahey the "extremists" in the situation. The British CP, in turn, appears to be wooing Labour support at any price. Capitulating before Labour's red-baiting, McGahey repudiated his earlier remarks, claiming they had been quoted out of context.

While the army can distribute the coal, it cannot dig it out of the ground. The Heath government is relying heavily on coal imports, particularly from the U.S., to defeat the strike. Since the Tories' resolve to discipline their combative workers naturally has the sympathy of the propertied classes everywhere, the Heath government, despite its catastrophic balance of payments deficit, will be given the international credit to import scab fuel. One of the major suppliers of this scab coal, however, is slated to be "socialist" Poland, with which agreements have already been reached (*Economist*, 2 February). (Imports of Polish coal helped Franco break the 1970 Spanish miners' strike.) This is just one more indication that to the Stalinist bureaucracies international class solidarity counts for exactly zero when it is competing with cold hard cash. Another major coal supplier in the case of a long strike is to be the U.S.

The British ruling class has long based its popular image on the claim that it governs a humane society with widespread access to various welfare programs. For example, the wives and children of striking workers are eligible for social security benefits. For that reason, British unions do not build up strike funds. In his desperation to break the miners, Heath has now discarded the traditional "fair play" image of the British rulers. He has threatened to change the law to prevent the families of striking miners from getting social security, attempting to literally starve them into submission.

With Heath threatening to prevent social security payments to miners' families and the likelihood of fines (they are striking in breach of contract), the financial resources available to the Mineworkers' union could be the difference between victory and defeat. The British miners' strike is now a pivotal battle in the world class war and labor and socialist militants must demand that their unions contribute funds to the Mineworkers' union. Thus in the U.S., auto workers should challenge UAW President Woodcock to provide something more concrete than his telegram of solidarity with British miners, by providing a substantial donation to NUM strike funds. Dock and maritime workers, similarly, could give real aid not only through union donations, but also by refusing to load and ship U.S. coal to Britain during the strike.

THE ECONOMIST

Miners voted 81 percent for strike.

MANCHESTER GUARDIAN

Leaders of the National Union of Mineworkers: from left, Mick McGahey, Joe Gormley, Lawrence Daley.

Labor Bureaucrats Scurry Under Phase III Ceiling

The policy of the entire British labor bureaucracy, *including* the CP fraction of the NUM, has been that higher wages for the miners should be treated as an *exception* to Heath's Phase III limit. What this means for the British workers can be seen from the fact that the Phase III wage ceiling is 7 percent while the rate of inflation is now 12 percent, with food increasing more than 20 percent in the past year (*Economist*, 2 February)! The Trades Union Congress (TUC) in its negotiations with Heath solemnly pledged that if the miners got their wage demand, no other union would cite it as a precedent for its own claims.

And the bureaucracy's desire to treat the miners as an exception is in no sense limited to promises. While the projected miners' strike has been the center of attention, an increasing number of unions have been signing Phase III contracts. The most important of these has been the 100,000 power station operators, who had been engaged in their own slowdown. Within the past few weeks, the 400,000-strong teachers' union signed for less than 7 percent (having initially demanded 25 percent). Heath has encouraged this rush to accept the "generous" Phase III limit by threatening a total wage freeze.

Equally important, the powerful engineering (metal workers) union, led by Britain's foremost "left" bureaucrat, Hugh Scanlon, announced it would settle within the Phase III limit, leaving it to the locals to get better terms if they can. In noticeable contrast to the CPers in the miners' union, who sometimes talk about opposing state wage control in principle, the strong CP fraction in the engineering union has gone along with Scanlon's sellout to Heath.

A General Strike and the British Left

The miners are heading into a decisive clash with a reactionary government while the rest of the British unions are succumbing to Heath's anti-labor offensive. Moreover, the Labour Party has been noticeably cool and reticent about defending the miners and has yet to publicly support the strike. The miners are thus being politically isolated. Even if they are victorious, the miners will indeed be *the exception* as the British working class suffers a real wage cut in the face of a major economic downturn.

What is required is a unified labor offensive to defeat the Heath government and reverse the entire complex of its recent anti-labor economic measures. This means a general strike centering on (though certainly not limited to) ending the shortened workweek/lockout, breaking state wage controls and winning major wage gains backed by a full cost-of-living adjustment.

In contrast to this perspective the British "Trotskyist" groups have responded to the current crisis either with routinist calls for union militancy or by flirting with insurrection. While Gerry Healy's Workers Revolutionary Party has criticized the CP for not calling for a general strike, the WRP itself is not agitating for a general strike. Clearly this is a deliberate decision. WRP propaganda consists of vague calls for class solidarity in support of the miners. The WRP is being quite careful to be no more than a half step ahead of the miners' struggle, with demands that do not essentially go beyond what the CP leadership in the NUM is advocating.

To be sure, the question of support for the miners is neither unimportant nor automatically guaranteed. A decisive reason for the miners' victory in 1972 was that roving pickets, reinforced by labor and socialist militants, were able to prevent not only coal, but also fuel oil from being delivered to the power stations. Preventing deliveries of coal and fuel oil in the current strike will be even more important and more difficult. However, swelling the miners' picket lines is not and cannot be a substitute for a general strike. Optimally successful, the miners' strike would still remain a single-industry wage struggle.

The position of the International Socialists (IS) is similar to the Healyites' and amounts to vague calls for class solidarity and militancy. In a major statement on the crisis, IS leader Tony Cliff asserts:

> "The best act of solidarity with the miners that the engineers can show is by pressing their own claim with a national engineering strike. The same principle of generalising, expanding the struggle applies to dockers, to teachers and all other workers."
>
> —*Socialist Worker*, 5 January 1974

We are also in favor of strikes to

achieve higher than the wholly inadequate wage increases allowed under Heath's Phase III wage controls. However, this demand has for the last 10 years been the ABC for any group claiming to be revolutionary socialist. What is now on the agenda is a concerted political struggle against the government and not merely a quantitative increase in strikes. In the IS and WRP press there is no sense that Britain is in a genuine political and economic *crisis* the outcome of which could well determine class relations in Britain for the next several years.

Unfortunately, some of those organizations which are agitating for a general strike see it as a call to insurrection. Given the reformist leadership and illusions of the British working class an insurrectionary attempt at this time could only lead to disaster. The purest calls for insurrection come from the small *Chartist* group which has offered a "united front" with any "Trotskyist" organization to form a "joint command" on the sole (!) basis of the *"preparation of our class for the taking of state power" (Chartist*, January 1974).

The International Marxist Group (IMG), British section of the "United Secretariat," is apparently agitating for a general strike that does not have immediate insurrectionary aims. However, the IMG perspective is seriously flawed by the belief that a general strike is possible independently of the trade unions. The IMG is calling for the immediate creation of now nonexistent "councils of action" regardless of what the Trades Union Congress, *the* mass industrial organization of the British working class, does:

> "Whether the TUC fights or not, the greatest possible organisation of united struggle at local level will be needed in the days ahead.... The important thing at present is not how Councils of Action come into existence but that they are actually set up."
>
> —*Red Weekly*, 21 December 1973

This is a typically petty-bourgeois spontaneist deviation denying the *necessity* to struggle against the reformist misleadership of the existing mass organizations of the working class in order to lead mass struggles.

A general strike in Britain today, which can only be organized by the TUC should have the *limited, offensive* aim of reversing the policies of the Tory government and bringing it down. Should such a strike be victorious, even under reformist leaders and despite their inevitable attempts to sabotage the struggle, it would shatter the stability of bourgeois rule in Britain and open up a pre-revolutionary situation.

The Election and Class Struggle

Having pulled out all stops to crush the miners, Heath tried an election maneuver of promising more money if the NUM would postpone the strike until after the voting. This play produced the first open split in the NUM leadership with the right-wing president, Joe Gormley, falling for Heath's seduction act. However, the class militancy of the miners had reached such an intensity that they weren't about to let their fate be determined by "public opinion." In rejecting a postponement the NUM executive asserted (what is undoubtedly true) that had it tried to call off the strike, there would have been general wildcats.

The British labor leaders could

continued on page 8

British gas company suggests ways to "conserve energy."

Wallowing in Stalinist Boorishness...

PL Applauds Slave Labor/Death Camps

The international furor triggered by Russian oppositionist Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn's *The Gulag Archipelago* (see *WV* No. 37 for a Trotskyist assessment) has found appropriate reflection in the U.S. left press. From the predictable pro-Russian apologetics of the CP's *Daily World* to the essentially liberal anti-Stalinist stance of the SWP, the spectrum of ostensibly Marxist organizations demonstrates its lack of a revolutionary perspective for Russian working people. Thus, the CP attributes *The Gulag Archipelago* to a *New York Times*-engineered conspiracy to discredit "socialist" Russia, while the SWP has embraced the anti-Stalin intellectuals en bloc with scarcely a criticism of their illusions in "Western democracy."

But among the left-wing responses, surely the most despicable was that of Progressive Labor in an article entitled "A. Soldshitsin Makes Nazi Waves" (*Challenge*, 24 January 1974). In this half-page orgy of smug knownotlingism, PL simply dismisses the crimes of Stalin and explains that "the bosses and their stooges on the left, have kept up and are now stepping up their 40 year anti-Stalin crusade, which is simply anti-communism." Very simple: Solzhenitsyn is a Nazi, all opposition to Stalin is anti-communism. And PL continues:

> "When Stalin died in 1953 the largest outpouring in modern times came forth, as millions of Soviet workers lined up endlessly to view his body. Not only out of respect and love for him, but out of understanding of their own efforts, and the society they had begun to develop. Those millions lined up in sub-freezing temperatures in Moscow in 1953 haunt the bosses...."

Even for PL this is surely a nadir. This organization, born of a left split from the CP, fortified itself with the assumption that a naive subjective identification with the working class and a "hard communist" profile could substitute for Leninist theory. In the post-1968 period PL moved left over domestic issues (opposition to black nationalism and the bourgeois-dominated "peace" movement) only to find that it could no longer defend key elements of Stalinism, in particular the "two-stage" revolution and Stalin's class-collaborationist popular front.

But unable to break from its Stalinist roots decisively in the direction of Trotskyism, unable to distinguish between authentic Leninism and its perversion by the Stalinist bureaucracy, PL flirted with an idealist and ultra-left rejection of the entire communist tradition, then beat a hasty retreat and buried itself in its own single-issue reformist front groups (SDS, WAM), spinning off many of its more left-wing elements along the way.

Today nothing is left of PL's "hard communist" face except shameless obeisance before the most horrendous aspects of Stalinism. Although unable to defend any of Stalin's "theories," PL embraces his purges and prison camps. With revolting smugness, PL responds to Solzhenitsyn's portrayal of life in Stalin's prison camps by proclaiming, "After workers get through with him, the Gulag Archipelago will seem like Disneyland to Soldshitsin."

Certainly no one could have expected from PL any semblance of Marxist analysis. But the *Challenge* monstrosity lacks even a hint of compassion for the victims of Stalin's barbarous counter-revolutionary policies—not merely the persecuted intellectuals in present-day Russia, but the millions who faced hardship and starvation as the result of Stalin's brutal forced collectivizations, the hundreds of thousands of old Bolsheviks and rank-and-file Communists arrested in the purges, the several thousand Left Oppositionists shot in the spring of 1938, the masses of workers and peasants who died defending the Soviet Union against the Nazi invasion even after Stalin's suicidal policies—toward the Army and oppressed nationalities—had brought the Soviet Union virtually to the brink of collapse.

TIME

From left: Joseph Stalin, Nikolai Bukharin, G.K. Ordzhonikidze. By the end of the purges only Stalin remained. In the Moscow Trials virtually the entire 1917 Bolshevik Central Committee and all remaining members of Lenin's Political Bureau (save Stalin himself) were convicted as "spies" and "traitors."

Solzhenitsyn is nothing more nor less than a disillusioned intellectual whose experiences under Stalin led him to repudiate socialism in favor of "enlightened" Western liberalism and the Russian Orthodox Church. He is willingly feeding ideological ammunition to the liberal bourgeois spokesmen, epitomized by the *New York Times*, who use Stalin's crimes as a rationalization for the crimes of racist, imperialist capitalism. But despite *Challenge's* hysteria, PL has in fact no real programmatic reason to denounce Solzhenitsyn, since PL itself terms present-day Russia "a fascist capitalist state." Presumably, then, PL believes workers need not defend the Soviet Union militarily against U.S. imperialism! If the USSR is capitalist and Solzhenitsyn is the "loyal opposition," as *Challenge* claims, what is all the fuss about?!

The Stalinist ruling clique usurped political power from a decimated Soviet working class in a political counter-revolution which required the repeated top-to-bottom purging of every level of the Communist Party and Comintern, every body of the Soviet state, every stratum of Russian society. In mortal danger both from world imperialism, which craves the destruction of the collectivist property forms upon which the bureaucracy rests, and from the international proletariat, which holds the power to sweep away the Stalinist parasites, the bureaucracy was compelled to transform the Comintern from an internationalist revolutionary organization into its opposite: a tool for selling out revolutions in the interest of "peaceful coexistence" with capitalism.

Stalinism's bureaucratic stranglehold over the Soviet economy, its oppression of non-Russian nationalities, its substitution of terror and lies for soviet democracy, its diplomatic deals with imperialism have undermined the gains of the October Revolution, have fostered apathy and cynicism among the Russian working people and have given hope to capitalist-restorationists within and without the USSR. And PL's only response is: long live Stalin!

PL's "program" for the USSR is: "Perhaps the bosses could do us a little favor and keep [Solzhenitsyn] alive and well until workers in Russia take power again." The article concludes, "This time he won't make the 'Gulag Archipelago'—the Grossinger's of Siberia. It's too good for him and his kind."

Comfortably ensconced in the richest and most powerful imperialist country in the world, PL can chortle with glee while vicariously exiling the world's reactionaries (and sundry disoriented intellectuals) to Siberian prison camps. For Leninists, however, there is no room for these vicious little games. Our task is more demanding but far more satisfying than PL's fantasies. Our task is the struggle for the rebirth of the Fourth International, the world proletarian party which will safeguard the gains of the October Revolution in the only way possible: the extension of the revolution, which will dispense once and for all with the Stalinist usurpers as it sweeps the imperialists into the dustbin of history. ■

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6 ISSUES

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Not Ford, but a Workers Government!

the experts examining any other tapes (presumably he would be more content with a panel of used car dealers from Southern California!), the destruction of relevant tapes held by the CIA, etc.—only serve to further implicate Nixon and his staff in the scandal.

Watergate has turned into a nightmare for Nixon. Like a man trapped in quicksand, the more desperately he thrashes about trying to free himself the deeper he sinks into the mire. Other members of the Republican Party, fearful that they too might be dragged under, are deserting him. Thus the Republicans in the House of Representatives joined with the Democrats in voting (410 to 4) a motion giving the House Judiciary Committee power to subpoena Nixon in pursuing its impeachment investigation. By voting this motion the Republicans also hope to speed the hearings along, getting the Watergate affair settled before the election in the fall. The Democrats of course would like to drag the hearings out in hopes of obtaining an electoral advantage out of the issue. Since Nixon had already indicated in his State of the Union speech that "one year of Watergate is enough" and that he would cooperate with the Judiciary Committee only to the extent that such cooperation did nothing to "weaken the office of the presidency," the stage is set for an early confrontation.

The Bourgeoisie Contemplates Impeachment

Significant bourgeois forces now want to throw Nixon to the wolves, replacing him with an equally reactionary caretaker, the "honest" Gerald Ford. In this way they hope to refurbish the bourgeois democratic political system so deeply tarnished by the Watergate revelations. But even if Ford is installed in the White House, either through impeachment of Nixon or his resignation, it is uncertain that this will eliminate the "crisis of confidence" in capitalist politics. At best Ford would be the caretaker of a shaky interim regime.

Worse yet, Watergate comes at a bad time for the U.S. ruling class. It follows on the heels of the unsuccessful and deeply hated imperialist war in Vietnam. It comes at a time when the working masses and broad sections of the petty bourgeoisie are being ground to bits by a vicious inflation that hits hardest at the everyday necessities—food, clothing, rent, fuel. Real wages are dropping and essential commodities such as food and especially fuel are in short supply.

At the same time corporate profits are reaching astronomical levels, particularly in the case of the large oil companies. Giants like Texaco who have about as much public-relations sense as Nixon, complain that their profits are not high enough! They take out full-page advertisements to announce that they earned only $1.3 billion in 1973 (up 45.4 percent from 1972), but that they invested $1.6 billion "to help fill your energy needs." While Texaco weeps about its rate of profit, tens of thousands of workers are being laid off as a consequence of the phony energy "crisis."

Continence

The objective basis thus exists for extremely sharp class struggles. And already the volatile petty-bourgeois independent truckers, faced with a loss of one third of their income because of skyrocketing fuel prices, de facto fuel rationing and unnecessary speed restrictions, launched a work stoppage that crippled shipments of food and steel and brought about the mobilization of state police and national guardsmen in several states. So far the trade unions have been quiet—so quiet, in fact, that the rabidly anti-labor *New York Times* can only shake its head and marvel at the restraint of the unions.

> "The only bright spot in the anti-inflation picture has been the continence of organized labor in the face of the sharp ascent in living costs, but that continence has brought a 3 percent shrinkage in purchasing power of the average paycheck over the past year."
> —*New York Times*, 7 February 1974

Responsible for this "continence" and sitting atop this social powderkeg are the current misleaders of the labor movement, Meany, Abel, Beirne, Woodcock, Miller, etc. For the past several years these servile lap dogs of the capitalist class have outdone themselves in selling out the labor movement. Rather than mobilize the millions

Continued from page 7

Heath Calls Elections...

commit no greater betrayal at this time than to allow the struggle against Heath's reactionary measures—the three-day workweek, the Phase III state wage controls, the massive budget cuts, threatening the miners with troops—to be decided by parliamentary means. An electoral victory for the Tories would worsen the position of the miners and make a general strike even more urgent, as the second Heath government would consider it had a political basis for an all-out attack on the unions.

As for the possibility of a Labour victory, Wilson, Callaghan and the rest of the party leadership have made it absolutely clear by their foot-dragging, red-baiting and back-stabbing of the miners' struggle that British workers could not rely on a Labour government to satisfy their needs. In fact, if the Labour Party were elevated to the government, this would only intensify the contradictions in its midst, allowing revolutionists to convincingly demonstrate the meaning of Wilson's pro-capitalist policies in practice, demanding the Labour Party expropriate the key sectors of the bourgeoisie, that it settle strikes on terms favorable to the workers, etc. Its certain failure to carry out these measures, i.e., to act like a genuine *workers* government, would convince broad masses of workers of the need to build a revolutionary alternative to the existing reformist (Labour Party and CP) misleaders of labor.

In no case should the British workers accept a Tory electoral majority as meaning five more years of Ted Heath. A general strike should have the aim not only of smashing the government's economic measures, but forcing yet another election to throw it out of office. Political loyalties change rapidly in a general strike situation and the determination of the organized working class to combat reaction would win over wavering middle-class elements. The current wavering of TUC and Labour Party leaders over their attitude toward the strike, on the other hand, is the best guarantee of a conservative election victory. They are well aware of this, but would clearly prefer Heath in power than to be brought to power in a time of sharp class struggle.

The Trades Union Congress must call an immediate congress of labor to prepare a general strike organized through shop stewards' committees for the following demands:

—Victory for the Miners and Railwaymen—Smash Government Wage Control!
—For a Major, Across-the-Board Wage Increase with Full Cost-of-Living Adjustment!
—Smash the Lockout—Restore the Five-Day Workweek and Rescind the Budget Cuts!
—Abolish the Industrial Relations Act! Repeal the Emergency Measures Act!
—Britain Out of the Common Market!
—Oust the Tory Government! For a Labour Party/TUC Government Pledged to a Socialist Program of Expropriating the Capitalist Class! ■

British miners demonstrate in front of Parliament during 1972 strike.

WORKERS PRESS

VICTORY TO THE BRITISH MINERS' STRIKE!

British miners are today waging one of the most crucial strikes since the end of World War II. The future of all British workers for the next several years will be determined by its outcome! Aiming to break through Heath's vicious state wage controls (similar to those which plague U.S. workers), British miners are in the vanguard of the world working class in resisting the bosses' attempts to place the cost of mounting economic crisis on the backs of the working people. Their fight is our fight!

The Spartacist League urges that during the next momentous days demonstrations in support of the British miners be held in key cities around the country. We propose that such demonstrations should be called by solidarity action committees seeking to include all those labor and socialist organizations, and other individual militants and radicals, who recognize the urgency of uniting in common around the single critical issue of victory for the British miners. This demand does not exhaust the issues raised by the miners' strike, and we of course expect all individuals and groups to exercise their right to raise additional slogans or demands expressing their own particular viewpoints, as we also intend to do. In addition to victory to the British miners' strike, the Spartacist League calls for: Smash State Wage Controls in Britain and in the U.S.! Defend the Miners—Smash the Wage Freeze with a General Strike in Britain! Down with the Queen's Army, Only a Labor Militia Can Defend Working People! Smash British Bosses' Rule—Same Enemy in Ireland and the Mines! Labour to Power; For a Real Workers Government—Nationalize All British Industry Under Workers Control!

We believe it is urgent that all interested individuals and groups come together in the next few days to form committees for solidarity actions in support of the British miners' strike in the main U.S. cities. In this important task the Spartacist League pledges its wholehearted assistance. We also draw attention to additional acts of labor solidarity with the British miners' strike which can aid the struggle. A telegram by United Auto Workers President Leonard Woodcock shortly after the announcement of the strike stated:

> "I send to all members of the NUMW [National Union of Mine Workers] of Britain our strongest sentiments of solidarity with you in your courageous struggle for justice and equality.
> "You had no responsibility in creating the inflation from which you seek relief, for it is a worldwide event spurred by complex causes totally foreign to you as miners—or us as auto workers—for that matter.
> "To men of property, workers are always a convenient scapegoat or potential object to teach a lesson to. We thus stand with you in your refusal to become victims and to have your fair demands for economic and social justice met."

A resolution in support of the British miners' strike passed recently by UAW Local 6 (Chicago) puts teeth in Woodcock's empty "solidarity" rhetoric. The Local 6 resolution calls on the International to contribute financially and demands hot-cargoing of all shipments to Britain of goods which could be used to break the strike (such as coal).

(Those militants whose only contact with the projected demonstrations is through this announcement are encouraged to contact the Spartacist League in their locality in order to cooperate in common action. Consult the directory elsewhere in this issue for addresses and telephone numbers.)

of working people in struggle against the bosses and their wage controls, these cringing cowards fall in line behind the policies of the bosses' government and crawl on their bellies to their Democratic Party "friends of labor" to wheedle a few crumbs to take back to the union ranks.

When the most elemental class-struggle opposition to their bureaucratic sellouts arises these labor skates try to brutally suppress it. Witness the 1,000-man goon squad mobilized by the "liberal" Woodcock to crush the Mack Avenue wildcat last summer. The crocodile tears these fakers shed over the lack of democracy in the Stalinist-ruled countries are sheer hypocracy. The internal regimes in many of their own unions are hardly better than those prevailing in the deformed workers states.

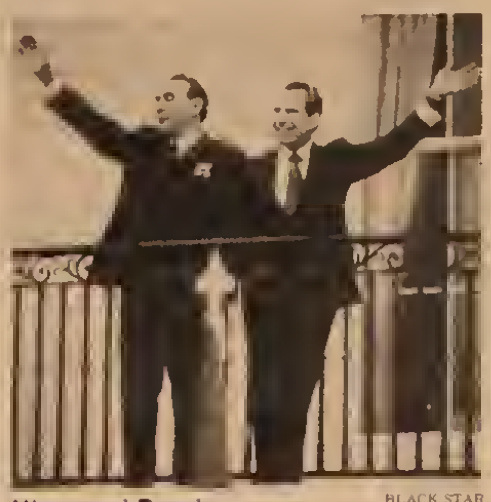
For a Class-Struggle Alternative

Seeing that Nixon's ship was going down some time ago many of the bureaucrats rushed to save themselves and draw attention from their betrayals by denouncing Nixon. Hence Meany, who had given tacit support to Nixon in the election, rushed an impeachment resolution through during the AFL-CIO Convention held in Miami Beach, the favorite watering spot for these fat overaged piecards. Realizing along with the bourgeoisie that Ford is at best an interim stand-in, and feeling acute pressure from the union ranks, they are casting about for an alternative that will let them and the capitalist order they serve off the hook. The best bet is that they will solidarize with the cold-war liberal wing of the Democratic Party, with the Senator from Boeing, Henry "Scoop" Jackson. Jackson's prescription for social peace is a strong dose of anti-communism, a vastly expanded defense budget and a few crumbs to the working class coated with a lot of New Deal rhetoric.

In the absence of a conscious intervention and sharp struggle by revolutionaries to crystallize a class-struggle alternative to the capitalist political parties, Meany, Woodcock and Co. will succeed in their schemes to keep the working class bound to the bourgeois order. But the present conjuncture of events—Watergate on the heels of the Vietnam War, a sharp decline in the living standards of the working masses in the face of grinding inflation, severe dislocations caused by the "energy crisis" which squeezes the masses and enriches the giant oil companies and the present extreme fragility of the ossified, narrowly based trade-union bureaucracy—presents unparalleled opportunities for revolutionaries to conduct such a struggle and intervention. The primary arena for this struggle must be in the organizations of the workers, the trade unions. The widespread disgust with all aspects of the Nixon regime and the broad sentiment for impeachment must be tapped and used as a springboard to launch a fight for a labor party counterposed to the twin parties of capitalism, the Democrats and Republicans, and committed to a class-struggle program.

Impeachment Is Not Enough!

Impeachment is not enough! To follow the lead of George Meany and Co. and call simply for the impeachment of Nixon is to give open support to the presidency of the wretched 95 percent anti-labor (according to the AFL-CIO) Gerald Ford. This is the line of the Communist Party U.S.A. which is having somewhat more trouble peacefully coexisting with Nixon than its mentors in the Kremlin. The Maoist wing of American Stalinism is no better than the CPUSA. The so-called Revolutionary Union says "Throw The Bum Out! Organize To Fight!" while admitting that it does not "give a damn who replaces Nixon" (*Revolution*, November 1973). The RU's rival, the October League, screams "Dump Nixon! Stop the Fascist Tide!" In no case does any of these organizations offer a class alternative to Nixon. Instead they simply tail Meany and the liberal wing of the ruling class.



Nixon and Brezhnev BLACK STAR

If the Stalinist wings of reformism have been revealed as bankrupt by the revolutionary tasks posed by the present period, so too have been the ex-Trotskyists of the Socialist Workers Party. The chief activity of the SWP in the past months has been to push its series of lawsuits against Nixon and the government for conspiring "against the rights of dissenters." These lawsuits have been useful in exposing the hypocrisy and corruption of the ruling class, revealing a government campaign of harassment, surveillance and provocation directed against the SWP and other left organizations. But to the SWP these suits are the alpha and omega of revolutionary policy, the "socialist offensive" against Watergate. This "offensive" reveals the SWP to have a set of priorities more in keeping with an outfit like the American Civil Liberties Union than a revolutionary organization and is typical of the reformism of these ex-Trotskyists.

What is more, the Socialist Workers Party, like the Stalinists, seems to feel that impeachment is the answer. This at least is the position of James P. Cannon, one of the founders of American Trotskyism and now national chairman emeritus of the SWP. In a recent interview on Watergate Cannon says:

> "This morning I received a copy of the *Workers Vanguard*.
> "Q. *That's Robertson's paper.*
> "A. Do you know what they say on the headline? 'Impeachment is not enough!' (Laughs.)
> "Q. *He has to be hanged by the thumbs, or something?*
> "A. (Laughs.) Returning to what the attitude of the radical movement used to be. . . ."
> —*Intercontinental Press*, 19 January

So impeachment is enough?! Gerald Ford takes over a slightly tarnished state apparatus of the imperialist bourgeoisie and American capitalism continues its spiral toward a third imperialist war. What does the SWP care? After all, even with Ford as President the bourgeois judicial system, Nixon and the FBI will still be around so that the SWP can pursue its court cases.

The Socialist Workers Party

What, Comrade Cannon and comrades of the SWP, should the aspiration of the workers movement be toward dealing with Richard Nixon? To hang him by the thumbs? No. Certainly not for his crimes against bourgeois democracy. Rather, as we stated in *Workers Vanguard* last August:

> "The proper aspiration of the American workers movement is to extradite this man and his entourage to some place like North Vietnam, where a real tribunal of the peers of his victims might be convened and a just verdict possibly arrived at. For our part, we aspire to lead the working class in a socialist revolution which can provide the definitive verdict on Nixon's rule—by sweeping him and his class into the dust-bin of history."
> —*Workers Vanguard*, 3 August 1973

This historic task will not be accomplished by the SWP's "socialist offensive" (court cases) against Watergate, which is at best a secondary tactic to expose and utilize the contradictions inherent in bourgeois democracy. Rather what is required is the mobilization of militants in the labor movement around the Transitional Program in a struggle to oust the present misleaders of labor and to replace them with a class-struggle leadership fighting for a workers government. The SWP, which for factional reasons (the fight in the "United" Secretariat) finds it convenient to put on an orthodox front, has recently taken a verbal turn to the left and begun to pay lip service to this perspective.

Thus a statement issued by the SWP 1974 National Campaign Committee reads:

> "They [the union bureaucrats] will have to be swept aside and a new leadership constructed if the unions are to be transformed into organs of revolutionary struggle, instead of remaining the tail of the Democratic Party kite!"
> —*Militant*, 8 February 1974

Words are cheap! And for the SWP this is just so much hot air. It costs them nothing because they have nothing in the labor movement . . . to sell out. Comrades of the SWP, are you really finally going to counterpose yourselves to the fake militants and Democrats like Miller, Morrissey and Chavez whom you have been tailing from your armchairs all these years? Now you say a labor party could "win support from the Black and Chicano communities, from the students and women." What, then, has happened to your perspective of community control and for independent black and Chicano parties?? Are you really preparing to part company with fakers like Fuentes in New York City? Do you really think petty-bourgeois hustlers such as he will support a labor party based on trade unions that are organs of revolutionary struggle? The only thing this teasing display of orthodoxy proves is the complete cynicism of the SWP leadership. Their betrayal of the working class is conscious; it does not flow from ignorance of Trotskyist principles.

Not Ford, but a Workers Government!

No, the historic tasks of the working class will not be accomplished under the leadership of scoundrels like those of the SWP, but under the leadership of revolutionaries committed to the Trotskyist program of proletarian revolution. Raise the cry in the unions that impeachment is not enough! The workers movement must demand new elections in order that it can field its own candidates, committed not to the Democratic and Republican parties of the bosses but to the creation of a workers party based on the trade unions, with a class-struggle program fighting for a workers government. If the bourgeoisie refuses, labor must be prepared to launch a general strike to force new elections so that it can run its own candidates against the capitalist parties: Dump the Meanys, Woodcocks and Millers! Forward to a workers government!

This is the Trotskyist perspective of utilizing the current political crisis of the bourgeoisie to advance the struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat. The future belongs not to the sorry reformists of the SWP with their strategy of "Watersuits," their chasing after every petty-bourgeois fad, their capitulation to the present consciousness of the masses in the name of "tactics." Rather, the task of revolutionaries is, in the words of the Transitional Program: "To face reality squarely; not to seek the line of least resistance; to call things by their right names; to speak the truth to the masses, no matter how bitter it may be; not to fear obstacles; to be true in little things as in big ones; to base one's program on the logic of the class struggle; to be bold when the hour for action arrives—these are the rules of the Fourth International. It has shown that it could swim against the stream. The approaching historical wave will raise it on its crest." ■

Correction

In *WV* No. 36 (18 January 1974) our introduction to the article "Australian Labor Government's Wage/Price Controls Referendum Defeated" incorrectly referred to SWAG, Socialist Workers Action Group, as a Maoist-Stalinist organization. SWAG is rather a small Shachtmanite group, similar to the U.S. International Socialists, located in Melbourne.

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REVOLUTIONARY LITERATURE

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...Steel

to pit U.S. workers against their foreign brothers:

> "So you, an American steel worker, will have to let them know . . . that you, personally, are out to increase the productivity of your country's steel industry. Know that you are in a man-to-man fight with your steel-making 'opposites' in Japan, Germany, France, wherever. A one-to-one contest. Take the offensive. . . ."
>
> —from "Where's Joe?" a film produced jointly by the USWA and the steel companies

Frustrated in their most direct attempts to smash work rules and eliminate jobs in the 1959 strike, the steel companies hoped to achieve these aims indirectly by establishing the misnamed "Human Relations Committee." Transformed into Productivity Committees at the plant level by Abel, these joint union/management plant bodies provide for a more gradual erosion of labor's gains through promoting "orderly and peaceful relations with employees to achieve uninterrupted operations" (eliminating strikes), "more efficient use of production time" (speed-up), "boosting employee morale" (company loyalty), and "focusing employee awareness on the productivity problems and the real threat of foreign competition." In similar language, a USWA pamphlet allows for the possibility of "displacement" (mass layoffs) of members in cases of "demonstrable technological change."

Abel justifies his program of improving company productivity through speed-up, layoffs, eliminating strikes, etc., by the need to "protect American jobs" against foreign competition. In fact, it has nothing to do with job protection at all. (In twenty years, U.S. steel productivity, which has been constantly rising, has led to a workforce reduced by one third. Each worker now produces twice the amount of steel as a generation ago!) Rather, Abel's program is a reflection of the *companies'* interests in fighting foreign competition. The *workers* will benefit above all from international labor solidarity against their common class enemies.

American steel companies are locked into a deadly battle for control of the world steel market. They feel at a disadvantage, partly because the Japanese and Germans have more completely modernized plant and equipment (the result of having their industry destroyed in World War II), and partly because other countries (Japan, Britain) are further along the road of monopolization. Having lost their predominant position in world trade, the U.S. steel companies are predictably beginning to clamor again for the abandonment of anti-monopoly regulations, so that they can undertake mergers and joint ventures, thereby achieving additional economies of scale. They are also demanding the lifting of price controls, promising to sacrifice, to the last drop of their workers' blood, in order to improve the position of U.S. industry!

In December, Bethlehem promised a huge expansion program if the government lifted price controls. This was temporarily turned down. On February 7 of this year, the company announced a massive cutback involving layoffs at its Sparrows Point and Lackawanna plants, ostensibly because of the "coal shortage." But the *New York Times* (8 February) quoted an executive of another steel company as saying, "we can't see why Bethlehem is getting so excited all at once, unless they're trying to get some price relief somehow"!

As long as capitalism survives, the inevitable result of the cutthroat international competition of the steel companies is a new world war. Abel is a direct agent of the capitalists in their drive toward war, through his incitement of chauvinist hatred against foreign workers. But the working class has no interest in supporting this capitalist competition and the resulting imperialist wars. Labor's interests lie in improving the living standards of all workers, since unequal wages only promote the movement of capital to the areas with the highest rate of exploitation and greatest profits. To the capitalists' nationalist competition, the proletariat must counterpose international working-class solidarity. But in order to do this, steel workers will have to oust the rabidly chauvinist and reactionary Abel bureaucracy and replace it with a leadership based on a program of class struggle.

The Memorial Day Massacre at Republic Steel, South Chicago, 1937.

CP Supports "Struggle"—In the Courts

Of all the ostensible revolutionary alternatives, the reformist Communist Party is by far the most influential in steel. The CP supports and influences the National Steelworkers Rank and File Committee and the groups with which the NSRFC forms coalitions. Among these are the Rank and File Team (RAFT), which grew out of the dues protest movement led by Donald Rarick; the Workers for Democracy group of New-Left syndicalist Staughton Lynd; and the Ad Hoc Committee of Concerned Steelworkers, which was formed in 1964 as an organization of black staff members pressuring for more black representation in the higher levels of the union.

Aside from their general reformist programs, what is shared by all these groups is their willingness at every opportunity to invite the capitalist state to decide the internal affairs of working-class organizations, thereby helping to undercut the independence of the trade unions from the state. The entire thrust of these groups' response to the ENA, besides collecting names on petitions, has been to attempt to overturn the no-strike deal in the courts.

The CP backs this reformist tactic all the way. "Steel Unionists Sue to End No-Strike Pact," blared the front-page headline of the *Daily World* (9 January). The CP-supported suit was filed by 35 plaintiffs from 14 locals. It asks a federal district court to rule the ENA null and void, and seeks an injunction to prevent the union from submitting unresolved issues to arbitration without first securing rank-and-file approval.

It also attempts to get the courts to give the rank and file the right to approve contracts. "The top officialdom of the United Steelworkers of America is under a siege of legal suits from several sources challenging its bureaucratic and class-collaborationist politics," cheers George Morris in the *Daily World* (6 December 1973). Morris had earlier called for legal action under "labor's bill of rights" section of the Landrum-Griffin Act!

Workers protest use of Toft-Hartley injunction against 1959 steel strike.

Though the CP was no less reformist at the time, its literature during the 1959 strike (after the government had ordered steel workers back to work under the Taft-Hartley law), wasn't so generous about what could be achieved by workers with anti-labor laws such as Landrum-Griffin. The latter was correctly identified as part of "the open war of the steel lords against the steel workers" ("Steel Profits vs. Steel Labor," Communist Party leaflet). This, of course, was before suing the union to enforce anti-labor laws became popular with various "socialists" and aspiring bureaucrats.

The incredible absurdity and crass betrayal of asking the U.S. courts, state instruments of the bourgeoisie, to counteract the class collaborationism of the trade-union bureaucracy and grant wholesale democratic rights to the workers can only come in a period of tremendous political disorientation of the workers, aided by misleaders such as Abel and the CP. These tactics completely ignore the class nature of the bourgeois state.

The government and its courts, agents of the corporations, will only intervene in the labor movement to enhance the integration of the unions into the capitalist system, rob their independence and freedom of action, lay the basis for further class collaboration and, where possible, to bolster illusions as to the "neutrality" of the state in the class conflict. Only an organization which has no interest whatsoever in promoting the *independent* class organization of the workers could, like the CP, see taking the unions to court as a simple tactical question, sometimes acceptable and sometimes not.

CP Gives "Critical" Support to Sadlowski

The utter reformism of the Communist Party's strategy of pressure tactics directed at one or another wing of the bureaucracy is quite evident from the character of the caucuses it supports in the Steelworkers. Despite some nice phrases in the NSRFC program, it and other CP-backed groups support court cases seeking to overrule union elections and they support would-be bureaucrats regardless of their programs (or lack of such). Thus the CP lauds the court suit of Ed Sadlowski, a former International staff representative in District 31, who unsuccessfully tried to unseat the Abel-backed district director. Sadlowski's program is explicitly modeled on that of Arnold Miller of the Mine Workers. He has close ties with anti-Daley Chicago liberal aldermen Des Press and Singer, and he is quarterbacked by the same Joseph Rauh, the lawyer who stage-managed Miller's elevation to the UMW presidency via Labor Department intervention. Occasional criticism of Sadlowski in the CP press for such minor "details" as failure to oppose the ENA (i.e., for being politically indistinguishable from his opponent) do not prevent members of CP-backed rank-and-file caucuses from supporting his campaign as well as his court suit.

Attempts to pursue the struggle against the sellout union leadership through the bosses' courts can only benefit the class enemy. The capitalists can only gain from the pitting of one section of the workers movement against another before their courts, permitting them to pick their preferred instrument to subordinate the unions to their interests. This is true despite the fact that partial and temporary gains are occasionally (but not usually) obtained for the plaintiffs. While taking the *companies* to court is not unprincipled for socialists, it is only a secondary tactic and often a court suit will be turned against its initiators, actually serving to divide the workers even when token gains are won for one section of the class. There is no better example of this than the Fairfield, Alabama ruling on discrimination in U.S. Steel, which the CP views as a "great victory" for steel workers.

Discrimination is deeply rooted in steel, despite the fact that black workers have long been present in the industry and have often played an important and leading role in building the union, as in the crucial Bethlehem Lackawanna strike in 1940. Discriminatory hiring and upgrading patterns have kept blacks in the hot, dirty, dangerous jobs in the coke ovens and blast furnaces. Gross racial segregation still extends in many plants even to the eating and clean-up facilities, with blacks strictly isolated in inferior areas, in both the North and the South. The departmental seniority system "locks in" all workers in whatever department they were first hired into by restricting advancement to within that department. Transferring to another department means starting at the bottom of the list, losing all seniority and often involves a loss in pay.

Since the civil-rights upsurge of the 1960's such a continuation of old patterns of rigid segregation and blatantly open discrimination in industries such as steel has become a liability for the capitalist system as a whole. Such gross injustices create a very large and potentially revolutionary minority of doubly oppressed workers in key sectors of American industry. The capitalists are willing to appease one section

of the working class at the expense of another as long as *they* don't have to pay the price. Court actions against the steel companies by black workers on the basis of the 1964 Civil Rights Act have thus begun to reverse the historic patterns of discrimination and replace them with new patterns, less extreme perhaps, but no less divisive.

Fairfield Ruling Cannot Unite Steel Workers

The most sweeping ruling was made in May of last year by a federal district court in Birmingham, Alabama as a result of a suit brought by individuals and joined by the Justice Department against U.S. Steel's Fairfield, Alabama works. Highly touted by the CP, the court order purports to establish plant-wide rather than departmental seniority throughout the entire plant, which would eliminate discrimination and allow transferring between departments. Although its October meeting in Cleveland had a long debate as to whether the effects of this ruling would inflame or calm racial tension, the NSRFC calls for the implementation of its principles throughout the industry.

There is no doubt that these principles will be of some immediate benefit to blacks, but there is also no doubt that the ruling will tend to further divide the workers. The order makes no mention, of course, of the overall number of jobs available. In a limited job market, advances for blacks into new areas can only come at the expense of white workers. This, in turn, can only create new tensions, with the government seen as the protector of blacks and with the union, which was named as a co-defendant with the company, seen as the enemy of blacks and a legitimate target of government attack.

Furthermore, under a cloud of anti-discrimination rhetoric and the insistence on plant-wide seniority for all workers, the CP-backed ruling incorporates and extends aspects of favoritism based on race. Interdepartmental transfers are allowed for all, but the guarantee of rate retention ("red-circling," i.e., no pay cut) is extended only to blacks. The order also calls for the back pay owed to some of the black plaintiffs in the case to be paid half by the company and *half by the workers*, through an assessment on the union!

This will clearly arouse racial antagonisms on the part of white workers who will feel they are being punished for historic discrimination by the companies. The court furthermore set out quotas for blacks in skilled trades, technical and management sections of the plant and established a joint committeee composed of three elements: the company, the union and the black workers, the latter being represented by individual workers. These provisions will inevitably serve to break down union solidarity, to pit blacks against whites in competition for a shrinking number of jobs and to endear the government to black workers for its "protection" of their status against fellow workers.

While the NSRFC criticizes some of the shortcomings of the Fairfield ruling and also calls for a shorter workweek at no loss in pay to make more jobs available for all workers, nevertheless its campaign in favor of implementing the court order is not only an endorsement of government intervention against the union as well as the company, but is a substitute for the class-struggle organization required to mobilize the ranks in the struggle for plant-wide seniority, and end to all forms of discrimination and a shorter workweek.

Revolutionists must oppose all forms of racial and sexual discrimination (the Fairfield ruling omits all reference to women) and support specific actions which break down such barriers, but they do not look to the courts to implement this program, a strategy which can only create illusions and build new divisions. Revolutionists in steel should support specific implementations of court rulings against the companies which eliminate discrimination against blacks (while opposing all actions against the union by the state). But they must sharply criticize the inadequacies of the court orders, point out how competition for a limited pool of jobs aids the companies and turns the workers away from united class struggle and warn against the dangers of a "program" to fight discrimination through reliance on the bosses' government.

The Abel bureaucracy, for its part, is playing into the hands of the government by stalling on implementation and collaborating with the companies to avoid massive back payments by the companies to workers who were discriminated against, thereby leading blacks to view the union as the enemy of struggle against discrimination and of basic trade-union solidarity. That Abel is no friend of black workers is not in doubt, but the bureaucracy is not the union. The function of the CP's actions is to create a parallel false perception—namely that the U.S. government is a "friend of labor."

Is the Justice Department the friend of black workers? Hardly. The bourgeoisie is merely in the process of readjusting the priorities in its constant policy of dividing the workers so that they compete against each other rather than fight the system which causes their oppression. In this effort, the capitalists are aided, on the one hand, by the reactionary, racist union bureaucracy and, on the other, by an assortment of liberal lawyers, petty-bourgeois, anti-labor, government-financed black groups (such as Jesse Jackson's PUSH in Chicago), and reformist fakers like the Communist Party. Against this unholy alliance it is necessary to fight to reorient the unions along the path of united labor action against capitalism.

At the present time, faced with a solidly entrenched union bureaucracy, this effort centers on the building of class-struggle caucuses in the unions, caucuses which represent not simply one more motley collection of left-talking fake militants trailing after out-bureaucrats, but which are instead committed to a consistent class-struggle program in the interests of the entire proletariat. Rather than pushing the divisive schemes of the bosses' government, such caucuses would mobilize the ranks to fight for real plant-wide seniority at no expense to presently employed workers, through ending all discriminatory barriers, ensuring fair hiring through union control and uniting all workers in struggle to make more jobs through a shorter workweek at no loss in pay. Instead of encouraging illusions in abstract justice under capitalism, the "fairness" of the bourgeois courts and the capitalist politician "friends of labor," as does the reformist CP, such caucuses would promote working-class politics through the struggle against protectionism, for proletarian internationalism and for a workers party based on the trade unions to fight for a workers government.

While not opposing individual court suits against the companies, a class-struggle leadership would expose the danger of government intervention into the labor movement and the futility of seeking changes of benefit to labor as a whole through the courts. In the short as well as the long run, bourgeois "justice" is a trap for workers: there is only class justice, and this must be fought for through mobilization of the entire working class against capitalism. ■

SL FORUM

Britain's Winter of Class War

Speaker: JOSEPH SEYMOUR
SL Central Committee

Friday, February 15
Boylston Hall, Harvard University

CAMBRIDGE

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Continued from page 1

Truckers' Protest Fizzles...

York charged Shell Oil last week with hoarding one million barrels of heating oil for speculative purposes in the first such case to reach the courts (*New York Times*, 7 February).

The response of the Nixon government has been quite different, however. With actual fuel supplies down only 5 percent in December, the U.S. ordered gasoline production and allocation to be cut back by 20 percent in January and February. And with domestic petroleum now substantially cheaper than Near Eastern crude, the government authorized companies to raise prices at will on all production above 1972 levels, leading to a doubling in price in the space of two months for this so-called "new" production. The clear intention of U.S. energy policies is to pass all increased prices through to the consumer while attempting to blame the Arabs for the situation.

Independent ("owner-operated") truckers reacted sharply to these policies during early and mid-December and again during the last two weeks, calling a nationwide work stoppage, blocking truck stops, picketing terminals, etc. Their demands centered primarily on a fuel price rollback, although other issues such as uniform interstate weight and size regulations were also added. In the negotiations with Nixon cabinet officials last week, however, the government managed to convince trucker association leaders to settle for rapid approval of higher freight rates instead. As we go to press it appears that the administration has been successful in this tactic, although thousands of individual operators continued to express vehement dissatisfaction with the "settlement."

We are far from glorifying the independent truckers, who are part of the petty bourgeoisie rather than the working class. They are of the same social stratum from which the Chilean capitalists recruited thousands of supporters for their counterrevolutionary plans of economic sabotage of the Allende regime. In the U.S., which has proportionately one of the largest and relatively affluent petty bourgeoisies of all the major capitalist countries, fostering illusions about a "progressive" middle class can be disastrous. Nevertheless, this protest was clearly directed against the monopolies and their government and required from the labor movement both firm support and, above all, leadership. It received neither.

The powerful Teamsters' union, led by the pro-Nixon Fitzsimmons bureaucracy, did not lift a finger to support the independent truckers. Despite the fact that several hundred thousand Teamster over-the-road drivers have had their wages substantially cut (up to 20 percent) by Nixon's needless reduction of speed limits, it took several weeks of protest from the ranks before the IBT leaders demanded a reopening of contract talks with the freight companies. Even then they did not call on the membership to join the stoppage.

During the last ten days, when the administration was attempting to buy off the protesters with promises of higher freight rates, decisive intervention by the truck drivers' union could have galvanized the small owner-operators into fighting for their original demand of a full fuel price rollback, a demand which is in the interests of the working class as well as wide sections of the petty bourgeoisie. By leading a fight against fuel price increases the IBT leaders could also have won broad public support for their demands to reopen the contract, allowing them to initiate a fight against Nixon's until-now effective yet highly unpopular wage controls. But to do this would have required a class-struggle union leadership rather than the present conservative pro-capitalist bureaucracy.

A revolutionary leadership would not simply beg for a few more crumbs from the government and the companies but attack the capitalist "fuel crisis" conspiracy at its source. In a situation in which even the U.S. government has no independent information about the actual stocks of petroleum in the hands of the oil monopolies (except, it says, for CIA reports), the demand for opening the books of the fuel companies to workers' inspection would prove what is widely asserted (namely that stocks are at record levels). With oil profits up 50-60 percent in the last year, as consumers suffer from manipulated "shortages" and skyrocketing prices, the demand for expropriation of the oil trusts, without compensation, under workers control would be enthusiastically supported by sectors of the population far beyond the numbers of convinced socialists.

Trotskyists raise such transitional demands at all times in their propaganda, for their task is to take isolated trade-union and reform struggles and direct them toward the only solution which corresponds to the interests of labor—a workers government which would expropriate the capitalists as a class. Reformists and opportunists, such as the Communist Party, are content to raise slogans such as nationalization now when they are popular, but shrink from anything so radical when times are quieter. The existing trade-union bureaucracy, however, is as conscious of its role as defender of the capitalist system as we are of ours as its gravediggers. Consequently they consistently refuse to raise a program threatening the continuation of the exploitation system—even if the alternative is ignominious defeat for labor at the hands of the companies.

The independent truckers lacked clear direction and were weakened by their contradictory position as small entrepreneurs. They could easily have been organized by firm proletrarian leadership in a key section of the labor movement, thereby possibly sparking a general working-class offensive against the capitalists' "fuel crisis" attack on the masses' living standards. Once again, the key question is one of revolutionary leadership. ■

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Box 663A, General P.O.
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WORKERS VANGUARD

Opposition Mounts to Steel No-Strike Deal

Abel Pushes "Productivity," Speed-up

The announcement last March of a special, four-year no-strike agreement for the steel industry by United Steelworkers (USWA) President I.W. Abel and company representatives was probably the most blatant in a string of class-collaborationist betrayals by every section of the trade-union bureaucracy last year. The union leadership's complete unconcern for the needs of the membership managed to head off what could have been a massive confrontation of labor and capital, utterly destroying Nixon's pro-business wage controls in the process. Instead, not one of the major contracts signed in 1973 even came close to maintaining the workers' living standards in the face of an 8.9 percent rate of inflation of consumer prices.

Bourgeois press pundits predictably hailed the "historic" nature of Abel's sellout and the "restraint" of labor. However, contrary to many hopeful predictions from highly interested observers outside the ranks of labor, Abel's new version of the no-strike pledge has yet to be adopted by a major union, or any section of the Steelworkers other than basic steel. Even here there has been widespread protest from a large number of locals. The crucial test of the bureaucracy's ability to implement this anti-labor deal is drawing near, in the struggle surrounding the negotiations over the basic steel contract. The negotiations have already begun, despite the fact that the present contract does not expire until August.

Abel's No-Strike Pledge

The no-strike deal, the "Experimental Negotiating Agreement" (ENA), represents the codification of the most reactionary trends within the labor bureaucracy, toward increasing cooperation with the bourgeois state and with the imperialist appetites of capitalism. The ENA provides that there will be no national strikes in the steel industry until 1977. Regular three-year contracts would continue to be signed, but with all unresolved issues going to binding arbitration.

In return for this "historic" betrayal, the steel companies guaranteed a minimum three percent yearly wage increase (!), cost-of-living escalator (totally inadequate, naturally), and a one-time $150 bonus. Local strikes are allowed, but these are controlled directly by the International President, who will of course time them in accordance with the spirit of the ENA—namely, so as to create as little "disruption of production" as possible.

In direct violation of a decision of the 1972 USWA convention, which stipulated that any arbitration deal would have to be approved by the membership, Abel put his ENA sellout over without even *informing* rank-and-file steel workers, let alone allowing them to vote on it. It was sprung on the Basic Steel Industry Conference, a delegated body composed largely of local officers, without any advance notice. Since steel workers have never had the right of contract ratification anyway, the ENA was thus considered passed and in force! Thus after secret negotiations between their "leaders" and the companies, and for a pittance in contract concessions and an insulting bribe, steel workers were told

I.W. Abel

to peacefully surrender their right to strike—the only real weapon the workers have in the battle against the bosses (see *WV* No. 20, 11 May 1973).

Since then, Abel's "experiment" has remained alive, but it is in trouble. The *New York Times* (14 September 1973) sounded a warning of rank-and-file protest scarcely six months after the agreement went into effect. Moreover, petitions against ENA circulated by the Right to Strike Committee of District 31 (Chicago and Gary) and rank-and-file groups supported by the Communist Party have collected tens of thousands of signatures. At the January Basic Steel Industry Conference in Washington there was a picket protesting the ENA, and 100 coke oven workers from Bethlehem's Sparrows Point works invaded the meeting shouting, "Whose union is this?" and carrying signs which read, "End slave labor," "The right to strike is not for sale," and "I.W. Abel—traitor to labor, waiter to the bosses."

Equally significant was the rebuff handed Abel by sections of the union other than basic steel and by rank-and-file revolts in local USWA elections at the end of last year. All incumbent local presidents except one were thrown out in District 28 (Cleveland area), and machine-backed district directors were returned only through the most blatant election fraud in at least two districts, including the crucial District 31. The aluminum and can sections of the union, also approaching contract expirations, rejected the ENA pledge. The Container Industrial Conference insisted on further preconditions which the companies turned down. A sign of the times—District 9 Director William Moran, who chaired the conference, allowed criticism of Abel to flow uninterruptedly in order to improve his chances in the next International elections, in which Abel will be ineligible to run.

The ENA represents the concerted efforts of the companies and labor tops to destroy the independence of the trade-union movement. If successful, it could lead to compulsory arbitration for all workers and complete integration of the union organizations into the bosses' state apparatus. Nazi Germany, which destroyed all independent unions, was only the most extreme example of this trend, which is present in all capitalist countries in the imperialist epoch. Like the union bureaucracy's support for bourgeois political parties, its defense of imperialist wars, productivity schemes and direct government interference in the internal affairs of the unions, the ENA is one more expression of the subordination of the union bureaucracy to the interests of the capitalists.

The Failure of Simple Trade Unionism

Abel cites the Steelworkers' founding president Philip Murray as the chief authority for his class-collaborationist course—as well he might, since Abel's sellout has been well prepared by the gross bureaucratism and ineffective use of the strike weapon by all past leaders of the USWA. The Steel Workers Organizing Committee (SWOC) was set up under the iron hand of John L. Lewis and his lieutenants from the Mine Workers in 1936. U.S. Steel was organized without a strike as a result of the tremendous impact of the auto sitdowns of 1936-37, but the Little Steel campaign in 1938 was lost because the Lewis leadership, aided by the Stalinist Communist Party (whose members were the backbone of the SWOC), urged reliance on the Roosevelt government and refused to arm the workers. The police killed several workers and the strike was defeated.

The Lewis tradition from the Mine Workers, including completely undemocratic internal union life (Lewis reigned without opposition in the UMW for a quarter of a century) and support for mechanization and company productivity schemes even at the expense of workers' jobs, was imposed on steel workers from above. The Steelworkers had no internal union life whatsoever, or even autonomy, until 1942, when SWOC finally became the USWA. President Murray faithfully followed in Lewis' footsteps, remarking at the founding conference that, "I do not want this convention to waste a single solitary moment of its time discussing, by resolution or otherwise, internal differences of any description."

In his turn, Murray's successor, David McDonald, continued the Murray/Lewis tradition by attempting to build "mutual trusteeship" with the companies. The last strike in the steel industry, in 1959, was led so poorly by the McDonald machine and resulted in such insignificant gains for the workers (even though it lasted 116 days), that heavy demoralization in the ranks became rampant. It was after this miserable failure that McDonald, and later Abel, started calling strikes "obsolete." In fact, what was "obsolete" was the bureaucracy's brand of leadership based on cooperation with the companies, their parties and their state. The government issued a Taft-Hartley injunction against the 1959 strike just when the companies were beginning to hurt. A militant struggle against the government at this point could have broken this vicious and justly hated anti-labor law (which the trade-union bureaucrats never effectively fought) and won the strike, but McDonald was bound to betray because of his long-standing political commitment not just to the Democratic Party, but also to the maintenance of the capitalist system.

Productivity Schemes and National Chauvinism

Simple trade unionism, i.e., the struggle for economic improvements for the workers without a struggle against the capitalist system as a whole, has never been able to counteract the companies' introduction of mechanization and automation at the expense of the workers—through layoffs, speed-up, etc.—instead of for the benefit of labor. Non-revolutionary trade-union leaders have either gone along with or endorsed these evils under the proposition that they were necessary for capitalism and therefore could not be opposed. This capitulation leads to national chauvinism. As one of the most rabidly pro-company union leaderships in the U.S., Abel calls on steel workers to increase their productivity in order to meet "foreign competition," seeking

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WORKERS VANGUARD 25¢

No. 39 1 March 1974

CRISIS IN BRITAIN

Miners' Chiefs Maneuver with Pay Board, Impose Timid Strike Policies

FROM OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

LONDON, February 21—During the last two weeks the reformist leadership of the British working class has succeeded in temporarily dampening the wave of industrial unrest in Britain. With Prime Minister Heath's call for new elections, the trade-union leadership tagged obediently behind its parliamentary counterparts, toning down the miners' strike in order not to embarrass the Labour Party and damage its electoral chances. And in the wake of the trade-union tops followed the ostensibly revolutionary left.

Since the election campaign began, several key unions have agreed not to press pay claims that would exceed the Tory government's wage guidelines. Foremost among them is the powerful Associated Union of Engineering Workers (AUEW), whose president, Hugh Scanlon, is a well-known "left" bureaucrat. The National Union of Teachers settled for under 7 percent. Of even greater significance was the decision, immediately after Heath's election announcement, of the Associated Society of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen (ASLEF) to end its job actions. Ray Buckton, general secretary of ASLEF, motivated his decision by saying that it was "in the interests of the Labour Party." The strikes and slowdowns of railwaymen and miners have been the heart of the labor offensive over the past weeks. These workers, along with the dockers, have traditionally been regarded as the most militant and best organized sections of the British working class.

The miners' strike is continuing, but at somewhat reduced effectiveness. The NUM (National Union of Mineworkers) executive adopted rules that limited the number of pickets at any one entrance to no more than six

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SYNDICATION INTERNATIONAL

Mineworkers president Joe Gormley (left) confronting Tory Prime Minister Heath

Tories Run Union-Busting Election Campaign

FEBRUARY 23—Next week's parliamentary elections in Britain were called for the purpose of drumming up the necessary political support to enable Conservative Prime Minister Edward Heath to smash the coal miners' strike, the first serious challenge to the government's "Phase Three" state wage controls. This struggle between the miners and the Tory government is today the single most important event in determining whether or not the burden of worldwide capitalist inflation will be borne by the working masses. Thus the February 28 balloting will have the most direct bearing on the class struggle of any British election since 1945.

The Conservative Party is making no attempt to mute or prettify the union-busting purpose of its campaign. The Tory election manifesto, "Firm Action for a Fair Britain," states:

> "The action taken by the National Union of Mineworkers has already caused great damage and threatens even greater damage in the future.... [Settling on the miners' terms] would mean accepting the abuse of industrial power to gain a privileged position. It would undermine the position of moderate trade union leaders. It would make certain that similar strikes occurred at frequent intervals in the future."
>
> —*Manchester Guardian Weekly*, 16 February

The Two Faces of the Labour Party

While Heath is centering his campaign on breaking the miners' strike, the British Labour Party (BLP) leadership under Harold Wilson and James Callaghan is attempting the difficult maneuver of trying to evade the strike issue, indicating "sympathy" for the miners but never openly endorsing their action and demands. The BLP election manifesto, whose central slogan is "Let us *work* together," makes the incredible, even absurd, statement that "this Election is *not* about the miners" ("The Labour Party Manifesto 1974")!

Wilson is not living in a dream world, as such a know-nothing remark would indicate, but rather is doing everything to ensure that Labour is not brought to power under pressure to support the workers in a sharp class battle against the state. Though the BLP is based on the organized workers movement, its recent campaigns have stressed not that Labour will satisfy the workers' demands, but instead that Labour can manage British capitalism better than outmoded Tories.

The desire of the Labour tops to take over managing the capitalist economy in conditions of class peace is in no sense limited to the BLP election manifesto. It is well known that Wilson/Callaghan were distressed when the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) turned down Heath's appeal to suspend the strike during the election campaign. However, it is less well known that it was a personal appeal by Wilson which impelled the railway engineers, the only other union conducting job actions against the wage controls, to return to a normal work schedule for the duration of the election period.

Faced with increasing radicalization in the working class and as a result of widespread dissatisfaction among unionists with Wilson's previous government record, the BLP adopted a program last fall that for the first time in years pretends to a certain leftish tinge. According to the Labour manifesto:

SYNDICATION INTERNATIONAL

Labour Party leader Harold Wilson

> "we shall substantially extend *public enterprise* by taking mineral rights. We shall also take shipbuilding, shiprepairing and marine engineering, ports, the manufacture of airframes and aeroengines into public ownership and control. But we shall not confine the extension of the public sector to loss making and subsidised industries. We shall also take over profitable sections or individual firms in those industries where a public holding is essential to enable the Government to control prices, stimulate investment, encourage exports, create employment, protect workers and consumers from the activities of irresponsible multinational companies, and to plan the national economy in the national interest. We shall therefore include in this operation, sections of pharmaceuticals, road haulage, construction, machine tools, in addition to our proposals for North Sea and Celtic Sea oil and gas."

Although by no means as radical as the bourgeois press makes it out to be, Labour's election platform is the most left-wing in a generation. It comes out against legally enforced wage controls (which Wilson imposed his last term in office!), calls for a plebiscite on Britain's membership in the Common Market (which would certainly turn it down), and, as seen above, pledges significant nationalizations, though far less than the proposal adopted by the BLP executive last spring.

The relatively leftish character of the Labour election manifesto is partly a reflection of genuine working-class radicalization over the past five years. However, it also constitutes a deliberately cynical attempt by the BLP leadership to deflect working-class militancy from industrial action into false parliamentary hopes by promising far more than a Labour government at this time would have any intention of carrying out.

As Lenin explained in *Left-Wing Communism, An Infantile Disorder*, the job of communists is to intersect the real movement of the working class and

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Why We Call for a General Strike in Britain Now

A revolutionary policy for the current British crisis faces the following fundamental contradiction: since World War II, the ruling class has systematically pressed down the workers' living standards to the point that they are now the lowest in industrial West Europe. The Heath government has intensified this oppression with a direct attack on the most basic power of the trade unions, the right to bargain for wages, with a hard state wage control policy ("Phase Three"). The Tories have meted out enormous suffering to the entire working class through a national lockout (imposing a mandatory three-day workweek) because a section of the class, the miners, is trying to break through the state wage limits. There is an overwhelming objective and felt need to mobilize all the strength of the well-organized and combative British labor movement to defend its interests against a brutal, reactionary government. This means a general strike.

However, a general strike poses the question of state power and can easily lead to a revolutionary situation. Marxists do not play at revolution. Today the leadership of the British labor movement is consciously anti-revolutionary and will betray a general strike if it seriously challenges capitalist state power. This is clearly demonstrated by the recent action of Britain's foremost "left," "militant" union leader, Mick McGahey, the Communist Party (CP) vice president of the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM). McGahey grovellingly repudiated his own suggestion, that troops shouldn't break the miners' strike, after Heath denounced him for advocating mutiny and red revolution. There is no way an insurrection could be victorious under the leadership of the current British labor tops, even (and this will not happen) if the Stalinists came to the fore during a general strike.

Therefore we have a contradiction: the situation poses the need for a general strike, for mobilizing the entire organized working class to answer Heath's attacks; a general strike poses the question of power and can easily lead to a revolutionary situation; and the present sellout union and Labour Party/Communist Party leaders will betray a general strike if it challenges capitalist state power. What to do?

Taking account of the objective need for a general strike and the treacherous present leadership of the class, we have called for a general strike for *limited, defensive* aims centering on breaking the state wage controls and reversing the measures decreed to enforce them (e.g., the Tory lockout). However, the ruling class can force the issue of state power by using the armed forces to break a general strike for limited objectives. Therefore, there are no demands, no tactics and no strategy that can *guarantee* the victory of a general strike in Britain today. Its leadership will liquidate it if it attains insurrectionary potential and may well sell out even before that point is reached. However, it would be the worst kind of scholastic passivity to argue that the workers must accept, without struggle, whatever the Tories do to them because their leaders might betray a general strike that could win. And it is the worst kind of social-democratic parliamentary cretinism to channel the workers' struggle against Heath mainly into electoral forms, as Gerry Healy's Workers Revolutionary Party (WRP) is now doing.

A Revolutionary Minority in a General Strike

The task of revolutionaries in Britain today is to maximize the possibility of winning a general strike (and thereby defeating the bosses' attempts to load the costs of massive inflation onto the workers) under conditions where a successful insurrection is impossible given the strength of the reformist leadership of the mass workers organizations. This means trying to prevent the ruling class from uniting against the labor movement, neutralizing the middle classes so they do not act as strikebreakers and, most important, organizing the strike so that the rank and file can check and move to counter the class collaborationism of the Trades Union Congress (TUC) and so that revolutionaries, however few in number, can maximize their influence on the course of events.

The British ruling class is by no means solidly supporting Heath's hard line against the miners, which reflects as much (if not more) the immediate needs of his regime as the long-term interests of British capitalism. This was clearly indicated when a group of financiers and industrialists publicly broke with the government in offering to pay the miners out-of-pocket until they reached a settlement! Another indication of the views of leading business interests was given recently by *The Times* [London]:

> "The difference between what the miners were prepared to accept and what the government was prepared to offer was probably no more than 70 million pounds [$160 million] over a year. The annual profits before tax of the leading British industrial companies are of the order of 7000 million pounds. For a sum equal to one per cent of the pre-tax profit of British industry we are now committed to a general election."
>
> —quoted in *Village Voice*, 21 February

The Liberal Party is not supporting Heath's actions, and grumbling has been heard among numerous Tory backbenchers as well. Given the divisions within the ruling class, a demonstration of determination and unity by the labor movement might well isolate Heath and force the government to capitulate.

The British middle class does not, in general, support the labor movement. This is indicated by the solid electoral base of the Tories and Liberals. General strike strategy should be geared to neutralize the middle class, preventing it from actively supporting the government. The strike should concentrate on shutting down industrial production and should avoid unnecessarily discomfiting and, therefore, antagonizing the middle classes. This means that essential public services (e.g., urban transport, hospitals) should be maintained, along with the distribution of consumer goods, for essentially political reasons—and a general strike *is* essentially political. (In this respect, somewhat different conditions apply than to a purely contractual dispute, where the emphasis must be to shut down as much as possible of the revenue-producing units corresponding to the immediate enemy. But at some point even in a limited, defensive general strike it may be necessary to call a total work stoppage, for instance as a show of force against government use of troops.)

A general strike cannot at this point be organized in opposition to or over the heads of the TUC, the established union leadership. On the other hand it would be criminal for a revolutionary organization to accept, unchallenged, the leadership of the TUC—of proven, professional class collaborators—during a general strike. It is necessary to organize directing bodies for the general strike that would allow the masses to check and frustrate the policies of the TUC, that would go toward becoming a kind of dual power within the general strike movement.

A number of British left-wing organizations, notably the International Marxist Group (IMG), are calling for local councils of action that would presumably play that kind of role in a general strike. Unfortunately, councils of action, although they have appeared in past general strikes, at this time have no immediate prior existence, much less authority, in the British workers movement. A general strike cannot be based on organizations newly set up for that purpose by a handful of revolutionaries. (Unless, that is, you believe like the IMG that there is a shortcut to leadership as a result of the existence of a magical "new mass vanguard" which has already escaped the control of the established reformist leaders and only requires an appropriate organizational form to crystallize it. And from there it is only a short step to believing that West Europe as a whole is in a pre-revolutionary situation and that a general strike in Britain would become an insurrection!)

There do exist organizations within the British labor movement which are qualitatively more democratic and militant than the TUC and on which a general strike could be based. These are the shop stewards committees. In addition to demanding that the TUC should call a general strike, revolutionaries should agitate for a national conference of shop stewards committees in order to organize a general strike. Should a general strike occur, revolutionaries should seek to shift its central organizational base from the TUC to a national shop stewards organization, as well as calling for the formation of local shop stewards' committees to integrate the mass of the workers into the struggle.

RUPERT HART-DAVIS LONDON

Top: Striking tramwaymen march in Manchester during 1926 British general strike. Right: the First Brigade of Guards march through London financial district after collapse of the general strike. Tory government used 20 armored cars, two fully armed Guards battalions to break strikers' blockade of London docks.

No less important than the fundamentally more democratic character of the shop stewards committees (as against the TUC) is that they are accessible to the cadre of a small revolutionary organization, whereas the TUC leadership is essentially selected from among demonstrated class traitors.

Valuable lessons, although mainly negative, about how a revolutionary minority should act in a general strike can be gleaned from the experience of the Communist Party in the 1926 British general strike. It should be emphasized that the CP in that strike was capable of making a qualitatively greater challenge to the union bureaucracy than any ostensibly revolutionary organization could in Britain today. While organizing a strong oppositional current (the National Minority Movement) prior to the general strike, during the strike itself the CP passively supported the left wing of the TUC leadership and never challenged the TUC organizational hegemony over the strike. This false policy partly reflected Stalinism in Russia, which wanted to trade class peace in the capitalist countries for diplomatic advantage to the Soviet Union, since a section of the British labor bureaucracy was then flirting with Stalin and Bukharin. J.T. Murphy, head of the CP's industrial department, summed up party policy on the eve of the strike:

> "Our party does not hold the leading positions in the trade unions. It can only advise and place its press and its forces at the service of the workers—led by others."
>
> —*Workers Weekly*, 30 April 1926

On the other hand, the local and regional councils of action, which organized the strike at the base, showed an organic tendency to escape from the discipline of the TUC and to come under far more radical, particularly Communist, leadership. For example, CP leader R. Page Arnot played an outstanding and dynamic role in the Durham area councils of action, but he did not try to break these groups from adhering to TUC discipline, as they might well have done. A left-Labour historian of the 1926 strike makes the following assessment:

> "It is also probable that, if the strike had been prolonged, regional groupings of councils of action would have operated with an increasing indifference to the T.U.C. and they may well have evolved into embryo Soviets."
>
> —Christopher Farman, *The General Strike, May 1926*

British revolutionaries cannot now play the same leadership role that the CP could, but did not, play in 1926. However, by combining the principles of the class struggle with tactical intelligence during a general strike, a revolutionary propaganda group can transform itself into a genuine workers party.

Insurrection and Leadership

In analyzing the British crisis in previous issues of *WV* we noted that the miniscule *Chartist* group is agitating for an insurrectionary general strike under the illusion that the existing leadership of the British labor movement could be pressured into leading it. The February *Chartist* contains a polemic against our article, "For a General Strike Against Tory Lockout!" (*WV* No. 36, 18 January), in which they assert that a general strike is inherently revolutionary and that our concept of a limited, defensive general strike is simultaneously reformist and adventurist. To prove their case, the *Chartist* quotes Trotsky in an attack on the French CP from *Whither France?* Trotsky writes:

> "The entire history of the working class movement proves that every general strike, whatever may be the slogans under which it occurs, has an internal tendency to transform itself into an open revolutionary class, into a direct struggle for power. . . . Might not Thorez [head of the CP] perhaps retort that he had in mind not a real general strike, but a little strike, quite peaceful, just exactly suited to the personal requirements of the editors of *l'Humanité*? . . . The leaders of the proletariat must understand this internal logic of the general strike. . . . Politically this implies that from now on the leaders will continue to pose before the proletariat the task of the revolutionary conquest of power. If not they must not venture to speak of the general strike."

From this passage *Chartist* concludes that a call for a general strike is tantamount to a call for insurrection.

This passage is a polemic against the ostensibly revolutionary leader of a *mass* workers party. It is indeed criminal for the leadership of a *mass* party to call a general strike while ruling out the possibility of revolution, since the government may force the question of state power on the strikers. It would likewise be criminal for a small revolutionary propaganda group to call for a general strike initiated by the reformist labor bureaucracy if the strike were intended to be insurrectionary, or if no organizational measures were advocated to enable rank-and-file opposition to the TUC to check and move to counter the inevitable attempts to sell out the strike by the reformist misleaders. We call on the TUC to launch the general strike because we do not see this measure as a propaganda demand in the distant future but as the necessary tactic at this moment; today only the TUC could launch a general strike. And we call for a limited, defensive general strike, to be organized through shop stewards committees, in order not to guarantee in advance that the strike will be sold out by the treacherous TUC leaders. We obviously cannot guarantee that such a strike will be successful, only that it has a good chance of success.

Miners' Federation secretary (center) meets with Labour Party chief Ramsey MacDonald (right) before the 1926 strike.

RUPERT HART-DAVIS LONDON

Herbert Smith, president of the Miners' Federation, leaving union headquarters during the general strike.

Trotsky's most definitive analysis of the general strike is in his 1935 article "The ILP and the Fourth International." Here he deals with the general strike question from the standpoint of a revolutionary propaganda organization when the masses are firmly under reformist leadership, the situation of the French Trotskyists at that time. The views Trotsky presented here are quite different from the ones *Chartist* attributes to him:

> "The working class masses want to struggle. But the leadership applies the brakes, hoodwinks and demoralizes the workers. A general strike can flare up just as the movements flared up in Toulon and Brest. Under these conditions, independently of its immediate result, a general strike will not of course be a 'putsch' but a necessary stage in the mass struggle, the necessary means for casting off the treachery of the leadership and for creating within the working class itself the *preliminary* conditions for a victorious uprising. In this sense the policy of the French Bolshevik-Leninists is entirely correct, who have advanced the slogan of general strike, and who explain the conditions for its victory." [our emphasis]

It is evident that Trotsky maintained the possibility of partially successful general strikes and the impossibility of a successful insurrection under reformist leadership.

Despite all that the *Chartist* has written about the general strike recently, its position is far from clear. Most people reading the call in the January *Chartist* for a joint command of revolutionary forces would think that they are calling for an insurrectionary general strike within the next few months. (After all, the present crisis, arising from the confrontation between Heath and the miners, cannot last forever.) Not so, says the February *Chartist*; they are calling on the workers movement to "prepare" for a general strike with an open-ended timetable. They insist:

> "Our organization has refused to name a date for a General Strike. We have refused to demand that the TUC call such a strike 'now.' We have always insisted that the *immediate* task is to take the preparatory steps—an appeal to the troops, organization of picket-line defence, establishment of committees of action etc. We have always insisted that if we are not prepared for an armed insurrection, then we are not prepared for a General Strike. . . ." [emphasis in original]

When *Chartist* concretizes the preparatory steps for a general strike, they turn out to be essentially technical. Only "an appeal to the troops" even implies an insurrectionary perspective. (And the *Chartist* bases such an appeal on advocating trade-union economic benefits for a *volunteer, imperialist* army! This is tantamount to a slogan of, "More Pay to Kill the IRA"!)

The preparation for an insurrection is not primarily technical; it is above all *political*. If *Chartist* really means what they have written, then they must oppose calling out the workers for a general strike until the majority have clearly committed themselves to the armed overthrow of the capitalist state. Moreover, such a commitment is not disembodied, but must be reflected in the organized leadership of the class. Either the *Chartist* group believes that it will become the leadership of the British labor movement in the next few months; or that the Wilson-Jones-Murray leadership of the Labour Party/TUC can be pressured into overthrowing the capitalist state; or that the "preparatory steps" will take not weeks but years (that is, *Chartist* is *not* talking about a general strike in the winter/spring of 1974, but in the rather more distant future). In short, *Chartist* is either guilty of sectarian illusions and adventurism, or of reformist illusions and liquidationism, or (more likely) of a mixture of all of them.

Centrism and Confusion

The most serious agitation for a general strike in the British left has come from the International Marxist Group, British section of the centrist United Secretariat of Mandel & Co. However, the IMG's line in the past few months has been incredibly confusing, probably reflecting actual changes in the position of its leadership.

The IMG's first agitational call for a general strike in the *Red Weekly* of 30 November of last year projects a revolutionary general strike which does not appear to confront armed state power:

> "Should workers just stroll back into the factories after smashing the Tories on the streets and at the polls and wait for a Labour Government to introduce socialism? Or should they seize the factories and demand that they are nationalized, elect committees to determine working conditions and oversee the management's business dealings and demand that the Government recognises their authority. . . ."

Does the IMG really believe Wilson will allow this to happen and that he has no weapons at his disposal? And does the IMG believe that the Labour bureaucracy which had just regained government office would lead such mass factory seizures, or that this would happen spontaneously?

Come December the IMG shifted its emphasis to organizing councils of action to launch a general strike *independently* of the support of the established union leadership:

> "Whether the TUC fights or not, the greatest possible organization of united struggle at local level will be needed in the days ahead. . . . The important thing at present is not how Councils of Action come into existence but that they are actually set up."
>
> —*Red Weekly*, 21 December 1973

If the IMG were a mass party or if the British working class had no historically evolved organizational alfiliations, setting up councils of action to launch a general strike would be correct. Since neither condition is met in reality, the tactic is fantastical. There is certainly a need for a rank-and-file organizational structure that could check the class collaborationism of the TUC leadership during a general strike. We believe that the shop stewards committees, which have authority within the existing workers movement, could play such a role. Should a general strike actually occur, the organization and authority of councils of action would certainly be posed, though perhaps not in the manner the IMG expects. The 1926 councils of action were set up by the TUC leadership in order to draw the mass of the workers into the struggle. Such councils will not arise out of thin air at the call of revolutionaries, as the IMG appears to believe. In their initiation a key role will be played by elements of the traditional leadership, such as the shop stewards councils. In any case, it is nonsensical to talk about organizing councils of action in order to launch a general strike.

By January, the IMG recognized that it really would be hard to organize a general strike without TUC support. The front page headline of the 11 January *Red Weekly* is "TUC MUST ACT —GENERAL STRIKE." But now, with the election pending, the IMG has reverted to its notion of a general strike to force Wilson to introduce socialism:

> "If a Labour Government is returned it will try to take over the reins of capitalist rule from the Tories. But only socialist measures can protect working class interests from the crisis of British capitalism. A general strike will be necessary to implement such measures . . . against the opposition of the ruling class, and to back up the demand that the Labour Government adds its seal of approval to such measures."
>
> —*Red Weekly*, 15 February 1974

A successful general strike (smashing state wage controls) associated with a Labour electoral victory would produce a pre-revolutionary situation but would not lead directly and smoothly to the dictatorship of the proletariat. The workers, in general, would respect the authority of the newly elected Labour

continued on next page

...General Strike

government for a period, and would not take concerted industrial action against it. At the same time, there would undoubtedly be a wave of wage strikes, factory seizures, etc. (not a general strike) leading to great internal conflict in the Labour Party and unions. The intersection between these industrial struggles and the internal conflict within the labor movement would determine the maturation of a revolutionary crisis and development of a vanguard party capable of leading the class to victory.

In any case, despite its relatively left line in the current crisis, the IMG is suspect because only last fall, taking account of the growing, very widespread unpopularity of the Heath government, it was campaigning for a classical popular front consciously modeled on the French Union of the Left. The *Red Weekly*, 31 August 1973, issued the following major proposal:

> "We propose the formation in every area of a united body of *all* socialists, trade union and political organizations, open to *all* those who are prepared to struggle against the Tory government and its policies." [our emphasis]

Under existing British conditions, such a formation would include the Liberals and the no less bourgeois Scottish and Welsh nationalists.

The IMG has dropped this demand at present. Moreover, at least some of its leaders are conscious of the change in line since the *Red Weekly* (11 January) now calls for "Councils of Action representative of the whole labour movement." The IMG has not in principle repudiated class collaborationism; it has simply dropped it as an active demand because it is not presently opportune. It is a telling indication of the wretched state of the British left that this confused, classically centrist group has made the most serious attempt to put forth a revolutionary policy in the present crisis.

For a General Strike Against the Tories!

A general strike in Britain today should have the limited, defensive aims of reversing the policies of the Tory government and bringing it down. Should such a strike be victorious, even under reformist leaders and despite their inevitable attempts to sabotage the struggle, it would then open up a prerevolutionary situation.

The Trades Union Congress must call an immediate congress of labor to prepare a general strike organized through shop stewards committees for the following demands:

—Victory for the Miners—Smash Government Wage Control!

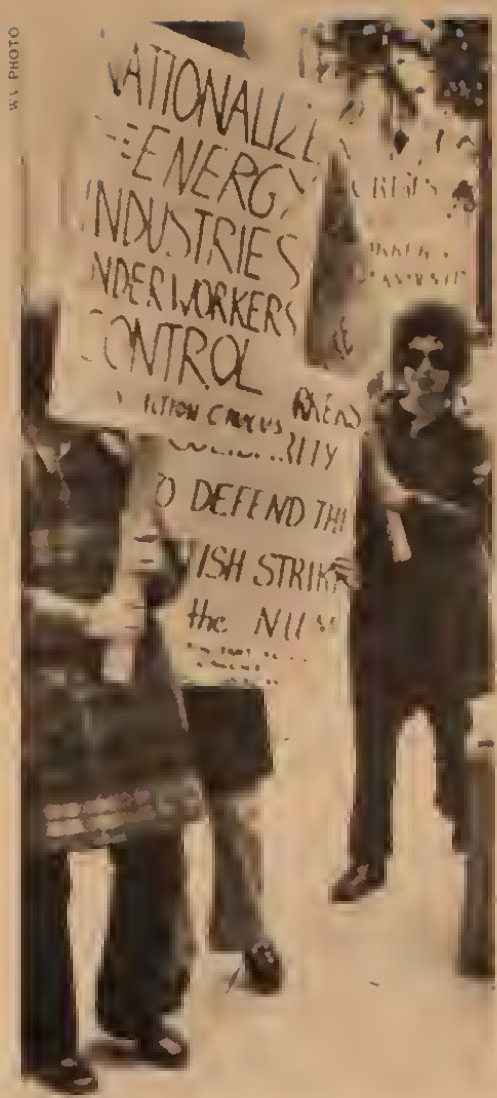
—For a Major, Across-the-Board Wage Increase with Full Cost-of-Living Adjustment!

—Smash the Lockout—Restore the Five-Day Workweek and Rescind the Budget Cuts!

—Abolish the Industrial Relations Act! Repeal the Emergency Measures Act!

—Britain Out of the Common Market!

—Oust the Tory Government! For a Labour Party/TUC Government Pledged to a Socialist Program of Expropriating the Capitalist Class! ■



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strike became imminent, it would call for one, but since there was now no movement for a general strike it was utopian to raise such a call. The SL's critical electoral support to the British Labour Party was denounced (without explanation) as a right-wing adaptation to the Labour Party. But the IS, though for years unable to make up its mind whether the BLP was a bourgeois or a workers party, now calls for votes for Labour!

What the IS fails to understand is that critical support is a tactic for engaging the bureaucracy in a struggle for leadership of the working class. Thus we call on Labour to carry out a program in the interests of the workers, abolishing the Industrial Relations Act and Emergency Measures Act, expropriating the capitalists as a class. The reformist leaders of the BLP, of course, have no intention of doing this. Therefore we warn the workers in advance that their leaders will betray, calling for struggle against the sellout, red-baiting, pro-capitalist reformist Wilson-Callaghan leadership of the BLP. But to refuse to call for critical electoral support to the Labour Party in the present elections would be to renounce a crucial opportunity for educating the British workers in practice as to the true nature of the social-democratic Labour and TUC leadership, as well as to ignore in practice the class struggle which is taking place through the elections.

U. S. Solidarity Demos Support British Miners

CHICAGO

CHICAGO, February 19—The Chicago Spartacist League/Revolutionary Communist Youth initiated action in support of British miners with a solidarity demonstration at the British consulate on January 16. The picket drew approximately 30 participants on the basis of a call including the demands "support British coal miners and railway workers" and "smash Phase 3—smash all government wage controls." Of several left organizations contacted, the Revolutionary Socialist League and Socialist Workers Party sent token representatives who stayed only for a short while (30 seconds for the SWP). The tiny syndicalist Revolutionary Workers Group sent two supporters for the duration of the demonstration.

Subsequently a local television station, WSLD-TV, broadcast an appeal for solidarity with the miners by an SL spokesman.

In a related development, Local 6 of the United Auto Workers, at the Melrose Park International Harvester works, passed a resolution expressing solidarity with British mine workers at its February 10 meeting. The resolution, introduced from the floor and passed unanimously, called for concrete steps to aid the strike—in contrast with the purely verbal solidarity expressed by UAW president Leonard Woodcock. The text of the resolution reads:

> "Be it resolved that:
>
> "We send a letter of solidarity in support of the striking British Coal Miners.
>
> "We urge our international union to give whatever financial support possible to the striking miners.
>
> "We urge the Longshoremen's Union to 'hot cargo' any shipment of goods detrimental to the miners' strike."

BAY AREA

SAN FRANCISCO, February 20—A united-front demonstration organized by the Bay Area Spartacist League/Revolutionary Communist Youth, was held today in front of the British consulate-general around the central slogan of support to the striking British mine workers. About 35 people participated, including a number of trade-union militants who responded to the SL/RCY's leafletting of workplaces and union meetings. Militants from the postal workers, Amalgamated Transit, Locals 6 and 10 of the ILWU and from the UAW took part in the demonstration, as well as several members of the Militant Action Caucus of the CWA and a member of the Militant-Solidarity Caucus of the NMU.

While a number of organizations, when approached by telephone, had agreed that the demonstration was politically supportable and indicated that numbers of their supporters would participate, only the International Socialists and the Class Struggle League actually arrived at the demonstration, and each with but a single token supporter. This was a damning example of the widespread organizational sectarianism of so many ostensibly revolutionary groups.

Within the unions and on the campuses, organizations such as the Socialist Workers Party, Revolutionary Union, October League and Progressive Labor talk of participating in the struggles of the working masses. But when workers are forced into a life-and-death confrontation with the capitalist class, as are the British mine workers at present, these fake-left groups are unwilling to participate in even the most basic act of solidarity.

The tokenism of the IS was exposed by the fact that a week earlier it had mobilized a dozen people to a forum on the miners' strike. In the course of this forum a British ISer made clear the IS' position on the current crisis. The British Labour Party is, he asserted, irrelevant, and the struggle lies not in breaking the working class from its reformist leadership but in building rank-and-file committees and lining them up in a national rank-and-file organization.

At the forum the IS made clear its opposition to the SL's call for a general strike, saying that if a general

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BOSTON

BOSTON, February 23—A spirited group of militants today picketed the British consulate here as part of a national campaign, initiated by the Spartacist League/Revolutionary Communist Youth, to support the British miners' strike. Endorsing the demonstration in Boston, in addition to the SL/RCY, were the Ad-Hoc Stewards' Committee of the Massachusetts Social Workers' Guild, Local 509; Local 616, Amalgamated Meatcutters and Butcher Workmen of North America; John Craig, president of Local 575 of the Meatcutters; David Deitch, a journalist in Boston; Boston University professor Howard Zinn; and the Indochina Peace Campaign.

The united-front demonstration in Boston, organized around the central common slogan of "Victory to the British Miners," drew at least fifty participants, mostly unaffiliated individuals and supporters of the SL/RCY. Individual members of Students for a Democratic Society, Youth Against War and Fascism, Young Socialist Alliance, Young Workers Liberation League, Indochina Peace Campaign, Eritreans for Liberation in North America and other groups showed up to sell their literature and/or join the lines, but not a single one of these groups sent more than a token person. With the exception of the Boston Indochina Peace Campaign, they all refused to endorse the demonstration called by the Miners Solidarity Action Committee in order to cut through the bourgeoisie's propaganda against the miners' strike and to provide a concrete expression of international working-class solidarity.

Taking up slogans initiated by SL/RCY members, the picketers chanted "Labour In, Wilson Out!" "Victory to the Miners! Workers of the World Unite!" "Down With the Bosses' Wage Controls, For a General Strike in Britain!" and "Same Enemy, Same Fight! British and Irish Workers Unite!"

The demonstration was addressed by a spokesman for the Spartacist League and by Jack Heyman of the Militant-Solidarity Caucus of the National Maritime Union, one of several oppositional trade-union caucuses that have supported the campaign. The brother from the Militant-Solidarity Caucus spoke about his group's fight for class-struggle leadership in the NMU and its understanding of the need for a program that points out an alternative to racism, national chauvinism and all the other brands of poisonous capitalist

ideology that divide the international working class.

He stressed the need for a political break with the bosses' parties, the construction of a labor party and international labor solidarity. While the NMU calls for more American-flag ships, the M-SC calls instead for international trade unions and a fight to get a union contract on every ship, no matter what flag it flies. Characterizing the British miners' strike as "the most crucial class battle since the French general strike of 1968," Heyman criticized the purely rhetorical support given by labor bureaucrats and called for real international support to the miners in the form of boycotts, hot-cargoing coal shipments to Britain and substantial financial support to the strikers.

The M-SC has called on the NMU leadership to send $10,000 a week to the National Union of Mineworkers as long as the strike continues. He also emphasized the nearly universal support for the strike among the rank and file of the British labor movement and the critical need for a general strike in defense of the miners' struggle, to prevent a sellout similar to the Trades Union Congress' refusal to back the dockers with a general strike in 1971.

The spokesman for the Spartacist League drew comparisons between the response of the Labour Party, TUC and Communist Party to the miners' struggle and the betrayal of the 1926 British general strike, which grew out of a miners' strike. The cowardly capitulation of the Labour Party parliamentarians, who will not even support the strike, and the reformist betrayals of the CP and other union hacks, who refuse to take the struggle out of the narrow limits of a contractual dispute within a single union, underscore the need for a revolutionary leadership in the labor movement.

Citing the "epochal nature of this struggle," he demanded to know why ostensibly revolutionary organizations like the CP, SWP, SDS, etc., refused to take part in common actions based on the most elemental level of labor solidarity. "This poses the question," he said, "of who the real sectarians are." He went on to attack the productivity drive and "buy American" campaigns of the labor bureaucrats who, under the pressure of imminent worldwide recession, pit American against foreign workers and reject any possibility of proletarian internationalism. "Such class traitors," he said, "must be replaced by a revolutionary leadership as a key step in the construction of an international vanguard party."

A meeting of the Ad-Hoc Stewards' Committee of the Massachusetts Social Workers' Guild, Local 509, that took place simultaneously with the demonstration, sent the following statement of support which was received with cheers and loud applause by the picketers:

> "We endorse your call for victory to the English miners. As social workers who deal every day with the consequences of government-engineered attacks on the standards of American workers, we understand the need to support our English brothers and sisters who face the same situation, and as workers currently involved in the fight for a decent contract, we recognize the urgent need for unity among all workers everywhere. We will all go forward together or not at all."

DETROIT

DETROIT, February 20—The "automobile capital of America" today witnessed a small but militant demonstration of proletarian internationalism as some 30 socialists and union militants picketed the British consulate in solidarity with the striking British miners. Passers-by heard loud chants of "No to Wilson, No to Woodcock, Forward to a Workers Government," "Dump the Israeli Bonds, Send the Money to the Miners," "Smash Wage Controls in Britain and the U.S.," and "Britain Out of Ireland, Bosses Out of the Mines—For a Workers Government." The Spartacist League raised another chant as well: "No to Harold Wilson, No to Arnold Miller—No Collaboration with the Bourgeois State."

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The demonstration had been called by the SL as part of a nationwide campaign to mobilize support for the British mine workers. The Detroit SL issued an appeal to over a dozen ostensibly socialist groups as well as to some 50 trade-union locals in the area to join in a united-front action based on the slogans "Victory to the British Coal Miners" and "For International Working-Class Solidarity." However, only the Revolutionary Socialist League, Youth Against War and Fascism, and Spark (a small semi-syndicalist grouping based in Detroit) deigned to send any representatives at all—and only one or two each at that. Apparently these leaders and aspiring leaders of the working class cannot see far enough beyond their sectarian noses to recognize the crucial need for a united demonstration of labor solidarity with the struggling miners.

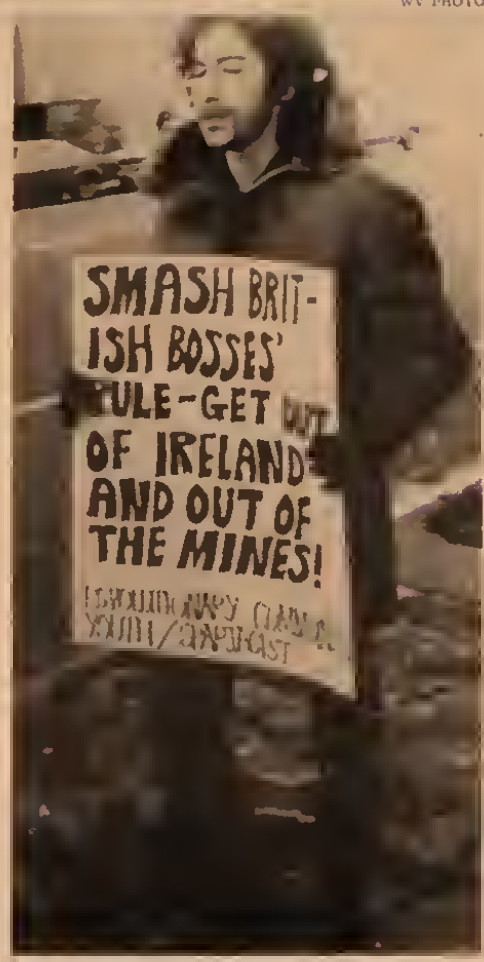
After picketing for an hour the demonstrators marched to nearby Kennedy Square under the banners "Victory to the British Miners, For International Working-Class Solidarity" and "Towards the Rebirth of the Fourth International." There they held a rally which was addressed by speakers from the Spartacist League and Revolutionary Socialist League.

The RSL speaker attacked the SL for calling on the Trades Union Congress (Britain's national labor federation) to lead a general strike, since it has betrayed the workers at every point. The RSL seeks instead to bypass the existing trade-union leadership by calling for the creation of now non-existent "councils of action."

The Spartacist speaker declared, "our internationalism is concrete: we called demonstrations nationwide. In Detroit we have a special job—to capitalize on and expose Woodcock's hollow support for the miners and his traitorous economic nationalism, in particular his purchase of Israel bonds and his calls for protectionist import restrictions."

He went on to point out that the comrades of the RSL correctly see the repeated treachery of the labor bureaucracy as an immediate problem, but "they call for councils of action in order to sidestep the shop stewards' committees, the concrete manifestations of ground-level leadership in the working class." "It's not surprising," he said, "that the RSL tails lesser-evil bureaucrats such as Miller of the UMW in times of relative class peace, and flip-flops to spontaneist avoidance of dealing with the leadership of the shop stewards' committees once the class struggle sharpens."

Among the groups which evaded the essential socialist duty of international labor solidarity by boycotting the demonstration, the SWP distinguished itself by cynically declaring the action to be "insignificant," counterposing its non-existent trade-union work as a more effective avenue of support! The International Socialists, which proudly play up the role of their British cohorts, offered vague promises of international class solidarity and "militant action," but refused to mobilize any supporters for the united-front action.



The left-Maoists of the Communist League abstained as well. The CL's programmatic bankruptcy was revealed by its call to British workers to "give up their dwindling privileges" in relation to the Irish workers! This moralistic slogan, reminiscent of the New Left's call for workers to abandon their "white-skin privilege," is hardly designed to mobilize British labor in view of its already abysmally low wage scales.

LOS ANGELES

LOS ANGELES—On February 16 upwards of 40 persons participated in a united-front picket of the British consulate in support of the striking British miners. Of course, such a demonstration, especially given the sectarianism and indifference of most of the left, is in no way a substitute for militant action by the working class such as the hot-cargoing of American coal being shipped to Britain in order to break the miners' strike. The demonstration was, nevertheless, an important expression of international working-class solidarity.

While a number of independent radicals responded to the Spartacist League's call for the united-front action, the response of the organized left was typically pitiful. Although a letter had been sent a week in advance to 40 organizations and despite the fact that each group would be free to advance its own slogans and distribute its own literature, almost all of the fake lefts chose to ignore the proposal either out of sectarian hostility to joint action with Trotskyists or due to simple indifference to the political crisis in Britain.

Only the International Socialists, which had refused to participate in a similar demonstration in Detroit, made even a token response, and that to cover a guilty conscience. The IS sent three supporters to the demonstration, explaining that the rest of the Los Angeles IS was attending a Farmworkers' picket. Probably more important than support to the UFW was the fact that the IS was planning its own miners' support demonstration for the following Saturday. According to the IS, however, there was no time to organize a united front for its action.

The RSL sent one person to sell papers and another who didn't arrive until the demonstration was over! The CP and SWP both expressed enthusiasm when initially contacted only to back off later as the date of the picket actually approached.

Militant-Solidarity Caucus Telegram to NUM

To: National Union of Mineworkers, London, England

The Militant-Solidarity Caucus of the National Maritime Union of America (a group within the NMU opposed to our current sellout union leadership) stands in solidarity with striking British miners. We are urging all U.S. unions to send substantial funds to you and to refuse to load or ship any materials, particularly coal, to Britain which may be used to break your strike. Your battle is in the forefront of the struggle between the capitalists and the international working class. We urge a general strike in Britain to smash the wage controls, anti-labor laws and the Tory government. For a Labour government pledged to expropriation of the capitalists. Victory to the British miners! Workers of the world unite!

—sent 16 February 1974

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Argentina–A Warning:

Peron Prepares to Crush Left

PART 2 OF 2

For almost 30 years Peronism has been the dominant political current among Argentine workers. Last March half the voters cast their ballots for Héctor Cámpora, candidate of the Justicialista Liberation Front (FREJULI—the Peronist party); in the September plebiscite/election some 65 percent voted for Perón. They had voted, they thought, for an end to military dictatorship, for large wage increases and expanded social services, for strong trade unions. What they got is quite the reverse—a government of reaction down the line.

General Perón himself made no secret of his intentions. In a "Message to the Argentine People" in November 1973 he praised the bourgeois parties with which he had been negotiating the terms of a future Justicialista government, saying that they "have assumed before history the responsibility of establishing the bases of pacification and reconstruction of the country." At the same time he made clear that this "labor of pacification" included reconciliation with the military which had ousted his government in 1955. Upon his return in June Perón's first speech concentrated on the slogans "now is not the time for loalers" and "from home to work and from work to home"—a traditional Peronist theme, calling on the workers to stay out of politics.

However, virtually the entire Argentine "Marxist" left either shared or capitulated to the masses' illusions in Perón, apparently expecting a rerun of his earlier government, which had (in 1948) raised the workers' incomes to roughly 50 percent of the national income (they have subsequently fallen to constitute around 30 percent today). While those parties claiming to represent Trotskyism correctly defined Peronism as a bourgeois political movement (see "Argentina: The Struggle Against Peronism," *Workers Vanguard* No. 24, 6 July 1973, for a discussion of this point), they all found some way of muting their opposition to it in order to assume a posture of de facto "critical support."

The PRT (Revolutionary Workers Party—until recently allied with the European majority of the so-called "United Secretariat of the Fourth International") along with its military arm, the ERP, frequently referred to in the bourgeois press as "Trotskyist guerrillas," announced in May that "the Cámpora government represents the popular will.... our organization will not attack the new government as long as it does not attack the people or the guerrilla movement" (*Intercontinental Press*, 28 May 1973). The social-democratic PST (Socialist Workers Party—allied with the American SWP and the reformist minority of the USec) offered in the fall of 1972 to vote for Justicialista candidates if their ticket were made up of at least 80 percent workers, instead of the slate's actual 25 percent (*Avanzada Socialista*, 22 November 1972). Then, following the inauguration of the FREJULI regime last May, the PST called for support to all government acts which are in the interests of the workers, announcing: "Without confusing the banners, Dr. Cámpora can count on our proletarian solidarity" (*Avanzada Socialista*, 30 May-6 June 1973).

For its part, the Política Obrera group (allied with the French OCI—Organisation Communiste Internationaliste) declared the Peronist election victory in March "an unquestionable triumph of the working class against the military *gorila* clique" (*Política Obrera*, 19 March 1973). And the POR(t)—Revolutionary Workers Party (Trotskyist)—Argentine section of Juan Posadas' "International Secretariat of the Fourth International," took the position that "the triumph of the Peronist movement means the triumph of anti-imperialist positions, of the progress of the unions, of the alfirmation of the vanguard which led the rest of the country: the proletariat" (J. Posadas, "Los sindicatos, las masas peronistas y la nueva etapa de la lucha por el socialismo en Argentina," 18 March 1973). Yet Perón's first order to Cámpora was "get the Trotskyists" (*Le Monde*, 6 June 1973)!

What the Peronist regime would actually mean was predicted early last summer by the Spartacist League:

> "Only those who willfully blind themselves to reality can claim, as do the supposedly 'Trotskyist' groups in Argentina, that the Cámpora regime is a 'victory for the working class,' that there is any fundamental distinction between the 'progressive' government and police on the one hand and the reactionary armed forces on the other, or that a working-class program can be forced onto the new government, since the workers voted it into office. "The Perón government of the 1940's and 1950's did carry out certain measures (wage increases, unionization, social security, nationalizations) which benefitted the working class, while at the same time outlawing the Communist Party and smashing every attempt at independent activity by the workers, even simple economic strikes. But the current Peronist regime will be a government of reaction—an instrument to carry out the job the military has been unable to do, namely to put an end to the workers' militancy which has been raging through the country since 1969. The regime will employ any means necessary to firmly establish bourgeois 'law and order' even if this means outlawing all 'communist' organizations, government 'intervention' into militant unions and massacres of striking students and workers. To call for critical support, tolerance, negotiations for a workers program or any policy other than intransigent opposition to the Cámpora government is to abandon the path of proletarian revolution and prepare the way for the massacres."
>
> —*WV* No. 24, 6 July 1973

Perón (left) and Cámpora, July 1973. UPI

SIPAHIOGLU

Thousands demonstrate in front of presidential palace during Cámpora inauguration, May 1973.

"Bonapartism sui generis"

This prediction, fully confirmed by the experience of the last eight months, was not the result of crystal-ball gazing, any more than the accommodation of the Argentine "Trotskyists" to Peronism was the result of a secret death-wish on their part. Rather, it was based on the Marxist understanding of the nature of bonapartist regimes. It is true (as Trotsky pointed out in speaking of Cárdenas' nationalization of British oil holdings in Mexico during the 1930's) that in the backward countries such regimes may undertake limited measures to improve their position vis-à-vis the dominant imperialist powers.. Some ostensible Trotskyists seek to generalize from this fact to conclude that, as Posadas puts it, "the Peronist movement is an anti-imperialist nationalist movement" ("Los sindicatos, las masas peronistas y la nueva etapa de la lucha por el socialismo en Argentina"). But in speaking of bonapartism *sui generis* (of a special character), Trotsky never implied that there was any such creature as an "anti-imperialist," "populist" or otherwise "progressive" bonapartism in the economically backward countries. Such a view is as sharply counterposed to the theory of permanent revolution as is the traditional Stalinist conception of an "anti-imperialist national bourgeoisie," if not more so.

Bonapartism (even in leftist garb) is an attempt to raise the regime above the influence and control of the competing class forces, to turn it into an arbitrator, a dictator. *How* this is accomplished depends on the level of the class struggle, not on an inherent program of any movement. As in the case of Perón, the same individual and movement can appear in sharply different roles, now "progressive," now arch-reactionary, without changing their basic function: to safeguard the interests of a weak bourgeoisie by substituting naked dictatorial rule for the uncertainties of bourgeois democracy. Trotsky understood this in remarking that such a bonapartism *sui generis* "can govern *either* by making itself the instrument of foreign capitalism and holding the proletariat in the chains of a police dictatorship, or by maneuvering with the proletariat and even going so far as to make concessions to it..."

("Nationalized Industry and Workers Management," 1938). He referred to the "*present* policy" of the Mexican government as being in the "second *stage*" (our emphasis), clearly implying that there were other policies and other stages.

The same point has been demonstrated by recent Latin American history itself. Thus the early Vargas regime in Brazil was decidedly more "populist" than the later period, when it had to contend with large and relatively powerful unions. Likewise for the "nationalist" MNR government in Bolivia, or the succeeding PRI administrations in Mexico (whose policies have included everything from extensive land reform and nationalizations to mass murder of workers and peasants). Given the prerevolutionary situation which has existed in Argentina, Chile and Uruguay since 1969-70, the new Peronist regime could only be one of consistent reaction. In this sense it was a *different instrument* to achieve the same goal as the Chilean popular front—to deflect the workers from the path of class struggle. However the difference is not unimportant. While the popular front had to be replaced by brutal military dictatorship once it was no longer able to pacify the workers by granting piecemeal reforms, "populist" bonapartist regimes of the Perón/Vargas type can themselves be the instruments to destroy all independent organizations of the workers.

"Stalinists of the Pampas"

By far the largest force on the non-Peronist left in Argentina is the pro-Moscow Communist Party, whose approximately 110,000 members make it the largest CP in South America and whose reformist policies are no less perfidious than those of its Chilean counterpart, which endlessly called on the masses to have confidence in the "democratic" armed forces. For decades the CP has denounced the Justicialista movement as "Peronazi," refusing to give it any electoral support. Instead it attempted to build a two-bit popular front entitled the National Meeting of the Argentines, boasting that it had support not only from sections of the petty bourgeoisie, but also from groups of "democratic" landowners. In the March elections last year it supported a slate of two left-wing Radicals.

But with its opportunist instincts far from dormant, when faced with a massive Peronist vote the CP decided to switch horses and gave "critical support" to the erstwhile No. 1 "Peronazi" in the September plebiscite. The "Political Resolution of the 14th National Congress" of the Stalinists justified this stand on the grounds that the Justicialista regime was "a bourgeois reformist government" in which "the national bourgeoisie has greater weight in public administration."

Anxious not to become the object of Perón's disfavor, the CP decided against supporting a widely publicized proposal to run a labor candidate against Perón, even though the proposed candidate was Agustín Tosco (of the Córdoba light and power workers), who

Agustín Tosco AVANZADA SOCIALISTA

is closely linked to the Stalinists. The CP student group joined the Peronists' domestic "peace corps," the Argentine Political Youth. But the results of this flagrant opportunism have been meagre and even counterproductive. A significant sign was the student election at the University of Buenos Aires last fall. Formerly the dominant force with roughly half the votes, the CP group (appropriately entitled the "Reformist Orientation Movement") fell to third place with only 20 percent of the ballots in the face of the Peronist onslaught (*Política Obrera*, 1 December 1973).

Stalinism and the perspective of a "two-stage" revolution in alliance with the "progressive sectors" of the bourgeoisie are not the monopoly of groups owing allegiance to Moscow. Mao, Castro, Enver Hoxha and Kim Il Sung push a verbally more militant version of the same line. The actual results are no different. It was significant that not only Brezhnev but also Fidel Castro enthusiastically hailed the new Peronist regime last spring. The most important group in Argentina which supports a Maoist-Castroist variant of Stalinism is the PRT/ERP guerrilla operation. After years of toying with Trotskyism, claiming to uphold a socialist perspective for the party while in practice including Christian Democrats in its "armed forces" and trying to form a political bloc with the Peronist guerrillas, the PRT/ERP finally broke with its admirers in the "United Secretariat" last summer and is now calling for a "popular front" in classic Stalinist fashion. In an article written by PRT leader Mario Santucho last summer it stated:

> "From here the popular forces can then adopt a policy of a broader popular front intended to neutralize and later win sectors of the middle or national bourgeoisie, uniting them with the people under the firm anti-imperialist and revolutionary leadership of the proletariat."
>
> —"La política del peronismo y las tareas de los revolucionarios," August 1973

Though somewhat hindered by a few lingering scruples about class collaboration (the PRT could not bring itself to call for votes for the Peronists in last year's elections), these Castroists/

José Rucci PANORAMA

Maoists have been no more successful in consummating their desired popular front than the pro-Moscow Stalinists. During the last nine months the PRT/ERP has sought to implement its absurd policy of distinguishing between the reactionary military and the government (which allegedly represents the popular will) by concentrating its guerrilla activities on raids on military camps and kidnapping foreign business executives for suitable ransoms. It has so far been able to avoid a major disaster, probably because the government wishes to pick off the guerrilla groups one by one, beginning with the Peronist guerrillas. But Perón has made it clear that he is not interested in a non-aggression pact. When the ERP attempted to deny press reports that it was responsible for the assassination of top Peronist labor leader José Rucci last fall, the government ordered the news media not to carry the denial.

"A Workers' and People's Government"

The social-democratic PST is the current embodiment of the group around Nahuel Moreno, a leading Argentine "Trotskyist" since the 1940's. The Moreno group is distinguished by having submerged itself at one time or another into virtually *every* available leftist current in Argentina. After more than a decade of "deep entry" into the Peronist movement, it emerged in the early 1960's as the spokesman of "consistent Castroism." Having dabbled in verbal

Juan Carlos Coral PANORAMA

guerrillaism as long as it was respectable to do so, it is now trying to build a mass electoral social-democratic party.

The PST is not insensitive to the growing apprehensions among left Peronists, and after having made a number of grossly opportunist approaches to the FREJULI and Cámpora before last summer, it at least formally opposed Perón by running PST leader Juan Carlos Coral against him in the September election. Prior to running its own candidate, the PST (which, due to anti-communist election laws and Moreno's 1972 fusion with a wing of the social democracy, was the only workers party allowed on the ballot) called on the well-known "Marxist" left bureaucrat Agustín Tosco to run against Perón. (The proposal was eventually turned down by Tosco because of the Communist Party's decision to support Perón.)

The PST called for a "united vote of the left and class-struggle forces" (*Avanzada Socialista*, No. 75), obscuring the central point, namely the necessity of a *proletarian, class* united front against the bourgeoisie. However, a Tosco candidacy, if based on a program of opposition to the Peronist government and its wage-freezing anti-democratic, anti-labor policies, could have contributed greatly to breaking Argentine workers from the grip of bourgeois populism. It could also have forced the left bureaucrats to temporarily break from their policy of vacillation and capitulation to the government, at the same time forcing the important layer of revolutionary syndicalists to face the vital need for a class-struggle *political* opposition to Perón. Such a candidacy would have offered tremendous opportunities for a revolutionary party to win mass support for the Trotskyist program of struggle for socialist revolution and intransigent opposition to the bourgeois Peronist regime.

Coral ran on a program including some working-class demands (such as opposition to Perón's "Social Pact," a bogus "voluntary" wage-control program) as well as a number of the PST's own characteristically reformist slogans (culminating in its utterly un-Marxist demand for a "workers' and people's government"). While the thrust of the PST campaign was apparently directed against the Justicialista government's attacks on the workers, crucial in this period when the regime is gearing up for a major crackdown on the left, this was largely because Perón gave it no alternative and certainly stands in contradiction to its own past program of constant capitulation to Peronism.

That the PST is clearly disoriented by the pressure of events is indicated by the lack of focus of its press, which in recent issues has concentrated on coverage of numerous isolated strikes. Reading *Avanzada Socialista* one would get the impression that Argentine workers are faced with the need for militant action to achieve large wage gains during a potentially favorable round of bargaining, *rather than being threatened by the imminent destruction of every*

EL PUEBLO (ECUADOR)

Argentine CP leader Vitorio Codovilla

independent working-class organization. Individual strikes for higher wages in Argentina today are of tertiary importance. The crucial issue is the burning need for a united front to defend the left against the Peronist government's current and planned attacks on labor and socialist organizations.

There is a potential for successful resistance to these murderous plans, resting primarily in the existence of a broad layer of revolutionary syndicalists concentrated in the interior industrial center of Córdoba. Having supported non-Peronist left bureaucrats and, for a period, several independent "class-struggle" unions against constant attack by the labor bureaucracy, such forces would not simply cave in because of a directive from the *jefe máximo*. A successful resistance to the government's attempts to freeze wages, fire militant workers in state enterprises and eliminate militant union officials by whatever means necessary could spark off a vast uprising by the heretofore pro-Peronist workers, who have seen their aspirations cruelly repudiated by their idol's consistently reactionary direction in recent months.

In the 22-29 November edition of *Avanzada Socialista*, the PST proposed a united front to the ranks of the Communist Party, calling for opposition to the "Social Pact," to the "Law of Professional Associations" and other laws aimed at sacking union militants, instead proposing formation of "united class-struggle lists" to fight for a new "anti-bureaucratic" leadership of the unions. Along with a call for expropriation of imperialism and "the oligarchy" and the left Peronists' slogan of "for a socialist Argentina," these demands were intended to expose the CP's class-collaborationist popular-front policies while posing a united front which every CP militant can see is objectively necessary to avoid a disaster of the

continued on page 10

The Hearst Kidnapping: Idiot Terrorism

The kidnapping of 19-year-old Patricia Hearst, daughter of the wealthy Randolph A. Hearst, editor of the *San Francisco Examiner*, by a group of self-styled revolutionaries calling themselves the Symbionese Liberation Army (SLA) represents one of the more bizarre terrorist acts to have occurred in recent years. The circumstances of the kidnapping, the huge ransom demands and the extravagant stories about the SLA and its members have made good copy for the bourgeois press. Indeed it is ironic that the kidnapping, which could well be the basis for a cheap Hollywood sensation, should involve Hearst himself, whose journalistic stock-in-trade is precisely such stories. And while it is possible to dismiss the act as an indefensible and pathetic example of apolitical terrorism, the events surrounding the kidnapping are not without their lessons for the Marxist movement.

The Symbionese Liberation Army

The origins of the SLA are very obscure. Practically no one had ever heard of the group until the kidnapping. And even then, such noted experts as Nixon's attorney general, William Saxbe, whose business it is to keep up with such matters, lamented:

> "They call themselves the Symbionese Liberation Army, but one of the baffling things about them is that we don't know what it is that they want to liberate."
> —*New York Times*, 10 February

The *New York Times* (23 February) reports the group to have its origins in an intersection of some convict members of a self-help Black Culture Association at Vacaville State Prison (California) with some young white activists of vaguely "Maoist" leanings. The group apparently crystallized following the escape of two of the convicts from prison during March and August of last year. After forming, the SLA has, besides managing to kidnap Patricia Hearst, claimed credit for the gunning down last November of the black superintendent of Oakland's public schools, Marcus A. Foster. Foster had been trying to bring more police guards into the schools to "reduce" truancy and vandalism, and his scheme had been bitterly opposed by a number of Oakland parents.

Insofar as the SLA has any program it seems to be a mélange of terrorism, megalomaniacal New Left rhetoric and outright religious mysticism. The emblem of the SLA is a seven-headed cobra, which according to them is a 170,000-year-old symbol of God and life standing for "self-determination, cooperative production, creativity, unity, faith, purpose, and collective responsibility" (*Newsweek*, 18 February). The goal of the SLA is "to destroy 'all forms of racism, sexism, ageism, capitalism, fascism, individualism, possessiveness, and competitiveness'" (*New York Times*, 23 February).

The Kidnapping

To accomplish this goal the SLA decided to abduct Patricia Hearst, a student at the University of California at Berkeley who happened to have the misfortune of being the daughter of Randolph A. Hearst and of probably drawing the attention of the SLA to herself by being quoted in a recent interview as telling her father that his newspaper, the *San Francisco Examiner*, was irrelevant.

Declaring Hearst's daughter "a prisoner of war" the SLA demanded, as a demonstration of good faith in prelude to ransom negotiations, that Randolph Hearst, heir to the Hearst fortune, donate $280 million of free food over a one-month period to every Californian on welfare, social security or food stamps; to every convict on parole or probation; and to every disabled veteran. Claiming poverty, Hearst has finally offered $4 million, most of it to come from the Hearst Foundation and Hearst Corporation and all of it tax-deductible.

The free food is to be distributed by a coalition of six groups including the Glide Memorial Church, the American Indian Movement, the Black Teachers' Caucus, Nairobi College, the United Prisoners' Union and the National Welfare Rights Organization. And while all of the coalition members rush to wash their hands of the SLA and its "methods," there is nonetheless a certain parallel between these organizations and the SLA. The SLA imagines that it can solve the problem of poverty under capitalism through terrorism, forcing the bourgeoisie to feed the poor, the victims of the capitalist system, by ransoming one teenage girl. The coalition members, on the other hand, hope to achieve the same ends through more prosaic reformist protest and pressure tactics. The SLA has simply carried the free breakfast program of the Black Panthers to a terrorist conclusion.

It would be a mistake to draw too close a parallel between the SLA and earlier formations such as the Weathermen. Aside from the fact that the Weathermen had a history in the left, evolving toward terrorism out of their experiences in SDS, it was also possible to distinguish a coherent political kernel that lay at the center of the Weathermen activity. That is to say that the Weathermen saw themselves as auxiliaries of the NLF and Maoists "behind enemy lines." They simply carried Lin Piao's idea of "the countryside surrounding the cities" to its logical (and absurd) conclusion, then proceeding to act on that conclusion. By way of contrast, the political nature of the SLA, if indeed it has one, remains completely obscure. While the rhetoric of the SLA "communiqués" suggests a political profile somewhere between Robin Hood or the left wing of the Salvation Army and Black September, it is noteworthy that none of the alleged leaders has any history in the left.

Their only parallel is the so-called revolutionary armed force of the ex-convict Stanley Bond, a motley alliance of criminal elements, provocateurs and starry-eyed guilt-ridden New Leftists who several years ago robbed a Boston bank, killing a policeman in the process. The question of who was using whom in that case was never clear, nor could one say that a coherent group with definable politics was involved. It is important to note this ambiguity, for the degeneration of terrorist or guerrillaist organizations often leads to a shading over into simple apolitical banditry. Similarly the current vogue of kidnappings, hijackings, bombings, etc. by ostensible radicals inevitably leads to imitation by simple criminal, mentally unstable and marginally political elements.

The Response

Naturally the bourgeoisie is upset about the Hearst kidnapping, especially since shortly afterwards a group of self-proclaimed rightists kidnapped the editor of The *Atlanta Constitution*. The bourgeois press has used the occasion to lecture on law and order, denouncing terrorism in particular and the left in general. But beyond this ritual exercise lies an element of genuine bourgeois concern. Over the past five years there has been a very real increase in terrorist activity, particularly as an outgrowth of the conflicts in Ulster and Palestine but also in Latin America, and to a much lesser extent in Europe and North America themselves. As a response the bourgeoisie has beefed up its repressive apparatus, particularly on the international level.

On the U.S. left there has been almost uniform denunciation of the SLA for its acts. (So far the only notable defenders of the SLA are ex-Yippie Jerry Rubin and Bernadine Dohrn, who once hailed the ultra-violence cult of Charles Manson.) In particular, both the Communist Party and the Socialist Workers Party have rushed to point out the futility of such terrorism, how it brings repression down on the heads of the left, how it is necessary to mobilize the masses rather than resort to grandstand stunts, etc. (One additional drawback to terrorist actions is the opportunity they give the bourgeois media to build public sympathy for the victims. In this case there has been an avalanche of "human interest" stories on the agony of Randolph Hearst, one of the most viciously reactionary press magnates in the country. So far this has led to an outpouring of sympathy letters, including more than $1 million in donations by gullible well-wishers to the millionaire publisher whose personal net worth is estimated at somewhere over $100 million!) Both CP and SWP are suspicious of the SLA (rightly so), the SWP speculating that maybe police agents or rightists are involved, and the CP saying that the SLA's actions have a CIA/*Mission Impossible* flavor.

Aside from the speculation and innuendo this all sounds quite correct (excepting of course the CP's "alternative" of simple reform struggles). Militants should realize, however, that this display of orthodoxy is more for purposes of maintaining the CP's and SWP's respectable reformist reputations. When these groups were faced with the Weathermen, who were genuinely, although in a misguided way, committed to "anti-imperialist" politics and who directed their bombings at symbols of capitalism, they fell all over themselves in denouncing terrorism and raised not one finger to defend these militants against the bourgeois state.

Terror and Revolution

Leninists oppose individual terrorism because it is a futile protest gesture, incapable of bringing about a fundamental social overturn, which can only be the result of the revolutionary mobilization of the workers and other exploited layers, and because even if successful, it can only lead the masses into passivity, into hoping to be relieved of their sufferings by a heroic liberator. In the classic case of "successful" terrorism—the bombing of the Sofia, Bulgaria Cathedral on 16 April 1925—the Bulgarian Communist Party succeeded in killing 14 generals, 3 deputies, as well as the mayor and police chief of Sofia, *but changed nothing*.

Acts of terrorism must be considered concretely. Even though it only involves one person, the kidnapping of Patricia Hearst, who, unlike her father, is guilty of no known crime against the working people and whose only recorded political comment is that her father's newspaper was irrelevant, has more in common with the completly indefensible hijacking of airplanes or kidnapping of Israeli athletes than it does with, say, a bomb attempt by populist terrorists against one of the Russian tsars in the late 19th century which, however misguided, was at least an attack on an important class enemy.

UPI

Symbionese Liberation Army symbol

Leninists certainly do not reject the use of terror as an auxiliary tactic during a civil war, when for example it may be necessary to take hostages. Nor do we simply repudiate misguided militants or tendencies who attempt to strike heroic blows at some representative or symbol of the reactionary bourgeois order. Rather we defend such comrades against the class enemy, the bourgeois state, while nonetheless explaining the futility and utopianism of terrorist acts.

But we do not defend indiscriminately all terrorist acts. Actions such as the mass murder at Lod airport, the Munich killings or the recent shooting of airline passengers in Athens can in no way be justified as a blow against the bourgeois order, but represent the most reactionary sort of nationalist atrocity, the perpetrators of which the proletariat, were it able to, would deal with summarily.

Also not defensible is the SLA, with its obscure origins and its even more obscure politics, including a significant dose of mysticism and irrationality. Simply because a group utters a few quasi-Marxist phrases does not necessarily imply that it is even a political phenomenon. Yet the antics of the SLA which caricature the most negative features of the New Left, radical-liberal, black-nationalist, community-control swamp serve to point out the idiocy and logical absurdities of the politics of some of the more degenerate sections of the U.S. petty bourgeoisie. ■

RCY FORUM

The Symbionese Liberation Army—A Communist View

Los Angeles City College

Friday, March 1–11 a.m.

LOCATION TO BE ANNOUNCED
FOR INFORMATION: 485-1838

Britain's Winter of Class War

Speaker: JOSEPH SEYMOUR

Friday March 1, 8:00 p.m.
1914 Lounge, Thwing Hall
Case Western Reserve Univ.

Saturday March 2, 8:00 p.m.
King-Boswarth Lounge
Wilder Hall, Oberlin

CLEVELAND

West Coast Auto Local Rejects Preferential Seniority

FREMONT, Calif., February 25—The worst layoffs to hit the auto industry since the depression of the 1930's (more than 100,000 United Auto Workers members currently on indefinite layoff), coupled with the unwillingness of the Woodcock bureaucracy to fight this attack on UAW members' livelihoods, has led to a flurry of reformist schemes on how to deal with unemployment in several locals across the country. The main thing that these non-solutions have in common is that they do not fight layoffs at all, but simply accept the growing unemployment without proposing a program which could get back the job of even a single laid-off worker, much less prevent further job losses.

One particularly dangerous, divisive and anti-union scheme, coming from Southgate (Southern California) UAW Local 216, calls on individual union members to take both General Motors and the UAW to court, suing for a modified seniority system in which women and minorities would be able to accrue "double seniority" until some sort of pre-determined racial and sexual balance is reached! In other words, the white male workers are to pay for the companies' racist and sexist hiring practices.

This not only ignores the potential strength of a united rank-and-file fight against all layoffs, it divides the membership into special interest groups pitted against each other in a desperate struggle for a declining number of jobs. It also throws the door wide open to a vicious company and government attack on the unions' hard-won seniority system which, although it will certainly reflect historic discrimination against minorities and women in hiring and despite (in many instances) de facto discriminatory provisions, is the only form of job security workers now have. Union militants must fight *within* the unions to eliminate discriminatory practices, such as departmental hiring which is often used to lock minorities into the worst jobs, but must not appeal to the bosses' courts to destroy the seniority system and overturn contract benefits won by union struggle.

An important resolution which rejects such objectively pro-capitalist, divide-and-conquer tactics as the above, was approved yesterday (though by a narrow margin) at the February meeting of Fremont Local 1364 of the UAW. The resolution, which was printed in a leaflet distributed at the GM plant today, reads as follows:

> "The government is a tool of big business. The use of government agencies and branches such as the NLRB, Department of Labor and the courts against the union in any form is an anti-labor act which can only weaken the union and open it to attack. To rely on the same government to settle internal union problems also fosters illusions in the government as a neutral force between workers and the companies. There is no substitute for the mobilization of the union membership to fight for our needs.
>
> "'Preferential layoffs,' 'inverted seniority layoffs' and other such schemes accept the companies' employment cycle and result in unfair treatment of one section of the work force. This pits worker against worker, instead of all workers against the company. Isolated strikes and individual job actions cannot bring lasting benefits to the workers. Layoffs and speed-up must be fought with solid union action: An industry-wide strike, linked up internationally, for shorter hours with full cost-of-living paid, to make jobs for all! To begin organizing such solid union action, UAW Local 1364 should establish an official committee to contact all other UAW locals to communicate this proposal and begin preparing for such an industry-wide strike against layoffs."

According to union members interviewed after the meeting, the disorderly state of the meeting and the bureaucratic cutting-off of discussion after only one person had spoken (a committeeman who argued vigorously in favor of the motion) prevented a full discussion of the important principle and demands contained in the resolution. Despite the confusion, however, the line-up of votes was revealing. Elements in the right wing of the Brotherhood Caucus, an opportunist grouping (supported uncritically in the pages of the October League's *Call*) currently in power in the local, reportedly voted against the motion. These same people, who claim to be against Woodcock and against all layoffs (though opposing strike action!), are calling in leaflets and in the meetings for such non-solutions as "inverse seniority" at a time when the SUB (supplemental unemployment benefits) fund is running out, and for various plans for preferential treatment of women workers (see the report in *WV* No. 38, 15 February).

Another grouping within the union, some of whom support the *Bay Area Worker*, apparently found themselves caught off-guard by this concrete expression of many of the ideas they give verbal support to. Reportedly, some voted for the resolution, others against and still others abstained. Their main contribution to the meeting was a motion calling for preferential hiring of laid-off UAW members into all companies which are UAW shops, a motion which in itself is supportable, though hardly relevant to a situation of mass layoffs and minimal hiring. Local bureaucrats such as Earlie Mays, shop chairman, and Vern Diaz, president, called for nationwide action, though not specifying what kind of action, but abstained on the motion for a nationwide strike against layoffs. ■

Demonstrate Solidarity, Support—

VICTORY TO THE BRITISH MINERS!

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 27

4:30-6:00 p.m.

BRITISH CONSULATE

845 3rd Avenue (Between 51st and 52nd Streets)

Called by THE MINERS SOLIDARITY ACTION COMMITTEE

ENDORSERS:

Ad Hoc Committee for Defense of Haitian Refugees
•Black Panther Party
•Catholic Worker
•Coalition of Black Trade Unionists
•Communications Workers of America Local 1101
CWA Local 1103
CWA Local 1150
•CFC—A Collective of Liberation Centers
Bill Epton
•Fight Back
Friends of Haiti
•Burton Hall, labor lawyer
Harlem Tenants' Union
•Irish Republican Clubs
Liberation News Service
•Militant-Solidarity Caucus of the National Maritime Union
Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers, District Council 8
OCAW Local 438
OCAW Local 8-149
OCAW Maritime Local 8-801
Paul O'Dwyer, President, N.Y. City Council
Rank and File Committee for a Democratic Union within the N.Y.C.T.A.
Revolutionary Communist League (Internationalist)
Alfred Russel
•Spartacist League/Revolutionary Communist Youth
•United Farm Workers
War Tax Resistance

•written endorsement received

Continuing Stalinist Persecution Campaign:

U.S.S.R. Bureaucracy Deports Solzhenitsyn

In a move calculated to outflank cold-war liberal critics of the Nixon-Brezhnev détente, the Stalinist rulers of the USSR on February 13 stripped dissident novelist Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn of his citizenship and deported him to the West. With the aid of pro-détente West German chancellor Willy Brandt, who had conveniently indicated to Russian authorities his willingness to receive Solzhenitsyn, Brezhnev appears to have pulled off a major coup—he has eliminated a very irritating thorn in the side of the bureaucracy, depriving Senator Jackson and Co. of one more argument to use against Nixon's efforts to step up trade with the USSR, with hardly a murmur of opposition from Western liberals.

SYGMA

Alexander Solzhenitsyn

Now Brezhnev has announced willingness to permit the writer's family to join him in Norway, a further step designed to assuage Western public opinion. Even Solzhenitsyn himself, who had earlier refused to leave his native country, appears relieved at the prospect of exile in the West (with public acclaim, a higher standard of living and considerable accumulated royalties) rather than a return to prison camp.

As communists we resolutely condemn this cowardly, anti-democratic and anti-socialist act of the Russian bureaucracy. We demand the right to full freedom of political expression in the Soviet Union, the only position consistent with the democratic ideals of socialism. How little Brezhnev's repression of dissident intellectuals has to do with the "Soviet legality" he claims to uphold is shown by the fact that to get rid of Solzhenitsyn he had to violate even Stalin's 1936 USSR Constitution, which nowhere provides for deportation of life-long Russian citizens.

We give no support to Solzhenitsyn's pro-Western views, which are used by the bureaucracy to slander its socialist opponents, and sharply distinguish our revolutionary protest from the anti-communist campaign by Western liberals and social democrats around the Solzhenitsyn and Sakharov cases. We point out that anti-democratic decrees are aimed above all at the left-wing opponents of Stalinism, not the handful of prominent friends of Senator Jackson.

It is no accident that the only other known case of deportation by the Russian bureaucracy was that of Leon Trotsky in 1929. Stalin could no longer tolerate Trotsky's presence on Russian soil because even in Central Asian exile he managed to consistently expose the threat to the Soviet Union posed by the bureaucracy's policy of "détente" with the imperialists. In contrast to the leader of the Russian Revolution, who was hounded from one country after another until he was finally murdered by a Stalinist assassin in Mexico in 1940, Solzhenitsyn has received an effusive welcome from the European bourgeoisie.

We uphold the democratic right of freedom of expression for Soviet dissidents, even for opponents of socialism, such as Sakharov and Solzhenitsyn. The bureaucracies of the deformed workers states must not be permitted to dispose of troublemakers by exiling them. The history of the workers movement is too replete with examples of militants ousted from their homes, condemned to exile—without jobs, without money, without social ties, forcibly broken from their roots in their class and with little possiblity of influencing the course of social struggles in their new locales—for us to view with indifference the fate of even this liberal victim of Stalinist arbitrariness.

As for the supposed danger to socialism which the bureaucracy claims would result from the publication of Solzhenitsyn's works in the USSR, we can only wholeheartedly agree with the comment of Roy Medvedev in his intelligent essay on *The Gulag Archipelago* (*New York Times*, 7 February 1974) that "Marxism will only benefit from debate with such an opponent as Solzhenitsyn." ■

Continued from page 1

Tory Election Campaign

struggle to lead it in the direction of class independence from the bourgeoisie. A key tactic for small revolutionary organizations faced with the reality of mass reformist workers parties is, therefore, to give critical support to the latter during parliamentary elections. Such critical support does not imply one ounce of approval of the sellout policies of their reformist leaders. Rather, on the one hand, it draws a class line and indicates the enemy to be fought (and whom the reformists do not want to fight) while, on the other, it enables the revolutionaries to expose the pretensions of the sundry Stalinists, social democrats, Labourites, etc., to represent the interests of the workers. Such a tactic, of course, is doubly important when the party is putting on leftist airs, creating illusions about its real policies.

Expose the Fakers—Labour to Power!

We call on British workers to vote Labour against the Tories in the February 28 elections precisely in order to demonstrate that Wilson and Callaghan do not represent the interests of labor. In voting Labour the vast bulk of the workers will be voting for a victory to the striking miners, against state wage controls and the Emergency Measures Act, against the attacks on the right to strike, for substantial wage increases and for an offensive against the corporations who are responsible for the misery of the workers' lot. But what the Labour Party will do is quite different: its leaders refuse to support the miners' strike, they imposed state wage controls their last time in office (and are now pushing voluntary arbitration), they promise nothing about the right to strike and have no intention of carrying out even the limited nationalizations listed in the manifesto (much less expropriating the capitalists as a class). That is why it is necessary to build a revolutionary, not a reformist party. Many will not believe our predictions at first. By voting Labour they can learn from their own experience the inadequacies of reformist social-democratic labourism.

The case for critical support to the Labour Party, which is, of course, not obligatory at all times, is particularly evident in this election. The key struggle at the present time remains the fight for a general strike to achieve victory for the miners, to smash the state wage controls and Industrial Relations Act, to force repeal of the Emergency Measures Act, to smash Heath's nationwide lockout (the three-day workweek). Only a hopeless parliamentary cretin could believe that these issues can be settled in the interests of labor by higgling in the Commons.

But a clear Tory election victory at this time would certainly dampen industrial militancy considerably. It would be regarded by the mass of the workers as a sign of popular opposition to strikes and would probably strengthen the right wing of the labor bureaucracy. Militant sections such as the miners would be under enormous pressure from the Trades Union Congress (TUC) bureaucracy to compromise, if not surrender outright. Conversely, a Labour victory would (as Heath well knows and Wilson fears) release the class-struggle impulses locked up in the Phase Three compression chamber resulting in a wave of strikes.

The underlying purpose of critical support is not to pressure the Labour tops but to produce the political conditions for splitting the mass reformist parties into their component parts, the petty-bourgeois pro-capitalist leadership and the labor aristocracy on the one hand, and a section of the base which wishes to pursue the class struggle on the other. That is why we call for a Labour/TUC government pledged to a socialist program of expropriating the bourgeoisie. We call on the present misleaders of labor, both trade-union and political, to take power in their own name and to enact policies in the interests of the workers they supposedly represent. Of course, the Labour and TUC tops will not do this, for that would require a break from capitalism, which they support. Consequently, in struggling for a program representing the true interests of labor, revolutionaries can expose the nature of the reformists' policies and set the stage for a split in the existing dominant Labour social-democratic and Stalinist parties.

The "Trotskyist" Candidates

Of the smaller workers parties running in the election the most important is the Communist Party. However, the CP is only quantitatively to the left of the BLP, does not oppose Labour's reformist policies, is just as attached to the "national interest," is no more willing to wage a battle directly against state wage controls, does not call for a general strike. The CP is the reserve party of British reformism and is no more fundamentally different from the Labour Party than are the blatantly reformist Italian and French CPs. Revolutionaries advocate critical electoral support for the BLP in order to *destroy* the illusions that the mass of the British workers have in that party. To call for critical support to the CP would be to create illusions that it is somehow qualitatively to the left of Wilson & Co., which it is not, and to build its political authority which, fortunately, is quite small.

Throughout the fall, the International Marxist Group (IMG) campaigned for a classic popular front against the Tories, which would have included the Liberals, Scottish and Welsh Nationalists, all unambigiously bourgeois parties (see "A Left Face for Labourism," *WV* No. 33, 23 November 1973). Despite its left line in the present crisis and its call for votes to Labour, we do not give critical support to the IMG candidates unless it repudiates in principle its recent popular frontism.

The P.T. Barnum of British "Trotskyism," one Gerry Healy, is currently running a sideshow billing his Workers Revolutionary Party as a serious competitor to the Labour Party. The WRP is running nine candidates, the best-known being actress Vanessa Redgrave. Despite Healy's opposition to agitating for a general strike during the sharpest industrial/political class battle in Britain in years, the WRP program does go beyond the confines of improved management of the capitalist state (a program shared by the BLP and CP) and calls for repeal of anti-labor laws, expropriation without compensation of food, banking and fuel industries, abolishing the standing army, Britain out of the Common Market and NATO—a series of transitional demands which go beyond Labourite parliamentarianism and pose the need for overthrowing capitalism. Therefore, notwithstanding Healy's betrayal-stained record of political banditry and physical gangsterism against opponents on the left, despite pervasive opportunism, e.g., the WRP's support for the Arab bourgeoisies in last year's Near East war, its support for Ho Chi Minh and the Red Guards, its electoralist line during the 1971 dockers' strike and repeated other instances of political opportunism and unprincipled sectarianism, we urge our British supporters to vote for WRP candidates in the few districts where they are running. ■

Corrections

The article "Heath Calls Elections to Defeat Miners" in *WV* No. 38, 15 February 1974, contained an important typographical error, calling for a "*limited, offensive* general strike" when it should have read "*limited, defensive* general strike." In the same issue the article "Reformists Duck Layoffs Fight at Fremont GM," referred to three one-week layoffs on the passenger car assembly line. To date there have been only two such temporary layoffs since last fall.

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Perón ...

magnitude of the Chilean coup. However, the PST neglected to mention one "minor" subject—namely, the attitude to be taken toward the government itself! And this at a time when the CP is supporting Perón and the *key, overriding* necessity is to explain clearly to the masses the reactionary character of the bourgeois Peronist government and to warn sharply against placing any confidence in it!

Struggle Against the Misleaders: Key to the United Front

Under the pressure of events the social-democratic PST has made a partial left turn. It was only last May that these reformists offered their "proletarian solidarity" to Cámpora, yet six months later the PST was telling the workers that Perón will not grant concessions to labor and that "we cannot place any confidence in the present government" (*Avanzada Socialista*, 8-15 November 1973)!

A similar turn has been made by Política Obrera, which greeted Cámpora's election last spring as a "triumph of the working class." PO now states that, "the counterrevolution is today grouped around the government and subordinated to its policies. Perón is the political center, the only real one on which the bourgeoisie can count today, against the workers" (*Política Obrera*, 1 December 1973). PO now appears to grasp the seriousness of the present situation and the enormity of the imminent crushing defeat facing the working class if it does not break from Peronism. Despite its belief in the possibility of an "anti-imperialist national bourgeoisie" in the backward countries and its standard slogan of an "anti-imperialist united front" (both of these being textbook examples of Stalinism), PO sharply criticizes the CP's policies of coalition with different sectors of the bourgeoisie. It has even made some sharp attacks on left bureaucrats like Tosco and Rene Salamanca (of the SMATA auto workers' union) for their capitulation to the Peronist bureaucracy.

Política Obrera has proposed the formation of united-front class-struggle opposition groups in the unions directed against the government attacks on the labor movement. A true united front of all militant oppositionists and even left bureaucrats against these attacks is crucial today. But this cannot eliminate the need for simultaneously building trade-union tendencies based on the Transitional Program, that is, on the essential points of the program of the revolutionary party, which must be the program for the unions if they are not to be instruments in the hands of capital for disciplining and crushing the working class.

More specifically, without the existence of such an organized revolutionary pole in the unions the workers will be left helpless before the next sellout by left bureaucrats, who will join a struggle today only to betray it tomorrow. ■

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Miners' Chiefs Maneuver...

and made it clear that non-NUM members were not welcome on picket lines. On February 16 Jack Dunn, general secretary of the Kent area miners and a Communist Party member, told a meeting of the London Action Committee (a group composed primarily of London-area trade unionists and students, formed to back the miners' strike) that the NUM national executive had decided to cancel the scheduled February 25 solidarity rally until after the elections, and was also postponing until that time any further meetings of the Action Committee. Dunn also announced that the Kent miners were cutting back the number of pickets standing duty at power stations in London.

Because the British government has built up large stocks of coal reserves, the key to a successful strike lies in preventing the coal from being utilized at its destinations—generally either coke works or power stations. This requires mass picket lines, generally with the assistance of non-miners. The decisive battle in the 1972 strike was the shutting down of the coke depot at Saltley, an effort in which miners were assisted by over 10,000 factory workers from the surrounding area.

Although the strike has yet to be challenged in an assertive way by the Heath government, its effectiveness has certainly been dampened by the strategy of the NUM leadership. NUM pickets are allowing deliveries of fuel oil to steel, coke and power plants if they are "not in excess of normal quantities." By allowing these plants to remain open, NUM leaders are making it clear that they wish to avoid a real struggle against the government.

While the miners' rank and file are growing frustrated with passive strike tactics, their leadership is ensconced in "relativity" inquiry hearings before the Pay Board in London. The relativities set-up enables particular unions to make special arguments that justify a change in their relative wage position. This serves as a way of permitting wage increases that exceed the maximum, in particular cases, without appearing to set a precedent. Unwilling to directly challenge Heath's state wage controls, which could lead to a sharp class battle reaching far beyond the confines of a simple contract dispute, the reformist NUM leaders repeatedly asserted in testimony before the Pay Board that miners qualified for "special" increases. As Lawrence Daley, secretary general of the union, put it, "we do not seek to base our case for a substantial all-around pay increase on pay relativities alone. We have therefore given much attention to the nature of mining as a job, to the manpower aspects of recruitment and retention of coalminers, and to the context of energy requirements and fuel policy" *(The Times* [London], 19 February).

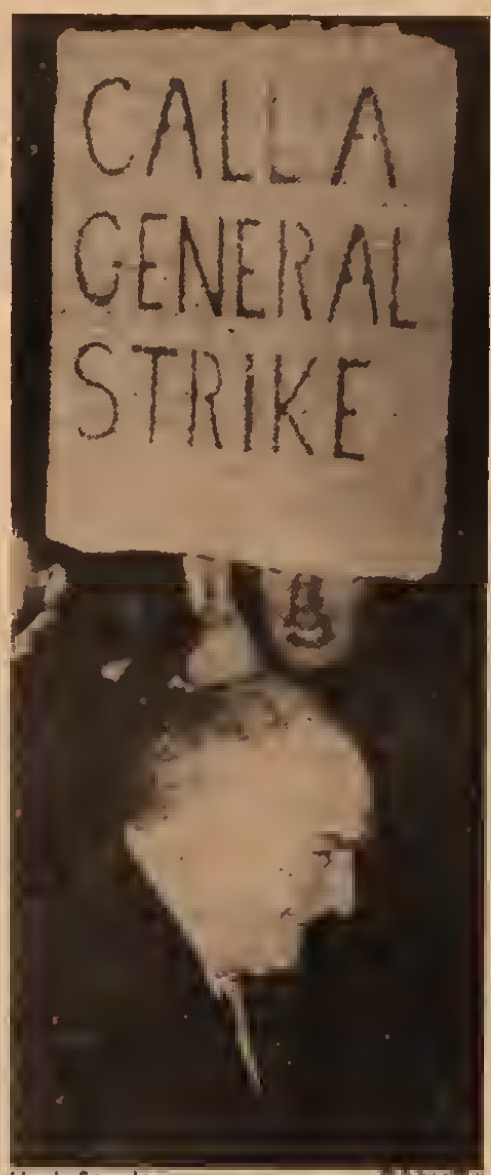
In effect, the NUM bureaucrats argued that the national interest required that the Coal Board pay sufficiently high wages in order to attract workers to what, with the oil shortage, is an expanding industry. By employing arguments that appeal to national chauvinism and the special interests of miners, the NUM leaders are deliberately obscuring the issue that confronts the entire British working class—state wage controls and a concerted attack on the trade-union movement through the Industrial Relations Act and anti-picketing laws. The only result can be increased competition between workmen of different industries for a slice of a diminishing pie.

Role of the Communist Party

A large section of the leadership of the Mineworkers are members of the British Communist Party, including NUM vice-president Michael McGahey. While the CP union leaders cautiously avoid making statements that they accept the principle of the relativities inquiry, their strategy is to avoid a sharp break with the Labour Party leadership. The CP miners stand only quantitatively to the left of social-democratic president Gormley—hoping to reap the benefits of rank-and-file dissatisfaction without unnecessarily rocking the boat. This is the mentality of second-line bureaucrats, not genuine class warriors.

At no time, of course, did the *Morning Star* (organ of the CP) denounce the NUM participation in the Pay Board hearings (which were not even required)! In fact, the real position of the CP is that of any labor bureaucrat. According to CP general secretary John Gollan: "The issue in the miners' strike is not only long overdue justice for the men in the pits. It is also to save this industry, which is vital for Britain's future, where workers are leaving at the rate of 700 a week because of impossible wages" *(Morning Star*, 18 February). And of course, being so concerned with the national interest, McGahey and the CP were quick to back down when attacked by the Tories and social patriots for advocating that British soldiers not shoot at their class brothers.

Jack Collins, a CP miner and member of the NUM national executive, asserted in an interview with *Workers Vanguard* earlier this week that he did not rule out mass picketing and even a call for a general strike if and when "the miners were smashed against the wall." But, at this time, Collins emphasized, he did not believe that such tactics were necessary—i.e., that the miners, because of their position in society, are



Hugh Scanlon

an exception to the laws of class struggle. As Collins put it: "I believe that if the miner was not to go on picket, the miner can win this struggle, because the nation has got to decide whether they want the mining industry, and if the answer is yes, they've got to decide where the men are coming from and they've got to pay the men."

In reality it is precisely because of the miners' strategic importance within the British economy that the bourgeoisie cannot permit them a decisive victory. While it may be forced to offer concessions under special circumstances ("the national interest"), this is but a tactical maneuver. Ultimately, the capitalists are quite prepared to use

London demonstrators support "Shrewsbury 24" defendants, arrested for picketing during 1972 construction strike.

armed force and vicious anti-labor laws in order to break the miners. The failure of the NUM leaders, including the CPers, to spearhead the resistance of the British labor movement through a general strike against the Industrial Relations Act and wage controls far from being "prudent," as they believe, in fact prepares the miners and British working class as a whole to go down in defeat before Heath's anti-union offensive.

Reformism and Strikebreaking

Not much better can be said for Collins' view of the capitalist state. In defending fellow CP member McGahey, whom Collins termed "a very moral character," he at first denied that the NUM vice-president had called on the soldiers not to fire on the British miners, later claiming he did not know what McGahey had said, that he had only heard the press reports, whose accuracy he could not attest to! Collins' version of McGahey's statement was that it was similar to what was done during the last coal strike in 1972: "He said to the police, for example, instead of harassing the miners, the pickets, you should be alongside the miners, alongside the pickets and defending the miners." To call on the police, the professional hired goons of the capitalist class, to defend picket lines can only serve to disorient the workers as to the true character of the bourgeois state (implying that the police are somehow neutral and could presumably support either side) and divert attention from the crucial task of urging the working class to organize armed defense of the picket lines.

In commenting on strikebreaking by the Polish Stalinist government, which had been exporting coal to Britain until it notified the NUM February 19 that no more Polish coal would be shipped during the strike, Collins said it had always been his position, as well as that of the British CP, that "coal should not come in from Poland." What this position meant in practice, however, had been clarified a few days earlier by CP industrial organizer Bert Ramelson. Commenting on the response of the Polish government to a British CP appeal to end coal shipments, Ramelson said: "We regret that so far our request hasn't been taken up. We recognize the contractual obligation of the government to deliver coal to its customers. Our appeal was to the Polish workers and not to the Polish state" *(Workers Press*, 15 February)! Presumably the Polish CP (to whom the letter was addressed) will do one thing and the Polish state (under the CP's bureaucratic control) another.

Enter the Fake-Lefts

Despite the CP's clearly reformist policies in the unions, it has nevertheless won effusive praise from its supposed "left critics" in its role as "militant trade union leadership." In an article in the 8 February *Red Weekly*, organ of the fake-Trotskyist International Marxist Group (IMG), the following appears: "In many ways today's NUM left are in the same mould as Smith and Cook [miners' leaders in the 1926 strike]. They are not like the 'limp lefts' of yesterday or today—leaders who engage in very left-wing *talk*, take 'hard line' stands on *paper*, and are often willing to give rein to militants to carry on the struggle, but will not themselves give any kind of lead and run from any real fight. In this respect Jack Jones and Hugh Scanlon seem like veritable reincarnations of their predecessors, Ernest Bevin,... and A.B.Swales....The NUM lefts have, and will, lead real, hard-fought struggles."

And who exactly are the NUM lefts? One cited by the IMG is Emlyn Williams, president of the South Wales miners, who criticized the TUC for capitulating to Phase 3 and reportedly called for a general strike. But as the IMG was forced to admit, Williams later went along with the Pay Board relativity hearings—which are part and parcel of Phase 3! Another NUM left cited is none other than the leading CPer, Vice-President McGahey! The course of the miners' strike has shown, in fact, that McGahey and Williams are precisely the "limp lefts of yesterday and today"—just like the social democrats Jones and Scanlon today and Bevin in the '20's. Their militant trade unionism dissolves instantly in a political crisis—into supporting the Pay Board, apologizing to the bourgeoisie for raising the possibility of appealing to the class instincts of British soldiers and accepting token picket lines.

ASLEF is another example which provides a warning for centrist groupings like the IMG and the Chartists who support the left-wing bureaucrats over the right wing in the unions. The suspension of all industrial action by the rail engineers during the election period was preceded by the election of three "militants" onto the nine-man executive board of the union the month before. The elections gave the left wing a majority and were presumed to imply that more aggressive trade-union policies were to be pursued.

This was not to be the case. Hoping to avoid alienating London suburban voters (many of them commuters living in key swing districts) in the upcoming parliamentary elections, all but two of the left wingers voted to call off the ASLEF's one-day work stoppages.

As V.I. Lenin emphasized decades ago in *What is to Be Done?* there is a fundamental, qualitative distinction between trade-union consciousness and socialist consciousness. In a political crisis the "trade-union militants" capitulate to the parliamentary appetites of the reformist British Labour Party, the chief agency of the bourgeoisie within the ranks of the workers movement.

What is needed is to wage a political struggle within the unions against all aspects of reformism. A genuinely class-conscious miners' leadership would be in an excellent position to galvanize support within the TUC for a strike of *all* British workers against wage controls, the Industrial Relations Act and the Tory government. The IMG rejects such a strategy, saying: "Thus demands on the TUC must be coupled with practical proposals for action which can be undertaken by those who

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Miners' Chiefs Maneuver ...

are convinced by such demands. Militants must be urged to go beyond calls on the leadership and actually launch and organize the struggle themselves" (*Red Weekly*, 8 February).

In effect, the IMG calls on "militants" like McGahey & Co. to ignore the TUC leadership (with whom they are in cahoots) and wage isolated strikes. While this perspective is clearly absurd, the idea that the more militant and better-organized section of the workers can take things into its own hands, without preparing the masses of more backward workers for joint action on a class-struggle basis, is positively dangerous. Outbursts of spontaneous fury by rank-and-file miners and railwaymen at being sold out by their leaders are in fact a real possibility and one in which, unfortunately, they would be quickly isolated and smashed.

Another manifestation of the inability of the ostensibly revolutionary left in Britain to develop a political strategy is in the Shrewsbury defense case. In this trial, 24 construction workers are being tried for violating an 1875 law, on counts of conspiracy, unlawful assembly and affray, for their participation in flying picket squads used in a 1972 strike. This, along with a recent ruling by the House of Lords limiting the rights of picketers attempting to dissuade lorry drivers from crossing picket lines, is part of the ruling-class assault on the independence of British trade unions. The February 2 Liverpool Conference on Shrewsbury could come up with nothing more than a "national day of action in March" in answer to these attacks on the right to strike.

This course of rallies called periodically every few months, regardless of the political situation, is favored by the CP. However, in an industry like construction in Britain, which is poorly organized, where there is no union hiring hall, where a vicious sytem of competitive self-employment called "lumping" is widespread, a call for a one-day strike has no impact whatever. At a recent rally in London, CPer Lou Lewis (secretary of the London Shrewsbury 24 Committee) outlined this reformist strategy in detail, including "pressuring" Parliament to repeal the 1875 law. IS, which has members among the defendants, counterposed continuous strike action by building trades workers at the Liverpool Conference, but failed to raise the key demand of a strike by all British workers against the anti-union laws.

Labour and the Elections

It would perhaps be helpful to examine the program of the Labour Party to which the sundry left groups are capitulating. The "Labour Party Manifesto 1974" mentions as little of the class struggle as it can get away with. It does not even come out unequivocally in support of the wage demands of the miners! In fact, it calls for voluntary restraint on the part of unions along with price controls. It advocates replacing the Tories' Industrial Relations Act by an Employment Protection Act and an Industrial Democracy Act (with "independent" rather than government arbitration!), renegotiating terms of entry into the Common Market, phasing down defense spending while "maintaining support for NATO as an instrument of détente no less than of defense," etc. There is so little real opposition to the fundamentals of capitalist policy here that the Labour Party has managed to attract the support of right-wing Tory nationalist Enoch Powell on the basis of common "opposition" to the EEC!

The Communist Party program is only quantitatively to the left of that of the Labour Party. It, too, calls for strict price controls, along with other utopian reform gimmicks like "taxing the rich" and prohibiting investments abroad. The CP complained that its voice of reason had been ignored in 1967 when it pointed out that closing the coal pits and relying on oil "were a recipe for disaster." In a word, the CP writes, "the Tories care nothing for the national interest" ("Vote Communist," February 1974). The CP also calls for reforms like cutting the arms bill in half (!), dissolving NATO *and the Warsaw Pact*, a *phased* withdrawal of British troops fron Northern Ireland and the usual quantitative extension of nationalizations.

The IMG, which pays lip service to the general strike, is running three candidates in the election. One glaringly unprincipled act is its offer to support the imprisoned Irish nationalist Dolours Price, if she stands for election in West Belfast as the (bourgeois) Republican candidate. Gerry Healy's Workers Revolutionary Party, in turn, sharply criticized the IMG some time ago for refusing to call for a general strike against the Industrial Relations Act when it was first made into law; however, the WRP now in its one election campaign refuses to call for a general strike in response to Heath's attacks!

MANCHESTER GUARDIAN

Perhaps the prime example of capitulation before parliamentarianism is offered by the tiny Workers Fight group, an ostensibly Trotskyist organization. A month ago Workers Fight was vigorously advancing the slogan of a general strike against the Industrial Relations Act. It was so opposed to parliamentarianism that it refused to draw the political conclusion and also call for the ouster of the Tories and their replacement by a Labour Party government—on the grounds that the Tories and labor traitors would attempt to use political slogans to derail industrial actions and channel them into electoral politics. (Of course, it is inevitable that reformists will act like reformists—but refusing to raise a political alternative to Tory rule only chains the masses more closely to the parliamentarians.)

Now, during the heat of an election period Workers Fight writes in its February 16-23 issue: "Also, we must see clearly that now, today, when we don't have a general strike, the immediate question of government is not general strike and a workers government based on workers councils, but Labour vs. Tories." Having warned of the dangers of parliamentarianism, Workers Fight then capitulates to it, adapting to the passivity of the more backward British workers. It is certainly self-defeating to abstain on principle from bourgeois parliamentary activity in the absence of a genuine revolutionary alternative. It is often necessary to call on the workers to vote for a rotten-reformist workers party against the bourgeois parties in order to draw, even in a primitive way, a class line. But Trotskyists call for critical support to Labour against the Tories not because they believe that a general strike and workers councils are now suddenly irrelevant, but to *expose* the pusillanimous back-stabbing Labour Party and Trade Union Congress leadership and precisely in order to dispel the illusion that the struggle can be confined to "Labour vs. Tories." In the last analysis, the class struggle will be resolved in the streets and factories. ■

International Women's Day March 8

"...the 'woman' question in the workers' milieu develops in a completely different soil and bears quite a different character than it does among the bourgeoisie....The conscious working woman sees that contemporary society is divided into classes. Each class has its special interests. The bourgeoisie one, the working class another. Their interests are opposed....Solidarity between working men and working women, common activity, common goals, a common path to these goals—such is the solution to the 'woman' question among workers."

—*Nadezhda Krupskaia*, Rabotnitsa (The Working Woman), *23 February/8 March 1914*

From Feminism to Trotskyism

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SL Debates Trade-Union Tactics, Pabloism...

the unions and isolated from the bulk of the working class. .

From "Deep Entrism" to "New Mass Vanguard"

The IMG error is symptomatic of the USec's centrism since the late 1960's. Without ever explicitly rejecting its Pabloite heritage of "deep entrism" (i.e., burying itself) in the mass reformist workers parties in the 1950's, the USec has since made an impressionistic turn to radicalizing layers of primarily student youth outside the mass parties and unions. While "deep entrism" entailed abandonment of a public Trotskyist presence in a period of stagnation (when it was most needed), as well as explicit rejection of struggle for the Trotskyist program within the reformist parties, the current tailing after the guerrillaist whimsies of radical youth substitutes a verbally super-revolutionary outside posturing in a period of ferment when the struggle to bring Trotskyism *into* the mass formations of the working class is paramount. Under such slogans as "red university" and "from the periphery to the center" it was asserted that students as such would play a leading role in sparking class struggle and that influence in marginal (peripheral) layers of the working class would somehow magically "grow over" into influence in the main sections of the working class.

The latest version of this substitutionism, the "new mass vanguard," is treated as a central tenet by the USec majority in its dispute with the SWP-led minority. It explicitly asserts that ever-larger layers—still mostly students, of course, but "growing over" into the working class—are increasingly engaging in anti-capitalist struggle, *acting independently of* (i.e., bypassing) the old reformist bureaucracies of the trade unions and bourgeois workers parties. To win hegemony over these layers, which are neither new, nor particularly massive today, nor a vanguard, is the central task of the period according to the USec majority.

(This development had its parallel in the origins of the RMG. The LSA's craven, "deep-entrist" capitulation to the reformism of the Waffle Caucus leadership in the NDP was based in part on the feeling that the rise of working-class militancy would of necessity have to pass through the NDP. Counterposing itself to the LSA's "deep-entrist" reformism, the RMG's main efforts since its foundation have centered on a largely futile search for a Canadian version of the elusive "new mass vanguard.")

Knox cited the Ligue Communiste's intervention into the Debré Law struggles in France last summer as an example of how the "new mass vanguard" orientation is not only an attempt to bypass struggle in the unions but is also a capitulation to petty-bourgeois layers. Introduction of the Debré Law, which would have ended army deferments for many students (but not for all: its overall effect was to increase class inequality in the draft), became the subject of mass student protests.

The USec majorityites cite the effect of the protests on the French Communist Party—forcing it into joint action which it had at first opposed—as proof of the increasing difficulty of the reformist bureaucracies in ignoring the "new mass vanguard." But the CP was just doing its job, using its domination of the main trade-union federation, the CGT, to help keep the struggle within reformist bounds.

The Ligue Communiste, moreover, capitulated to the spontaneous reformism of the moment by limiting its mass intervention to two slogans: "Down with the Debré Law" and "Re-establish and Extend Deferments to All Youth," refusing to struggle explicitly against the bourgeois army itself anywhere beyond the confines of the student strike committees. (It also tailed after the CP and social-democratic trade-union leaders in raising the ultra-reformist slogan: "For the Right to Choose the Age of Entry into the Army for All Youth.") "Gaining hegemony" over the "new mass vanguard" evidently means little more than adaptation to episodic motion within the petty bourgeoisie for the sake of bringing left-reformist pressure on the CP from *outside* the unions.

In contrast, the Spartacist League calls for the building of caucuses on the basis of the Trotskyist Transitional Program in the unions as a central tactic in building proletarian leadership and a vanguard party. The speaker pointed to the need for clarity, since "caucus" usually refers to a temporary amalgam of would-be bureaucrats seeking union office. He cited articles in the RMG paper *Old Mole* on the recent Artistic Woodworkers' strike in Toronto as a bad example—caucuses are called for, but the programmatic basis is left completely unspecified. The article gives no sense at all of the need for a long-range program transcending the "normal" preoccupation with immediate trade-union issues.

United Front vs. Class-Struggle Caucus

Unlike a united front, which seeks to unite the mass of the workers around the most immediate slogans of struggle against the employers, a caucus, as an alternative *leadership* organization, should seek to recruit the most advanced workers to a program for transforming the unions into weapons of the class struggle, with an internationalist, working-class political perspective. Like the TUEL, class-struggle caucuses of militant unionists should represent the political program of the vanguard party, as it applies to that particular union and industry. They are thus an integral part of the struggle to build a mass vanguard party, standing at the head of the working class and its mass organizations.

Knox devoted considerable time to specific questions facing the militants in the trade unions in the U.S. and the approach class-struggle caucuses must take. He discussed the increasing attempts by the government to exploit the struggle against racial and sexual discrimination by turning minorities and women against the unions; attempts by new bureaucratic layers—such as those represented by Arnold Miller of the United Mine Workers and James Morrissey of the National Maritime Union—to ride into power through the use of increasing government intervention in the unions. He also dealt with the conditions for giving critical support to candidates for union office and the need for internationalism and a socialist perspective in order to transcend the inability of narrow trade unionism to deal with the tasks facing the working class.

He cited as examples two caucuses supported by the Spartacist League—the Militant Action Caucus in the Communication Workers of America in California and the Militant-Solidarity Caucus in the National Maritime Union. These caucuses oppose the government's divisive "Affirmative Action" programs and preferential hiring plans, calling instead for uniting all workers in the struggle against discrimination and for creating full employment at the employers' expense, chiefly through a shorter workweek at no loss in pay. They oppose all forms of government intervention in the labor movement, including taking the union to court to redress individual grievances—an anti-union practice to which, it seems, every two-bit opposition faker is now resorting. They call for international strike solidarity, oppose all forms of nationalism and protectionism and raise the demand for a workers party based on the trade unions to replace reformist dependence on capitalist politicians with struggle for a working-class political program and a workers government.

Unlike most of the U.S. left, the SL refused to give critical support to Miller or Morrissey in recent elections because neither made the slightest attempt to break with class collaboration. Wherever possible, class-struggle militants should seek to run for office on their own program, extending critical support to other candidates only when the office-seekers claim to be for major elements of a class-struggle program and it is necessary to expose their real opportunism to the workers. The speaker reported that in the last elections in the NMU, the Militant-Solidarity Caucus candidate for president, running on the basis of a full class-struggle program, got 358 votes.

The discussion very quickly revealed the vicarious nature of RMG politics. RMG speakers vigorously defended the IMG and Ligue Communiste against Spartacist League criticisms, but completely failed to take seriously the accusations of their own lack of program for the unions, which were spelled out by Spartacist speakers familiar with the Toronto left. They concentrated on taking random swipes at the SL perspective, consequently

continued on next page

INTERNATIONAL WORKING WOMEN'S DAY RALLY

Sproul Plaza
University of California

Thursday, March 7

BERKELEY
12 NOON

Auspices: RCY

Which Road for Women's Liberation: Feminism or the Class Struggle?

Speaker: NISSY GERARD
Spartacist League

Guest Speaker: WANDA RUTLAND
former feminist organizer,
member Militant Action Caucus, CWA Local 9415

Thursday, March 7

Western Addition, YWCA
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(between Buchanan and Webster)
7:30 p.m.

SAN FRANCISCO

Friday, March 8

Stiles Hall
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BERKELEY

INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S DAY: 1917

WOMEN AND THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION

Speaker: D. L. REISSNER
Editor, Women and Revolution

Friday, March 8

University of Buffalo
Norton 248
8 p.m.

BUFFALO

Sunday, March 10

University of Toronto
Hart House Debates Room
11 a.m.

TORONTO

Toward A Revolutionary Women's Movement

Speaker: MARTY FARRELL
Revolutionary Communist Youth

Call 728-2151 for location, information.

March 12

CHICAGO

Continued from page 13

SL Debates Trade-Union Tactics, Pabloism...

revealing an unsystematic and contradictory approach on their own part.

The RMG's Self-Contradictions

Joe Flexer, an ex-CP member, Red Circle leader and the leading member of the RMG Political Committee, began by trying to discredit the presentation through a smokescreen of extraneous issues and glorification of the IMG. He denounced Knox for omitting mention of the IMG's full program without attempting to meet the speaker's arguments. Without providing a shred of evidence (there isn't any), he asserted that the RMG calls for "revolutionary" caucuses. Other speakers then contradicted this by criticizing the Militant-Solidarity Caucus for putting forward a "pure" program, essentially the program of a vanguard party, when it could have given critical support to some larger formation.

Another speaker then flatly asserted that the RMG has no intention of raising its full program in the unions, since that would be sectarian and out of place. This elicited a sharp response from Knox, who denounced the RMG for revealing its lack of even the slightest aspiration to raise a revolutionary program in the unions. He pointed out that revolutionists always seek to run in elections themselves, giving critical support to other candidates only when the relationship of forces requires this tactic.

Later, Flexer admitted that "perhaps the Militant-Solidarity Caucus isn't doing anything wrong in the NMU," but that "tactical flexibility" was required for different times and places. He failed to indicate, however, on what basis revolutionists should decide to tail trade-union spontaneity in one instance (as the RMG did in the Artistic Woodworkers' strike) while choosing to struggle for their program in a principled fashion in others! Finally he excused the RMG's lack of a worked-out perspective by referring to its "youthful" character as a group. Revolutionists in the U.S. have had their fill of this dodge from the left-Shachtmanite Revolutionary Socialist League. A "revolutionary" group which lacks a program and perspective on major questions has no basis for existence in the first place.

Other RMG speakers for the most part concentrated on uncritical defense of their idols in Britain and France. A former leader of the Revolutionary Communist Tendency of the LSA defended the IMG's call for councils of action as the equivalent of a call for soviets—mass organizations of the working class, cutting across union lines, for the purpose of establishing and administering the workers state and the final abolition of capitalism. She went on to denounce the SL for capitulation to parliamentary reformism in its call for a general strike for limited aims, i.e., to bring down the Tory government and open the way for the struggle for a Labour Party/TUC government pledged to a socialist program.

SL spokesmen pointed out that the IMG's non-existent councils supposedly generated outside the control of the existing union leadership, will be unable to provide the mass organs for launching a general strike and will certainly not transform themselves magically into soviets, posing a situation of dual power and accomplishing the overthrow of the bourgeoisie: for that a mass revolutionary party, leading the proletariat, would be required. Without revolutionary leadership, a general strike at this time for unlimited aims would invite a crushing defeat at the hands of the predominant trade-union/Labour Party bureaucracy. A general strike even for limited aims would certainly pose the question of power directly and if successful create a pre-revolutionary situation.

As to the charge of capitulation to parliamentarianism, the SL responded in part by pointing to the unprincipled relationship between the RMG and the Groupe Marxiste Revolutionnaire, a Quebec splitoff from the Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière, French-speaking wing of the LSA. The November 1973 issue of *Old Mole* reprinted without criticism a statement of the GMR's position on the national elections which rejected intervention in the elections on principle and called for abstention. Furthermore, the unspecified "relationship" of the RMG, GMR and the USec majority reveals the fulsome rottenness of factional politics in the "United" Secretariat.

The GMR grew out of a tendency in the LSA/LSO which opposed the latter's complete subservience to bourgeois nationalism, but asserted at the same time the need for a *separate* party in Quebec, despite the unified state power in Canada which both French and English-speaking Canadian workers must unite to overthrow. In order to peacefully coexist with the GMR group in his faction, Ernest Mandel suddenly made the discovery that Lenin and Trotsky had indeed opposed all nationalism, while advocating the *right* of nations to self-determination. (In order to excuse the craven capitulation to nationalism of major USec sections such as the SWP, which Mandel can't claim to have discovered only yesterday, he made an "exception" for U.S. blacks and chicanos!) Furthermore, he "overlooked" the nationalist position of the GMR's founders in favor of a separate Quebec section. The RMG was unable to make any answer to Knox' adducing these damning examples of self-contradictory USec opportunism.

RMG Leadership Turns Tail

The discussion went on for two full rounds, with Flexer leading off on both. On the second round he attempted to defend the USec by inviting the SL to join it, presumably hoping to calm the SL's criticisms of the rotten bloc with friendly overtures despite political differences, thereby demonstrating its truly rotten character! Immediately after his intervention on the second round and an SL speaker's response, however, Flexer walked out of the discussion, together with two other RMG leaders, leaving the rest of the RMG delegation to fend for itself. The impression of retreat under fire by the central core of RMG leadership was not lost on the remaining participants in the discussion!

It was after Flexer & Co.'s ignoble departure that an RMG speaker made a slightly more sophisticated, but no less rotten, attempt to defend the USec. "In a large international, there are many differences," she said, "there were differences in Lenin's party too: Zinoviev and Kamenev opposed the insurrection of 1917"!

This met with a spirited response from the SL. An SL speaker began, "I just want to make twenty-one points," referring to the famous conditions of entry to the Communist International which were just one of the ways Lenin and Trotsky struggled to forge a politically consistent and homogeneous world party. Lenin, after all, had called for the expulsion of Zinoviev and Kamenev when the latter broke party discipline to denounce the planned insurrection! No such "draconian" measures could be expected from either wing of the USec—unless, of course, the victims belonged to the opposing faction, in which case they would be denied all rights: witness the Red Circle/Old Mole/RCT's experience with the bureaucratic LSA!

The struggle to build revolutionary proletarian leadership on the basis of a consistent, principled program must be waged on the international plane as well as in the trade unions. This is the lesson the RMG has yet to learn. The errors of the RMG in tailing spontaneity in lieu of a program for the trade unions and of the Ligue Communiste in tailing youth vanguardism flow from the same failure to put politics first in all arenas as the only way to resolve the historic crisis of proletarian leadership. Reformist trade unionists and mythical "radicalized" layers will not magically "grow over" into a mass revolutionary party with the program of Lenin and Trotsky!

The RMG has a rather revealing self-definition: it seeks to be a "pole of attraction on the left." This expresses the RMG's self-conception as the most left-wing expression of whatever milieu or arena it happens to be in. What is missing is a conception of struggle between the revolutionists and the fake leftists: a hard line of *counterposition* of the revolutionary program *against* the predominant misconceptions of the given arena. Most of the leaders of the RMG are used to being the left wing of the organizations they have been in and are not accustomed to systematic criticism from the left. Their experience has distorted their perceptions; exposure to the genuine Trotskyism of the Spartacist League should help. ■

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REVOLUTIONARY LITERATURE

RCY FORUM

American Workers and the Class Struggle

GUEST SPEAKER:
Gene Herson,
Militant-Solidarity Caucus
of the National Maritime Union

LOS ANGELES CITY COLLEGE
CAFETERIA DINING ROOM A/B

Friday, March 8—1 p.m.

Class Struggle in the National Maritime Union

Guest Speaker: GENE HERSON, Militant-Solidarity Caucus, NMU

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Saturday March 2
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Buchanan YMCA
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Women and Revolution

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Trotskyists Hold International Conference

An interim Conference, centered on the European work and perspectives of Revolutionary Marxists, took place this January in Germany. Comrades from or in seven countries participated.

The programmatic basis for the interim Conference was drawn from a political agreement on the basis for undertaking common work in Germany by the Austrian Bolshevik-Leninists and the Spartacist League/U.S. This document, setting forth eight specific points, is as follows:

"DECLARATION OF POLITICAL BASIS FOR COMMON WORK IN GERMANY"

"I. The Austrian Bolshevik-Leninists (ÖBL) will undertake political work in Germany in common with the Spartacist League/U.S. on the basis of programmatic agreement with the 1966 'Declaration of Principles' of the SL/U.S., subsequently adopted also by the Spartacist League of Australia and New Zealand. Fundamental to this Declaration of Principles are the decisions of the Communist International during the period of its first four Congresses and the 'Transitional Program,' adopted by the 1938 Founding Conference of the Fourth International.

"II. In particular the following points are singled out for special emphasis or amplification in connection with our common work:

1) Recognition of the necessity of the rebirth of the Fourth International, destroyed by Pabloist revisionism. Rejection of the claims of all ostensibly Trotskyist international groupings to represent programmatically the continuity of, or to be, the Fourth International.

2) Unconditional defense of the degenerated or deformed workers states against capitalist imperialism must be coupled with recognition of the necessity for political revolution against the bureaucracies of all these states, from Moscow and East Berlin to Belgrade, Hanoi, Havana and Peking.

3) Rejection of the ultra-left position that the Social Democratic parties are bourgeois parties through and through. Recognition of the dual character of reformist workers parties, such as Social Democratic parties generally, as being simultaneously bourgeois and workers parties or, in Lenin's terms, 'bourgeois workers parties.'

4) Recognition that the Trotskyist tactic of entrism flows from the historic task of revolutionists facing massive Social Democratic, Labour or Stalinist parties is, under ripe conditions, to split such parties into their essentially bourgeois and proletarian elements. This task is vital to the creation of mass revolutionary proletarian parties and thereby to advancing on the road to the proletarian revolution itself.

5) Rejection of the longtime Pabloist conception of entrism ('sui generis') to pressure reformist, revisionist or nationalist bureaucracies so that a left section is supposed to be assisted in becoming the 'unconscious agent' of an allegedly automatic process of permanent revolution, i.e., the denial of the centrality of the proletariat and the substitution for its programatically-based revolutionary party in the struggle for socialism. Rejection of the ultra-left, and often petty-bourgeois radical, Pabloist complement which rejects the tactic of entrism as such.

6) Recognition of the validity of the tactic of revolutionary regroupment. This is a tactic which is particularly applicable as a means for furthering political differentiation and clarification through a process of splits and fusions among ostensibly revolutionary groups when conditions have produced a turmoil on the left. 'To set the base against the top' is the essence of this tactic as it is for other Leninist-Trotskyist tactics as well, such as the united front and entrism.

7) Recognition of the need to struggle for a class opposition to all popular fronts, from Allende's *Unidad Popular* to the *Union de la Gauche* in France. No electoral support to any of the parties of popular fronts. Projection instead, where there is no mass revolutionary proletarian pole, of a policy of 'conditional opposition' to the reformist and revisionist parties in such a popular front, i.e., to raise the demand that such parties break from their coalition with bourgeois elements as a condition for critical support to them by class-conscious militants.

8) Acceptance of the Bolshevik-Leninist conception of democratic centralism: full freedom of internal discussion, full unity in action. Rejection of 'freedom of criticism' outside the party as a perversion of Leninist democratic centralism and a throwback to the pre-First World War Second International.

"III. Since the above points constitute a relatively advanced level of programmatic agreement, we recognize our responsibility to struggle actively for the constitution as soon as possible of a democratic-centralist international Spartacist tendency, based on an elaborated common programmatic outlook among several national sections. At present, this necessarily entails the fullest possible consultation regarding this development."

—Agreed to by the Political Bureau of the SL/U.S. on 10 September 1973; and ratified by the Plenum of the ÖBL on 8 December 1973. (Edited for publication by the International Department of the SL/U.S. on 14 February 1974.)

Following discussion this Declaration in draft form was endorsed by the interim Conference unanimously with one abstention.

A companion document was also endorsed (unanimously). Its political provisions note:

"[Our] aim . . . is the constitution of a fighting propaganda group resolutely based on 'the historic tasks which flow from [the objective] situation irrespective as to whether or not the workers are today ripe for this. Our tasks don't depend on the mentality of the workers. The task is to develop the mentality of the workers. Any programmatic adaptation or capitulation to the present consciousness of the masses in the name of 'tactics' must be rejected.

"The work of communists in trade unions must aim at the construction of a class-struggle group with a membership defined by participation in the group and by agreement with the program of the group; a program which is an application of the Transitional Program to the concrete trade-union situation and which aims at posing the class-struggle group as an alternative revolutionary leadership of the union.

"The goal of the united-front tactic is to implant the revolutionary program in the masses. Hence the decisive element of the action of revolutionists within the united front is the struggle for the revolutionary program in opposition to that of reformists or centrists. Without the struggle for the revolutionary program, any reference to the united front as a means to achieve 'the broadest possible unity of the class' is simply an adaptation to pre-World War I Kautskyist revisionism."

Preparation for the interim Conference included the production of a substantial first issue of the German edition of *Spartacist*. It contains the following material:

- "Toward Rebirth of the Fourth International" (1963 Tendency Resolution in the SWP);
- "Contribution to the International Committee Conference" (1966 Spartacist Remarks in London);
- Material on the German IKD and Spartacus-BL (1972 Spartacist Letter and 1973 Conference Greetings);
- "To the International Organizing Committee supported by the French OCI" (1973 Spartacist Letter);
- "Reformist Appetites versus Guerrilla-Oriented Centrism" (reprint of 1973 leftist factional material on the struggle within the United Secretariat);
- "Turns the Guns Around!" (ÖBL statement on the October 1973 war in the Near East).

The work of the interim Conference notably included endorsement of the publication, by Berlin supporters, of the periodical *Kommunistische Korrespondenz*, the first issue of which is in preparation.

The interim Conference concluded, upon a high note of determination for the furtherance of our common international work, with the singing of "The Internationale."

—statement by the International Department of the SL/U.S., 16 February 1974

Continued from page 16

. . . Anti-Nazi Militants

quires its real significance as the last resort of a bankrupt social system.

We of course do not call for "free speech" for the Nazis, whose propaganda and recruitment must be nipped in the bud. But it is both ludicrous and dangerous to call on the bourgeois state to limit the democratic rights of even the fascists. The bourgeoisie has always shown leniency toward the fascists and used "anti-extremist" legislation *against the left*. Instead we call for mobilizing the labor movement to deal with the fascists, ultimately through the formation of workers militias. Although fascist organizations in the U.S. are relatively small at this point, militants should not delude themselves into thinking that the battle is simply between the left and a couple dozen deranged fascist scum. The bourgeois state has large organized police forces to bring to the defense of the Nazis as was demonstrated at the January 8 meeting.

At the February School Board meeting only supporters of the Spartacist League/Revolutionary Communist Youth raised the urgent need for a united defense of both the arrested PL/WAM militants and Yvonne Golden, while linking Nazism to its fundamental cause, the capitalist system. At an "Yvonne Golden Defense Committee" meeting a week earlier, an SL spokesman had called for a united defense of all victimized militants, a demand which evoked considerable support from the audience. Despite the efforts of the chairman to weasel out of the situation by invoking "legal" reasons to justify the committee's failure to support the PL/WAM defendants, there were insistent demands for a vote on the question. Evidently worried that the meeting would overturn the committee's sectarian position, the leaders (prominent among them being supporters of the Communist Party) decided to rescue themselves from an embarrassing situation by adjourning the meeting! In an effort to curry favor with the Yvonne Golden forces (who want a separate defense) even the WAM victims present refused to speak for a united defense.

At the most recent Board of Education meeting, an SL spokesman pointed out that proletarian revolution is the only real solution to racial discrimination and Nazism. She warned against calling on the capitalist Board of Education to evict Nazis, citing as an example the fact that Allende's gun-control law in Chile, ostensibly aimed at rightists, was used by the police and military to disarm the *workers* prior to the September coup. A second SL speaker demanded that the School Board drop charges against Yvonne Golden and the PL/WAM supporters.

Kathleen Burnham of the CWA Militant Action Caucus got the mike to announce that the MAC had collected 250 signatures from phone workers in defense of the victimized militants, but before she could finish her sentence the microphone was once again cut off. (It was at this point that the Nazis suddenly got up and left, with TV cameras whirring about them.) A speaker from the RCY protested the cutoff of the MAC speaker but to no avail. She went on to note how capitalism forces blacks into the lower rungs of society and that racism is ultimately an economic question. She called for worker-student-teacher control of the schools, open admissions with stipends, a link-up with trade-union struggles and non-discriminatory union hiring halls, as well as defense of the arrested militants. After a few more speakers from WAM and "SDS" were cut off at the mike, someone called for a walkout, at which point most groups (including the SL/RCY) left the hall.

PL's reformism unwittingly helps to pave the way for the fascists. Only the working class can provide a real solution to racism, by attacking the capitalist system itself. As opposed to PL's "program" of "fighting racist ideas" in alliance with liberals, Marxists put forward a class program which strikes at the social and economic roots of racism, while relentlessly fighting all forms of discrimination and calling on the workers, not the bosses, to organize to crush the fascist filth. ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

SL Debates Trade-Union Tactics, Pabloism with RMG at Toronto Forum

The international faction fight, now in its last stages, in the so-called "United Secretariat" has resulted in several splits in national sections, which are not likely to be healed despite any compromises arrived at by the leaders of the international factions at the USec Congress being held in Europe. This nominally Trotskyist federated rotten bloc is being ground to pieces in struggle between a centrist tendency led by Mandel-Maitan-Frank and based on key European sections, and the out-and-out reformists of the U.S. Socialist Workers Party and its supporters.

In English-speaking Canada, a split-off from the pro-SWP official section, the LSA (League for Socialist Action), joined a fusion of leftward-moving New Left groups to form the Revolutionary Marxist Group. The Revolutionary Communist Tendency of the LSA aligned itself with the international majority in the USec and attacked the leadership of the Canadian section for its subservience to nationalism, feminism and reformism. In the "Waffle Caucus" in the NDP, Canada's social-democratic labor party, the RCT found an ally, the Red Circle, which was also attracted to the European majority wing of the USec and sought admission to the LSA on those grounds. Rebuffed, Red Circle fused with a New Left student group, the Old Mole, which had also unsuccessfully sought admission to the LSA on the basis of its orientation to the European USec, and formed the RMG. Without ever polemicizing in its press on its differences with the official Canadian USec section, the RMG proceeded to absorb the RCT, again without comment, after the latter's expulsion from the LSA and its youth group.

Linked to a similar split in French-speaking Quebec, the RMG sports a flashy, ostensibly revolutionary line, replete with idolatrous coverage in its press of larger USec sections abroad, and generally claims to be the most left of the ostensibly Trotskyist groups in English-speaking Canada. At a February 14 SL forum in Toronto on "Communist Work in the Trade Unions," a representative selection of key RMG leaders and members turned up to do political battle, thereby recognizing the growing difficulties of left-centrist circles in attempting to ignore the Spartacist League. The discussion, which took the form of a virtual debate between the Spartacist League and the RMG on a wide range of topics, proved to be such a painful experience to the RMG that three of its key leaders walked out under fire in the middle of the discussion, in the process leaving a number of their members stranded.

The Spartacist League speaker, Chris Knox, labor editor of *Workers Vanguard*, described the SL's policies of supporting opposition caucuses in the trade unions on the basis of a full class-struggle, transitional program. In the process he criticized some of the mistaken tactical conceptions currently espoused by the majority USec sections which the RMG worships. Unlike the Pabloists, who alternate tailing the existing reformist-bureaucratic leaders of the class with abstentionism from struggle within the mass organizations of the class, the SL seeks to intervene in the unions with a class-struggle program. As a historic example Knox cited the Trade Union Educational League, trade-union group of the early Communist Party in the U.S. In its best period in the early 1920's the TUEL was a membership organization which fought in the unions for the abolition of capitalism and for a workers' republic, rejection of class-collaborationism and for class-struggle policy, support for the Russian Revolution and industrial unionism, among other points.

Characteristic errors of would-be revolutionists in the unions tend to consist either of adapting to the reformist bureaucracy, or sectarian abstention and radical posturing outside these defensive organizations of the working class. The Communist parties generally provide the best example of undisguised adaptation to and tailing after layers of the mainstream trade-union bureaucracy. The SWP, although it has done its best to keep its members out of the unions, is also noted for its adaptation to liberal bureaucrats in popular-front formations in the anti-war movement and for uncritical enthusing from the outside over the trade-union betrayals of bureaucrats such as Cesar Chavez of the Farmworkers.

On the other hand, the International Marxist Group (Britain) and Ligue Communiste (France), both of the USec majority, counterpose a more sophisticated, ostensibly revolutionary line to the outright reformism of the CP and SWP. However, their "alternative" consists in adaptation to radical petty-bourgeois layers outside the unions and an attempt to bypass the struggle to replace the bureaucracy from within. For instance, in the current crisis in Britain, the IMG calls for a general strike based on non-existent "councils of action," thereby seeking to ignore and/or bypass the TUC tops. The key to building the vanguard party in Britain lies precisely in exposing and *defeating* the reformist trade-union and Labour Party leaderships, a task which must be accomplished primarily through struggle in the unions. The IMG's imaginary councils of action can at this point, in the absence of a general strike, only mean grouping small circles of the most radical workers and students outside

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Fascists Continue Provocations in San Francisco-

For a United Defense of Anti-Nazi Militants!

SAN FRANCISCO—On February 5 for the second month in a row a uniformed contingent of Nazis attended a meeting of the San Francisco Board of Education. They were clearly seeking to secure more of the free publicity they obtained from their fist fight at the January meeting with a section of the audience which was justly outraged at the provocation of swastikas and brownshirts' (symbols of genocide and the destruction of the trade unions) appearing at a public meeting held to discuss racial integration of the city's schools. This time the fascists numbered about two dozen, including their national "commander," flown in specially from Arlington, Virginia for the occasion.

In anticipation of the Nazi mobilization, several left organizations, as well as a large number of independent blacks, showed up at the meeting, swelling the normally small audience to over 500. Needless to say, the San Francisco police force went out of its way to provide a heavy escort and defense guard for the Nazi scum.

Nozis and police escort at San Francisco Board of Education meeting.

The largest organized presence was that of Progressive Labor/Workers Action Movement, which had clashed with the Nazis at the previous month's meeting and suffered several arrests as a result. A WAM banner across the rear of the hall read, "End Racist Tracking, Down with Nazism."

In general, PL/WAM tries to project a "hard communist" image based on simple militancy, while simultaneously capitulating to the liberals by raising only the most milksop reformist program. In this case, the WAM leaflet handed out at the meeting failed to call for the defense of its own victimized supporters (it mentioned nothing at all about the recent arrests) and concentrated on improving school curriculum! PL spokesman Harry Dillon noted that "the number one question is the tracking system" and next comes "hiring minority teachers."

"Tracking" is a serious form of class and racial discrimination, preparing minority and working-class youth generally for their positions at the bottom of society. Socialists must vigorously oppose tracking and seek to root out the pervasive discrimination in hiring and advancement which is used by the bourgeoisie to foster racial antagonisms in the working class. But to eliminate these evils it is necessary to eliminate the capitalist system which causes them. PL/WAM consistently refuses to make this necessary link-up, concentrating instead on one or another superficial reform issue. Last year it was "ban racist textbooks," now it is "hire minority teachers." But PL's call for "preferential hiring," which provides more jobs for blacks at the expense of white workers, is worse than reformist. By setting the interests of one group of workers against another in competition for scarce jobs, "preferential hiring" can only increase racial antagonisms. Instead, workers must fight for full employment for *all* through a sliding scale of wages and hours. Dillon made absolutely no mention of the need for united working-class action to overcome the problems of racial oppression.

Ellen Roth, speaking for WAM, also concentrated on the issue of "racism" abstracted from capitalism. In particular she called on the Board of Education, part and parcel of the bourgeois state apparatus, to evict the Nazis from the meeting and the schools. Throughout the meeting, Board Chairman Dr. Eugene Hopp gave an example of how vigorously the capitalist state will "fight" fascists by repeatedly cutting off the mike and harassing left-wing speakers. Hopp has also asked the Board to "investigate the possibility" of disciplining Yvonne Golden, a black teacher militant arrested for calling for the ouster of the Nazis at the January 8 meeting (*San Francisco Chronicle*, 15 January).

The discriminatory practices of the Boards of Education, which maintain the bourgeois monopoly of knowledge by channelling minority and working-class students into the lowest positions in U.S. society, are a characteristic aspect of the capitalist order and a key mechanism of class rule. In a period of severe social crisis the capitalists will drop their liberal caretakers of yesterday and turn to the blatantly racist fascists to completely crush the working class and its organizations. This odious ideology thus ac-

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WORKERS VANGUARD 25¢

No. 40 15 March 1974

U.S./Europe– Sharp Class Battles Ahead

The recent British miners' strike has ended in a relative victory for the workers. Fighting back against historically depressed wages and 12 percent inflation in the last year, the union settled for 22-32 percent wage increases. In past issues we noted that the future of all British workers for the next several years could be determined by the outcome of this strike. By attempting to break through Heath's anti-labor state wage controls British miners were in the vanguard of the world working class in resisting the bosses' attempts to place the cost of mounting economic crisis on the backs of working people.

The consequences of this strike victory will rapidly be felt in Britain itself. Pay claims are immediately pending for the power station workers, engineers (metal workers) and railwaymen. Seamen are demanding a settlement similar to the miners'. And a section of the Mineworkers union is already discussing demands for a 50-60 percent wage increase to be presented this fall. Furthermore the incoming Labour government is committed (on paper) to a number of nationalizations and to dumping the Industrial Relations Act. While Wilson and the labor tops have talked about a "new social contract" and "voluntary" wage controls, there is nothing down on paper yet; and as the *Economist* (9 March) asked last week, "so what is it [the government] going to say to the other unions when prices are going up 10-15 per cent?" The prospect for Britain in the next half year or so is for some stiff wage demands and industrial action by the workers to back them up. "If the miners can do it, so can we," many will say.

A Hot Summer in Europe?

While the public workers'strike in Germany last month was a largely stage-managed alfair, it was the first walkout in 28 years for those unions and ended in a settlement which kept government employees' incomes about even with inflation. Its broader importance lies in the fact that it virtually guarantees that the more militant metal workers' union (with some 4 million members and considerable Stalinist influence) will push hard for a large settlement this year. Another factor inclining the metal union leaders to adopt a militant stance is their fear of another wave of wildcat strikes like those last August (notably the Cologne Ford strike). With the large numbers of younger and foreign workers having very little loyalty to the trade-union bureaucracy, there is a possibility that if such wildcats occurred again they could bring older German workers along and temporarily outflank the union tops.

This potential wave of strike militancy could threaten the SPD-FDP coalition government in Bonn and begin to weaken the hold of the Social Democrats on the working class. Already the SPD's banker finance minister Helmut Schmidt is not particularly beloved in union circles. And, as indicated in the sharp drop in SPD votes in the Hamburg state elections last week (down from 55 percent to 45 percent), Brandt's popularity among the working class is dropping as the inflation rate goes up.

In France there is also likely to be a wave of industrial unrest, particularly if the nationalized industries try to hold down wage increases as they have been told to do by the government. If unions in France are far weaker than in Germany and Britain (the CP-dominated CGT national federation has altogether only half as many members as the German metal workers' union alone), the strike struggles may be more chaotic and equally or more political. Furthermore, the CGT is under strong pressure from the left on the industrial front with the increasing militancy (equally demagogic, to be sure) of the CFDT federation leadership.

Watergate Showdown in U.S.?

While neither the Heath government in Britain, the Pompidou-Messmer regime in France nor the Brandt government in West Germany has been terribly popular with the masses in the last few months, the resistance to mounting inflation has been expressed more or less directly through mounting union unrest. In the U.S., however, the rigid refusal of the union bureaucracy to fight for higher wages has led, on the one hand, to several isolated sparks of elemental

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WV PHOTO

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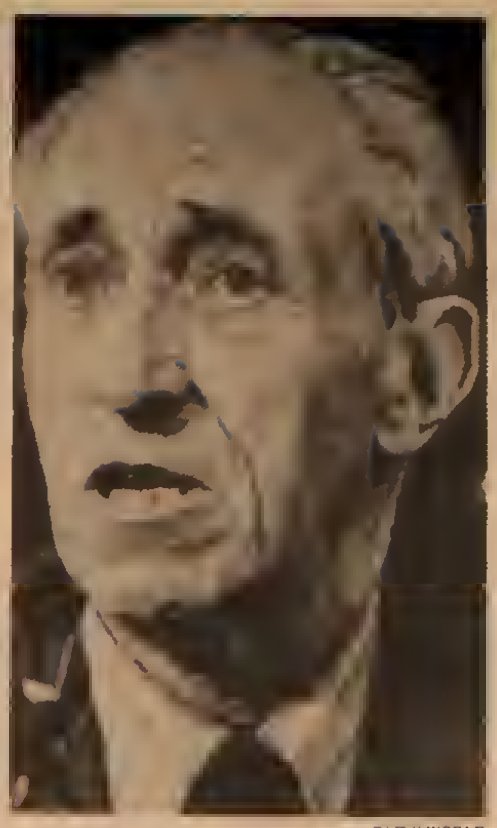
Attacking Militants, Conciliating Companies

Bridges Machine Sabotages ILWU Blacklist Fight



Harry Bridges DAILY WORLD

OAKLAND, Calif., March 8—The struggle against blacklisting of militants in Bay Area warehouses is intensifying in response to stepped-up employer attacks which are threatening the entire union. The campaign of the Committee to Defeat the Blacklist of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union is being taken to the March 16-17 ILWU constitutional convention. The opposition of the Bridges regime to the Committee's campaign is indicative of its refusal to fight *any* employer/government attacks, including the threatened devastating layoffs in Hawaii, recent NLRB decisions against the union and the continuing erosion of jobs in the longshore division due to containerization.

Anti-Blacklist Campaign

In January the East Bay Division of Warehouse Local 6 voted without opposition for the Committee's resolution that the "union undertake a vigorous fight in defense of itself and its membership against the blacklist." The vote followed an intensive petition campaign in which fully 10 percent of the entire East Bay warehouse membership had called for such a fight against the political firings of three union militants (see *WV* No. 37, 1 February). Since then, the Distributors' Association has fired another militant, who, curiously enough, just happened to have been active in the Committee's campaign. In addition, one warehouse chain began posting new rules to prevent "unauthorized literature" from circulating in the work places. These acts constitute a serious threat to both the conditions of the membership and the life of the union. In a leaflet issued after the most recent firing, the Committee to Defeat the Blacklist reemphasized:

> "that an attack on union militants will open the door to an all out attack on the steward system since stewards are the union activists most easily identified by the employers. The blacklist also poses a direct threat to the hiring hall by allowing employers to choose who they want, like in the shape-up days of the 1930's."

Two of the earlier blacklist victims are former union stewards whose "crime" consisted of militant defense of the members' rights. The third is Bob Mandel, who has been blacklisted for two years for having led a petition campaign in the warehouse division for solidarity with the longshore strike during 1971. Blacklisting is accomplished by firing a militant before the end of the 90-day probation period from every warehouse to which he is sent by the hiring hall so that the victim never gains seniority or full union protection on any job. Some employers abuse the probation period regularly by firing all full members of the union in order to prevent the establishment of a stable work force and jack up productivity. As the Committee pointed out in its leaflet, "the elimination of union members has been coupled with real speedup."

ILWU Tops Undercut Fight

Following the Committee's petition campaign and the East Bay Division vote, the firing of a fourth militant, Larry Johnese, was a clear provocation which provided the union with an opportunity to bring the whole blacklisting issue to a head. Cases of "unjust discharge for union membership or activities" are supposed to take precedence over all other grievances pending between the union and company. Armed with Johnese's grievance and the earlier cases (two of which are now over four months old!), the union should have demanded immediate reinstatement of all the members, backed up with concrete preparation for a strike. A union which permits its militants to be fired without resistance paves the way for its own destruction!

But consistent with its policy of class peace—and in direct defiance of the East Bay Division membership's vote to fight the blacklist—the Local 6 leadership ordered Johnese's grievance thrown out. The officials' argument was the same as the company's: since Johnese is a "work card" worker and not a full union member (despite having paid full dues for two and one-half years) he could not possibly have been fired for union activities!

Thus blacklisting employers have been able to take full advantage of the weakness and divisiveness built into the union by the establishment of second-class categories of membership ("red books" in warehouse and "B men" in longshore) and the exclusion of "work card" workers from membership entirely. These divisions were introduced to encourage speed-up and disenfranchise the most exploited workers. Such discrimination must be eliminated, and all full-time warehousemen and longshoremen granted full union membership rights. A motion to be introduced by members of the Committee to Fight the Blacklist at the upcoming convention maintains that, "the union must defend all members including work cards against discrimination by the employers." The Committee has also pointed out that Johnese has been active on recent picket lines, where he served as picket captain several times and was photographed by management!

Employer Attacks on Longshore Union Mount

The Distributors' attack, far more than just an attempt to victimize a handful of militants, is part of a pattern of attacks on the entire ILWU by the employers and their government. This includes a recent wave of government decisions aimed at Local 6. In one, the NLRB ordered the union to reinstate two members expelled for cooperating with management in an open union-busting attempt at an East Bay warehouse.

A second decision, stemming from a suit brought by non-ILWU women workers demanding equal access to skilled jobs, opens the way for an attack on the union hiring hall. The government ordered plant-wide seniority to be established in a bottling plant in which the ILWU has jurisdiction only over the warehouse, thus giving management the opportunity to bypass the hiring hall by filling warehouse jobs with non-ILWU personnel getting substandard wages. Local 6 must demand the highest wage scale for all, while calling on the other unions in the plant to set up a single union jurisdiction, with one hiring hall covering all workers in the plant and equal access to all jobs for women and all minorities, with no preference for any group.

But the attacks on the ILWU are not limited to the warehouses. The Hawaii Division of 23,000 sugar and pineapple workers faces devastating loss of jobs through runaway plantations. The union leadership's response to the projected elimination of Hawaiian pineapple production by 1975 has not been to call for international organizing of pineapple plantation workers in Taiwan, the Philippines and Kenya who are making 10 to 17 cents an hour. Instead it has called for protectionism through "realistic duties" on foreign products and making runaways pay pension and severance pay.

ILWU-Teamsters Feud Opens Door to Non-Union Labor

The longshore job base has also continued to shrink, leaving ILWU Bay Area longshore Local 10 virtually bankrupt. A recent NLRB decision overturned key sections of the contract with the Pacific Maritime Association signed last summer. The royalty tax for containers not stuffed or unstuffed by ILWU labor was ruled illegal, leaving employers free to work containers in off-dock areas without penalty. While the Teamsters and ILWU have been battling for some time over the shrinking volume of container-stuffing jobs, the employers have been increasingly using non-union labor! 60 percent of all containers are now stuffed by non-union labor. The NLRB ruling, which Bridges hailed as a "victory," can only mean that this figure will increase at the expense of both the Longshore and Teamster memberships.

The NLRB and employer attacks on the warehouse division are a desperate attempt to contain the union and protect the vast profits shippers are now making at the expense of longshore jobs. Local 6 was created by a great "march inland" following the victorious 1936 San Francisco general strike. A similar "march inland" now would find tens of thousands of unorganized workers in warehouses stuffing containers throughout California and as far inland as Nevada.

Local 6 Leaders Launch Red-Baiting Campaign

But the response of the Local 6 and international ILWU leaderships to the Distributors' Association blacklisting attack has been to try to discredit those who have demanded that the union defend itself. Unable to convince the East Bay Division that the anti-blacklist committee "went outside union channels," attempting to "destroy the union" by circulating a petition among the membership (!), the bureaucracy transferred the attack to the San Francisco Division, in which the Committee to Defeat the Blacklist had not yet been active.

According to members who were at the meeting, the leadership failed to report the East Bay Division's endorsement of the Committee's petition and told the SF Division that the Committee was "the enemy within"! Local 6 President McClain, who had led (unsuccessfully) the opposition to the Committee in the East Bay, specifically advocated that members not have the right to circulate literature in the warehouses, thereby reinforcing the new house rules of one employer and threatening the right of all oppositional groups and members to make themselves heard.

The leadership then launched into a vicious red-baiting attack on the Committee, accusing its most prominent leader, Bob Mandel, of being a member of an outside revolutionary organization. In an attempt to smear the Committee, direct attacks were even made on the *Workers Vanguard* article "ILWU Ranks Back Blacklist Victims" (see *WV* No. 37, 1 February), which reported an interview with Mandel.

Prominent among the red-baiters were ILWU members who have themselves been blacklisted and victimized for alleged membership in the Communist Party. Members reflecting the CP's reformist views have refused from the beginning to support the Committee to Defeat the Blacklist, because Committee members refused to be bound by the former's insistence on a gag rule under which members of the Committee would refrain from criticizing each other publicly. The purpose of this kind of "non-aggression pact" is to suck the Committee into the local bureaucracy by prohibiting criticism of the leadership's no-fight position.

The same CP-supported elements then mounted a race-baiting attack on the Committee (since the present victims happen to be white), arguing that the blacklist campaign was actually a "white list" and that a "broad" anti-discrimination committee should be officially set up to "investigate" discrimination. Not surprisingly, the Stalinist *People's World*, West Coast CP paper, reported the setting up of the "broad" investigative committee without mentioning the anti-blacklist petition campaign or the committee which had brought the specific cases of blacklisting discrimination before the membership!

Bridges Bureaucracy's Class Collaboration

The bureaucrats' and CP-supported red-baiting attacks have only one purpose—to protect those who collaborate with the employers against the interests of the ranks and to discredit and drive out of the union those who advocate a class-struggle policy before they have a chance to be heard.

The union can survive only by fighting back against the employer attacks, but such a course would disrupt Bridges' cozy relationship with the Pacific Maritime Association and the Democratic Party. Membership in longshore Local 10 has shrunk by over two thirds due to containerization, which Bridges has aided by signing two successive contracts which effectively blocked any membership resistance to job losses and speed-ups. This erstwhile "labor radical" has even accepted a job on the San Francisco Port Commission where he participates in the planning of further container yards to eliminate still more longshore jobs.

Bridges' class collaborationism has so devastated the longshore section that Local 10 recently elected a new leadership, for the first time depriving Bridges of his status as an elected delegate of a local (he is still an international officer, of course). At issue in the campaign was Bridges' plan to sell the union's hiring hall, allegedly because of the bankruptcy of the Local. The buyers turned out to be interests tied directly to the family of San Francisco mayor and gubernatorial candidate Alioto, and the price a fraction of the hall's worth!

The Bridges regime has been directly involved in the attacks on the blacklisted warehouse militants. The

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German Workers' Militancy on the Rise

Brandt, Union Tops Stage-Manage Public Workers' Strike

BERLIN—The recent three-day strike of public employees in West Germany and West Berlin starkly demonstrated both the potential power of the German working class and the reactionary role of the Social Democratic trade-union bureaucracy. Prior to the strike Willy Brandt's SPD-led government refused to ante up more than a 9.5 percent increase, moaning that "two-figure" settlements would set off a wave of inflation and/or lead to 900,000 unemployed. However, as the conservative British *Economist* (9 February) wrote even before the strike:

> "...everybody knows that the unions are angry about having settled for too little last year and are under pressure from their own left-wingers to do better this time. After the ritual sabre-dance has been performed, the eventual outcome is still reckoned to be a compromise at around 11 per cent, which can be dressed up to save face on both sides."

And that is exactly what happened.

The head of the ÖTV (Public Service, Transport and Traffic Union), Kluncker, is reported to have commented on the settlement that "we made a fair compromise. There are no winners or losers" (quoted in *Arbeiterkampf*, 26 February). Though he may not think so, some 70 percent of the ÖTV members in the city of Frankfurt thought they were the losers and voted against the contract; overall only about 62 percent approved the terms agreed to by the leadership.

DER SPIEGEL

West German Chancellor Willy Brandt

ÖTV's Kluncker (left) and SPD Interior Minister Genscher.

This is understandable, for given the 7-8 percent inflation last year (and even higher rates expected in 1974), an average loss of 2 percent due to higher tax brackets and long-time slippage of the wage position of public employees, the settlement was at best a holding action.

Give a Little, Take a Little

The original demands of the four unions involved (representing 1,800,000 public workers) were for a 15 percent wage increase (with a minimum of 185 DM) and 300 DM vacation pay. Many of the local unions had earlier called for large across-the-board increases of around 300 DM per month (*Spartacus* No. 1, 1974). Sensing considerable unrest in the ranks, the union bureaucracy assumed a posture of fake militancy, claiming that public workers must not be the "whipping boys" of government economic policy and calling a series of one-day "warning strikes" and mass demonstrations. When it came to a vote in early February, some 91 percent of the ÖTV and 83 percent of the DAG (a white-collar union) opted for a strike.

The Brandt government was careful to aid the Social Democratic union bureaucracy by appearing to give way only gradually, one-half percent a day, thereby enabling Kluncker to reject several offers so the ranks could blow off steam in a carefully controlled strike. The strike stopped garbage collection from the first day, crippled the postal service on the second and led to shutdowns of power in some areas. However the leadership limited the walkout to only 250,000 workers (one seventh of the total) at the high point and refused to call out workers in so-called "vital services"—hospitals, power stations (in most areas), railroads, etc. Then on the third day the union tops agreed to a "realistic" 11 percent wage increase (with 170 DM minimum) and fringe benefits raising the total package to around 13 percent. To ensure the absence of effective opposition, the contract vote was postponed to more than a week after everyone had gone back to work.

Capitalism Is the Enemy

Like any major strike in this period, this one clearly raised the need for a transitional program which goes beyond the limits of what capitalism can "afford." In the context of rising unemployment and Brandt's threat that "two-figure settlements would increase the danger of a corresponding development of prices" (*Berliner Tagesspiegel*, 13 February), the task

SPARTACUS

Government workers' demonstration in Dortmund.

of revolutionary Marxists is to raise the demand for a sliding scale of wages and hours, to ensure jobs for all and complete protection against inflation. Make the bosses pay for the economic crisis they have created!

Likewise, it is critically important to assert the independence of the unions against the bourgeois state by breaking with every form of state wage controls. In Germany an "incomes policy" has been enforced by the "voluntary" agreement of the unions to participate in tripartite *Konzertierte Aktion* (concerted action) wage negotiations in which the state acts as an arbiter between the antagonists. Social Democratic bureaucrats have sold this policy to the ranks with the argument that an SPD-led government assures the unions of two votes against the companies' one. (This is quite similar to Wilson's argument for a "new social pact" with the unions in Britain.) In fact, however, *Konzertierte Aktion* gives the union bureaucracy an excuse for capitulating to the bosses, while offering the bourgeoisie (with both company and state representatives) decisive control over wages. "Labor out of the *Konzertierte Aktion*" is today an essential demand both to protect the workers' living standards and to expose the real nature of the bourgeois government.

While the Social Democratic Party (SPD) claims to be nothing more than a "people's party" and is currently governing in coalition with the small liberal-capitalist Free Democratic Party (FDP), it is essentially based on its position in the trade unions and is considered by the bulk of the West German workers as the party of their class. Such illusions in the SPD are instrumental in holding back the workers' struggles. Consequently it is important for the Trotskyist vanguard to call on the SPD workers to dump their bourgeois-bureaucratic leaders (Brandt, Wehner, Schmidt and Co.), and on the SPD to break from the coalition with the FDP in order to take power in its own name.

Additional issues raised by the strike include the need for a single union of government employees (vital in a situation where they are currently organized on a caste basis, with a special union for white-collar workers, two competing for the teachers and a "league" for the life-tenured administrative employees—the *Beamten*—who are legally forbidden to strike and consequently required to scab) and the demand for a simple majority vote to authorize a strike (it takes 75 percent to do so in the ÖTV and DAG; in the latter it also takes 75 percent to reject a contract!).

Also of major importance was the sympathy strike of the West Berlin employees of the *S-Bahn*, a rapid transit network under East German control which also runs through West Berlin. In contrast to the red-baiting of capitalists and Social Democratic union bureaucrats, the proper course for the unions in pursuing a united class struggle would have been to hail this act of proletarian solidarity across the "Iron Curtain," while demanding the right to strike in the Stalinist-run German Democratic Republic (DDR), where this elementary proletarian right is denied.

Finally, the participation in the contract negotiations by the police union, the GdP, also seems to have escaped the notice of the German left. The working class must give no support to the professional hired guns of the exploiting class. We have no interest in striking to win higher wages for the cops. The slogan of "No Solidarity with the GdP" could have served an important function in drawing the class line during the public workers' strike.

In sum, the task of the Trotskyist vanguard is to struggle both in the unions and outside of them for a revolutionary leadership of the workers movement. By raising a program of transitional demands, including the call for workers control of production and for a workers government to expropriate the capitalist class, a policy of consistent class struggle is posed as the only real alternative to the current sellout misleaders. More militant "bread-and-butter" unionism is not enough!

Liquidating the Transitional Program

Among ostensibly Trotskyist organizations in Germany, the Gruppe Internationaler Marxisten (GIM—International Marxist Group), linked to the so-called "United Secretariat," does not seem to have reacted to the public workers' strike at all, no doubt being absorbed in the "discussion" currently engaging the USec. In any case, as the continuator of the liquidationist current of Pabloism, the GIM does not insist on the need for a revolutionary alternative to the reformist bureaucracies (preferring in centrist fashion either to submerge itself totally in

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Solidarity Actions Support British Miners

NEW YORK:
LABOR TOPS—ALL TALK, NO ACTION

NEW YORK—Upwards of 85 militants marched February 27 in support of the striking British coal miners at a demonstration held at the British Consulate in New York City. The demonstration, which took place the day before the recent British general elections, was the result of a call by the Miners Solidarity Action Committee. MSAC and similar committees around the country were initiated by the Spartacist League to build for united-front solidarity demonstrations around the slogan "Victory to the British Miners."

The strike directly challenged the state wage control schemes of the Tory government and was of immense importance not only to the British working class but to the entire world working class. In the United States the Spartacist League has been in the forefront of the struggle to mobilize concrete support for the cause of the British miners and to explain to militants the significance of the crisis in Britain and its implications for the international working class. In addition to New York City, demonstrations have been held in the Bay Area, Boston, Chicago, Detroit, Los Angeles, New Haven, Cleveland and Toronto.

In the New York City area the Miners Solidarity Action Committee received substantial verbal support from the labor movement. Unions and labor groups which gave their written or verbal endorsement for the action included the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists; Communications Workers of America, Local 1101; CWA Local 1103; CWA Local 1150; Fight Back; International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, Local 827; International Longshoremen's Assoc. (Int'l); Industrial Union of Shipbuilding Workers of America (Port of N.Y.); Militant-Solidarity Caucus of the National Maritime Union; Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers, District Council 8; OCAW Local 438; OCAW Local 8-149; OCAW Maritime Local 8-801; Rank and File Committee for a Democratic Union within the NYCTA; and the United Farm Workers.

Other organizations and individuals endorsing the action included: Ad Hoc Committee for Defense of Haitian Refugees; Black Panther Party; Catholic Worker; CFC—A Collective of Liberation Centers; Bill Epton; Friends of Haiti; Burton Hall, labor lawyer; Harlem Tenants' Union; Irish Republican Clubs; Liberation News Service; Paul O'Dwyer, president, N.Y. City Council; Revolutionary Communist League (Internationalist); Alfred Russel; Spartacist League/Revolutionary Communist Youth; and War Tax Resistance.

Of the many organizations and individuals who endorsed the action, few who did were willing to participate. The demonstration itself was dominated by the Spartacist League/Revolutionary Communist Youth contingent. Organizations whose members did participate in the demonstration included the Catholic Worker (which eventually withdrew on the grounds that the chants of the marchers violated its pacifist convictions), the CFC, Militant-Solidarity Caucus of the NMU, Revolutionary Communist League (Internationalist), RSL and the Long Island and Paterson, N.J. YSA chapters. Also participating in the march were independents and militants from the Irish Republican Clubs, the United Farm Workers, the Jewish Socialist Organizing Community and the Ad Hoc Committee for Defense of Haitian Refugees.

The demonstration was very spirited. Marching under its own banners, the SL/RCY contingent raised slogans such as "Smash State Wage Controls in U.S./Britain," "Defend the Miners—Smash the Wage Freeze with a General Strike in Britain," "Break with the Capitalist Parties—For a Workers Party! Forward to a Workers Government," "Not Ford, But a Workers Government," and "Workers of the World Unite!"

At the end of the demonstration Jack Heyman of the Militant-Solidarity Caucus of the NMU, a spokesman for the MSAC, read a telegram from the Committee to the National Union of Mineworkers in Britain. He was followed by Chris Knox, Spartacist spokesman, who read a telegram from the SL to the NUM. A statement was also made by a comrade of the RCL (Internationalist).

Comic relief for the demonstration was provided by the antics of the NCLC and the tiny CSL and Socialist Forum. All three of these groups opposed the demonstration. The NCLC argued that the miners' strike was doomed because it was isolated and that the miners should give up rather than be sucked into the CIA-inspired strike! The CSL and Socialist Forum claimed that the march was a "popular front" because it had the endorsement of Paul O'Dwyer, president of the N.Y. City Council. In fact, the CSL was a sponsor of the action until O'Dwyer endorsed it, at which time it pulled out.

Socialist Forum codified its ignorant objections in a leaflet where it lectured that Lenin could bloc with Kerensky in 1917 because capitalism was still "progressive" then, but that today in the epoch of imperialism there were no more progressives like Kerensky! For the CSL's unctuous dandy Harry Turner all action blocs between the proletariat and bourgeois political forces, even one individual, are absolutely impermissible under any and all circumstances. (Meanwhile, Turner's organization supported the Arab bourgeoisies against the Israeli bourgeoisie in the recent October War!) This is so because for Turner, as his history has demonstrated repeatedly, a "united front" can mean only a rotten propaganda bloc in which Turner instantly submerges his banners. For Turner, then, the united front becomes a liquidation of his program. By this "logic," inclusion of any bourgeois element would indeed mean capitulation to the class enemy—for Turner, that is. Why did you not, Harry Turner, object to the inclusion of the Catholic Worker, which after all is an arm of the Catholic church? Or do you find the Vatican more palatable and less "bourgeois" than Paul O'Dwyer?

For Leninists it is perfectly permissible to accept bourgeois support for a limited action in support of an unambiguously working-class demand such as victory to the miners, just as it is permissible to bloc with bourgeois forces to defend democratic liberties—provided the revolutionaries retain full freedom to criticize other members of the united front and do not submerge their own politics in a lowest-common-denominator propaganda bloc. SL signs at the demonstration calling for a break with the capitalist parties, for a workers party; not Ford, hut a workers government; etc., certainly made completely unambiguous our class opposition to the Democratic Party.

As a matter of fact, in *every* major class battle the proletariat seeks to win the petty bourgeoisie to its side and to take advantage of cleavages within the ruling class. What is impermissible is not a temporary bloc with a bourgeois politician, but subordinating the political program representing the interests of the working class to what is acceptable to a section of the class enemy. The SWP's antiwar front group NPAC was a popular front in miniature precisely because it failed to draw a class line on the imperialist war. NPAC's "single-issue" demand ("Out Now") was the means for seeking (and finally finding, as embodied in Vance Hartke) a *bloc with a section of the bourgeoisie on a program acceptable to the liberal wing of imperialism*, which believed withdrawal from Vietnam to be in the best interests of U.S. capitalism. In the pursuit of this bloc the SWP vacated any pretense of a class position for an NLF victory in Vietnam and for antiwar strike action by U.S. workers.

Now the CSL and Socialist Forum claim to believe that soliciting the endorsement of a bourgeois Democrat with ties to the labor bureaucracy for a united-front demonstration in solidarity with a crucial class action—a strike which brought down the Tory government!—constitutes "popular frontism." Communist Party-led unions in China accepted bourgeois support for the 1925 Hong Kong general strike, which was a tremendous working-class and anti-imperialist action. Was this a popular front? Learn to think, comrades!

More serious than these antics is the simple sectarianism of most of the ostensibly revolutionary left. Many trade unions endorsed the action because of the pressure the bureaucracies are under to at least verbally oppose the grinding inflation which is driving down the real wages of the working class. The failure of these bureaucrats to build this action exposes them as the windbags they are. But a hundred times worse are so-called revolutionary organizations like the Communist Party, Progressive Labor, Socialist Workers Party, International Socialists, Revolutionary Union and the Workers League, to name a few, who refused to do anything at all—thus demonstrating that they place petty organizational considerations above working-class solidarity in the face of capitalist attack.

Perhaps most egregious are the political bandits of the so-called Workers League. This outfit of two-bit hucksters which is in solidarity with the International Committee and looks to its bandit British brother—the Workers Revolutionary Party of Gerry Healy—for inspiration, absolutely refused to have anything to do with the Miners Solidarity Action Committee because it was initiated by the Spartacist League. These fakers have not initiated one single concrete act of solidarity with the British working class in this critical period. Their trade-union front group, the Potemkin Village TUALP, has not once raised any resolution in the labor movement in solidarity with striking British miners. And their twice-weekly rag, the *Bulletin*, has given little coverage to events in Britain in proportion to their importance for the international working class. The Workers League is internationalist in words and American-parochialist in practice.

The miners' strike is now over. The miners have won substantial wage increases and a Labour government sits in London. But the current crisis of British capitalism is by no means resolved. The miners' strike is but the prelude to further sharpened class conflicts in Britain, the U.S. and throughout the world. Workers of the world, unite!

TORONTO

TORONTO—About 45 socialists and militants picketed the British Trade Commission here on March 2 in support of the British miners' strike. Picketers chanted "Wilson Out—Labour to Power," "Bosses Out of the Mines—Britain Out of Ireland," "British and Irish Workers Unite—Same Enemy, Same Fight," "End the Tory Lockout—For a General Strike in Britain," and "Down with the Queen's Army—Build Workers' Militias." The united-front demonstration received a number of labor endorsements, including from David Archer, Ontario Federation of Labour; Grace Hartman, C.U.P.E. (public employees); Robert Cameron, ILA Local 1869; R. Russell, United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers (UE). Written endorsements were received from J. Potts, Canadian Union of Postal Workers; J.B. Hunter, Canadian Brotherhood of Railway Transport and General Workers; Harry Ward, Amalgamated Transit Union, District 113; J. Mislin, United Hatters Union; and J. Saunders, Canadian Airlines Employees Association.

The demonstration was initiated by the Spartacist League/U.S. The Buffalo SL had contacted the Revolutionary Marxist Group in Toronto early in February to propose a joint call for a united-front solidarity demonstration. The RMG accepted the SL proposal on February 10, although with the reservation that it "could not be a high priority." At the first meeting to plan the demonstration, on February 14, the RMG representative said that he was "instructed by the executive committee to make it clear that the RMG would limit its activities to joining the picket line." At this point an independent at the meeting demanded assurances from the RMG that it was serious about the meeting. The RMG representative promised to check with his executive board and telephone immediately. No such call was ever received.

After repeated attempts to contact the RMG, the Buffalo SL sent a letter reminding the comrades of the "Revolutionary Marxist Group" of their internationalist responsibilities. The RMG replied with a letter on February 27 in which it announced it was pulling out of the united front altogether. With a sense of deadpan humor, the letter innocently remarked that "it was generally felt that the demonstration had not been well built at all, that no groups other than the SL and the RMG were involved (although it was not clear what the reasons were for this)...." Certainly the RMG's *complete passivity* must have had *something* to do with any possible problems in organizing this important demonstration!

The RMG's cowardly withdrawal is not the only example of sectarianism in Toronto—just the worst. The Canadian Party of Labour (fraternally tied to PL in the U.S.) said that it does not "make alliances with Trotskyites." No wonder—like its U.S. counterpart it is, after all, too busy making alliances with liberal college professors. The League for Socialist Action (LSA—politically linked to the SWP in the U.S.) declined to endorse the demonstration "after long consideration." Its question was whether or not the New Democratic Party had agreed to endorse it. Ross Dowson, who recently led his Socialist Education League in a right split from the LSA in the direction of Canadian nationalism, refused saying that "the miners have already won." As for the NDP, its Ontario provincial secretary Gordon Vichert considered endorsement until the results of the British elections were known. Then he

refused on the foggy grounds that "now Labour will form the government in Britain and we don't want to do anything that will embarrass the BLP."

Those who were capable of such an "embarrassing" action on March 2 included, besides the SL/RCY and its supporters, some members of the RMG who marched on the picket line despite the position taken by their organization, some members of the LSA who sold their press, some members of the Red Circle (a study group formally sympathetic to the RMG) and some unaffiliated militants.

The picketers heard an SL speaker tell how a more effective demonstration could have been mobilized but was sabotaged midway by the RMG. He pointed out the difficulties that the leaders of the various Canadian left groups would have in explaining their sectarian stance toward the demonstration. "The endorsement of the Labour bureaucrats shows their contradictory character as the lieutenants of capital in the workers movement," the speaker noted. "Pitifully enough, no Canadian opposition to them took this demonstration as an opportunity to expose their betrayals of the workers movement."

The speaker quoted Trotsky saying that "centrists mistake sectarianism for purity of principle." The small but spirited group was reminded that "what you have done today is an act of real internationalism, not the phony internationalism of the United Secretariat [whose Canadian sympathizer sections are the LSA and RMG] and others who claim the continuity of Trotsky's Fourth International. It is such elementary internationalist class solidarity and not the unprincipled maneuvering of the USec that will lead to the rebirth of the Fourth International."

NEW HAVEN

NEW HAVEN, February 27—The Solidarity Action Committee for Victory for the British Mineworkers today held a militant demonstration on the New Haven Green in defense of the miners' strike. Initiated by the New Haven Revolutionary Communist Youth, the committee was endorsed by the Spartacist League, RCY, Young Socialist Alliance, Revolutionary Communist League (Internationalist), Peoples Action, Justin Manning (International Representative of the Office and Professional Employees International Union), United Farm Workers Yale Support Committee and the Southern Africa Task Force. Craig Gouthier, director of the New Haven People's Center (home of the New World Bookstore and various Communist Party/YWLL functions), endorsed the action but the CP itself refused to do so, claiming that it would defend the miners in its "own way."

The demonstration attracted some 45 to 55 participants, who listened to speeches from representatives of the YSA, the UFW support committee and the SL/RCY. Individual members of the YWLL and the Party for Workers Power (a recent split-off from Progressive Labor) were present, although their organizations refused to endorse the action, as were supporters of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party along with a large number of independent students and trade unionists. Only the SL/RCY, however, came with a contingent, banners and chants emphasizing the need for a communist program in order to take the international class struggle forward.

The demonstration was briefly interrupted by members of the Tory Party (!) of the Yale Political Union, who circled the rally carrying a British flag and a sign reading "Toryism, not Trotskyism." As these pitiful aspiring executives began singing "God Save the Queen," they were effectively drowned out by a chant initiated by the SL/RCY, "Smash British Chauvinism—Labour to Power!"

The SAC received good media coverage, with the *Yale Daily News*, *New Haven Journal Courier*, various radio stations and the WTNH News all carrying reports of the united-front demonstration.

New Haven was one of the few cities in which the Young Socialist Alliance participated in the miners' support demonstrations. The speech given by the YSA representative, however, amounted to nothing more than these ex-Trotskyists' usual tailing after every struggle by an "oppressed group." Not only did it lack any program for the class struggle, but the speaker even went so far as to liken the Democratic Party here to the British Labour Party, completely ignoring the class distinction between a bourgeois party and a reformist workers party. When the spokesman for the Spartacist League criticized this false comparison in his remarks, the YSAer indignantly yelled, "what about the united front?" After years of fronting for Senator Vance Hartke and Representative Bella Abzug in the various popular-front formations in which the SWP seeks to submerge itself, these reformists have forgotten the essential criteria for a real united front—one of which is full *freedom of criticism* for all participating organizations.

The SL/RCY speaker underlined the importance of the Solidarity Action Committee's demonstration and emphasized the vital importance for the international working class of a victory for the British miners against Heath's union-busting offensive. Calling for the hot cargoing of all products sent from the U.S. which could be used to break the strike (notably coal), the speaker emphasized the need for concrete expressions of international working-class solidarity and for a class-struggle leadership in the unions to replace the present pro-capitalist bureaucracy, which has done virtually nothing to aid British miners in their strike. Exposing the failure of the British miners' union leadership, the Labour Party and the ostensibly Marxist organizations of the British left to provide real leadership for the struggle, the SL/RCY called for "a general strike, centering on ending the three-day workweek, breaking the state wage controls and winning major wage gains with full cost-of-living adjustment, and forcing the Tory government out." The speaker went on to point out that the fight for a general strike, a struggle directed against the do-nothing policies of the present misleaders of the labor movement, underlines "the need for the building of a British section of a reborn Fourth International, the need for the building of a revolutionary party in Britain which is the only guarantee for the defeat of Heath and his class."

CLEVELAND

CLEVELAND—On March 2 a united-front demonstration in support of the British miners' strike was held in front of the U.K. consulate here. Attended by some 25 militants, the demonstration was initiated by the Cleveland Spartacist League/Revolutionary Communist Youth around the central slogans of "Victory to the British Miners" and "International Working-Class Solidarity." Among the slogans chanted by the picketers were "British and Irish Workers Unite, Victory to the Miners' Strike" and "Britain Out of Ireland, Bosses Out of the Mines—For a Workers Government!" The events concluded with the singing of the "Internationale."

The ostensible left in Cleveland demonstrated its simultaneously sectarian and opportunist character by refusing to respond to the call for a united front issued by the SL/RCY. In the case of the latter-day Shachtmanites of the IS and RSL this was accomplished by procrastinating, while the fake-Trotskyist SWP demurred on the grounds that the demonstration was not popular enough. The RU (including its front group, "People Get Ready"), the CP and Progressive Labor refused to participate on the "principled" pretext of never uniting with "Trotskyites"—a principle based on their inability to defend the past and present crimes of Stalinism against Marxist criticism.

Of the groups who deigned even to attend the planning meeting for the demonstration, "Modern Times" (a local spontaneist-syndicalist group) rationalized their failure to support the miners on the grounds that they generally leave town on weekends and "no workers would be present." However, several weekends before they had managed to be in town as the main sponsor of a demonstration attended by a few petty-bourgeois independent truckers. The Class Struggle League excused itself with the allegation that bourgeois endorsement of a working-class demand (i.e., Paul O'Dwyer's endorsement of the New York miners' support demonstration) automatically transforms the demonstration into a popular front (unless the endorsement is repudiated). Only YAWF displayed an essentially serious attitude to the proposed united front, although it was unable to mobilize its members because of illnesses (one attended).

These fake lefts' sectarian refusal to build a united-front demonstration for victory for the British miners is not the result of any kind of leftist impulse but rather of an opportunist desire to achieve popularity at any cost. Internationalism will become "popular" in the working class primarily because of the active intervention of those who embody the consciousness of the class as a whole, i.e., the revolutionary party. The desire to avoid unpopularity was the motive force for many "socialist" parties in supporting their bourgeoisies during World War I. But such great capitulations require great events—the small ones merely prepare the way.

Continued from page 2

...ILWU Blacklist Fight Sabotaged

bureaucracy is alraid that a fight against the anti-union blacklist would upset the ILWU tops' friendly relations with the Distributors' Association, thereby threatening the warehouse section's dues base. Equally important is the union leaders' determination to get rid of any internal opposition which exposes their policies of collaboration with the companies against the interests of the membership. Thus instead of leading the fight against company victimizations of union militants, ILWU tops have treated the Committee to Defeat the Blacklist as the base of a dangerous opposition. A letter of the Committee to the *Dispatcher*, the International union paper, was reportedly going to be run and only cancelled at the last minute under mysterious circumstances.

But the Committee is not an opposition grouping; it is a united front to defend any and all union victims of blacklisting. In fact, one of the blacklist victims is being defended by the Committee despite the fact that he was induced to participate in the CP-supported smear campaign against it!

Against Class Collaboration

In addition to sabotaging the anti-blacklist campaign, the officials are equally determined to prevent Mandel from serving as an official delegate to the convention. Mandel received 20 percent of the vote in the delegate elections for his program which included calling for hot-cargoing struck farm goods, defense of Chilean workers through boycotting military goods to Chile and opposition to government interference in the unions. It also calls for labor to get off all government boards and commissions; for abolition of the no-strike clause, probation period and second-class membership; and for a workers party based on the trade unions to break with the bureaucracy's policies of class-collaboration and fight for expropriation of industry under workers control and for a workers government.

Only gross bureaucratic rigging of the vote prevented his election. Union rules guarantee that each warehouse and hiring hall is entitled to two delegates for the first 25 members and two more for each additional fraction of 25. While only full members (black books) can be delegates, permit members (red books) can vote. Traditionally, the total number of delegates to which a house is entitled is calculated by the total number of people voting in the delegate elections. However, when two organizers, including Mandel, of the anti-blacklist campaign ran for delegate from the East Bay hiring hall and finished third and fourth, despite the fact that 35 members voted, the leadership ruled arbitrarily that the hall was only entitled to two delegates since ten or more of those voting were "red books"!

In another undemocratic ruling the General Executive Board of Local 6 demanded a new election in the San Francisco hall to cut back "red book" representation: those steadily working would be represented, while those working through the hiring hall would not! In order to keep the anti-blacklist fight and a class-struggle program off the convention floor, the bureaucrats are willing to completely disenfranchise all "red book" members working through hiring halls!

The class-collaborationist alliance of the Bridges' leadership with Alioto and warehouse and longshore bosses is at the heart of warehousemen's and longshoremen's problems. Only a new leadership, committed to a class-struggle program can break this unholy alliance, and only the unity of the entire union against the employers can defeat company attacks, including blacklisting. ■

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British Elections: Mandate for a Mess

Miners Win Raise

Wilson Calls for Wage Restraint

FROM OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

LONDON, March 4—The general elections here last week represented a clear defeat for Conservative Prime Minister Edward Heath's vicious offensive against the miners and British working people generally. A nationwide political lockout, the three-day workweek imposed by the Tory government, had aroused bitter labor opposition and considerable unease even inside the business establishment. Rapidly rising food prices, in good part the result of Britain's entry into the Common Market, also contributed to the Tories' demise. And while workers' real wages decreased because of this inflation, two of the country's biggest companies—Imperial Chemical Industries and Barclays Bank—announced that their profits had jumped by 120 percent and 75 percent respectively (*Manchester Guardian Weekly*, 2 March). Many voters apparently drew the obvious comparison here.

But beyond this, the election results failed to produce a majority either for Labour (37 percent of the vote, 301 seats) or the Conservatives (38 percent, 296 seats). There was no clear "mandate" for any particular policy to solve the country's worst economic and political crisis since World War II and little likelihood of a stable government. The unusually large vote for the Liberals (19 percent, 14 seats) indicated widespread yearning in the middle class for a comfortable compromise—the one outcome of the crisis which is virtually excluded.

Wiser heads in the British ruling class scotched Heath's foolhardy attempt to stay in power at all costs with either a Conservative-Liberal coalition or a minority Tory government. This would almost certainly have led to a sharp confrontation with the unions, sooner rather than later. Realizing that new elections are virtually inevitable within a year, Labour Party head Wilson rejected proposals for a Lib-Lab coalition which would have restricted his ability to maneuver rapidly and would probably have led to internal war with the Labour lefts who still vividly remember the disastrous consequences of Ramsey MacDonald's coalition government in the 1930's.

Wilson's "New Social Contract"

While Harold Wilson's minority Labour government has granted the miners a substantial wage increase and rescinded the government-imposed three-day workweek, his next major goal is to secure "voluntary" wage controls through a Trades Union Congress/government pact. This "new social contract," agreed to by the TUC tops without any pretense of consulting the union ranks, is only one more indication that the reformist Labour leaders in power will serve the bosses and not the workers. Already there are indications that Wilson will temporarily shelve proposals for state takeover of profitable companies, except for the North Sea oil nationalization which could win Liberal support. Not surprisingly, *The Times* of London and the *Economist*, both of them staunchly Tory, came out for a minority Labour government in view of Heath's defeat at the polls.

In our last issue we called on British workers to vote for the Labour Party against the Tories, while warning that Wilson & Co. do not represent the interests of the workers, that they would push for voluntary arbitration and abandon the nationalizations proposals in their program. This tactic of critical support for a reformist workers party has the purpose of educating in struggle the masses who still have illusions as to the real policies of their traditional leaders. It was crucial that the Tories' vicious anti-labor offensive be beaten back. However, the vacillating reformism of the Labour Party leadership cannot solve the problems of the British workers, which are rooted in the anarchy and bankruptcy of an obsolete social system. The reformist Labour Party is an obstacle to the construction of a mass revolutionary Trotskyist party in Britain to direct the inevitable mass struggles toward the socialist demands which express the interests and needs of the working class.

Wilson is well aware of his vulnerability to a wave of union unrest. It was this that was largely responsible for the fall of the Labour regime in 1970. Thus he has included more "left wingers" in his cabinet than in his previous governments of 1964-66 and 1966-70. Moreover, his granting of a 22-32 percent wage increase to the striking miners is an indication that he hopes to ride out the current upsurge of labor militancy by appeasing it. He will have considerable difficulty doing so. On the one hand, the U.K. is running a whopping balance of payments deficit (the December rate would imply a $10 billion shortfall in 1974) which will require large loans

Edward Heath L'EXPRESS

from the international bankers. On the other side, the rest of the unions will be under pressure from the membership, whose living standards are being relentlessly ground down by inflation, to follow the miners' lead. The first group of wage claims comes up immediately and includes power workers, engineers and railwaymen. After a "winter of class war" Britain may be in for a long hot summer as well.

Conservatives Abandon Heath

One significant aspect of the elections was the backing off from Heath's hard-line policies toward the miners by significant sections of the British ruling class. The first important breakthrough came on February 21 with the Pay Board's "sudden discovery" that the figures used to weigh the relative wages of the miners were inaccurate and that they were in fact

Welsh miners march in Cardiff. WV PHOTO

"entitled" to a greater increase in pay than the previous government offer. The process by which this "correction" emerged to the light of day is still somewhat unclear.

Subsequently, only two days before the elections, Campbell Adamson, the director general of the Confederation of British Industry (the largest employers' organization in Britain), called for repeal of the Industrial Relations Act altogether. He declared:

> "We should go farther than amendment. It is so surrounded by hatred that we must have a more honest try at another Act. I have a feeling that the trade unions, faced with this sort of situation, would be quite ready to talk about it. This would give us a chance to start from a position where every relationship at a national level was not sullied by this Act."
>
> —*The Times* [London], 27 February

In fact, this amounts to the Labour Party's position, as Harold Wilson was quick to point out. "Can't you see Mr. Heath saying: 'Et tu, Brute'," he quipped (*Guardian*, 28 February).

Although Adamson later offered to resign his position on the CBI because he had embarrassed the electoral chances of the Tories, he was not alone in his views. A couple of days later, W. P. Walker, president of the Edinburgh Chamber of Commerce, remarked: "Let us not whitewash the situation by using this type of cover-up. The 3-day week was, and still is, a disaster to management and wage earners alike" (*The Scotsman* [Edinburgh], 1 March). Earlier in the month the *Economist* (9 February) had estimated that the three-day workweek had driven profits from an annual rate of $12.5 to an annual $10 billion *loss*. In comparison, the difference between what the miners had demanded and the government offer would have cost about $160 million!

But even if City bankers were deserting the Tory ship, Heath had some supporters left, most notably King Faisal of Saudi Arabia. In December Heath had sent Lord Aldington to Riyadh to get more oil. In an impassioned 50-minute speech he painted a picture of impending chaos and anarchy. As the *Manchester Guardian Weekly* (2 March) reported the scene:

> "If Labour came to power as a result, Lord Aldington claimed, not only was there a possibility of a more pro-Israeli policy being adopted by Britain, but heavens knows what would follow in Mr. Wilson's wake. There would be a real threat of 'the Trotskyite menace,' and before you could say barrel of oil, Britain would be a mere Communist satellite.
>
> "This, it appears, was too much for King Faisal. He raised his hand in an imperial gesture and said, 'Let the British have more oil.' When his advisors leapt to their feet, he stilled them with the even more imperious and enthusiastic 'Let them have as much as they need'."

Lord Aldington may be a little confused about Trotskyism—which calls not only for social revolution in the capitalist countries but also for political revolution to overthrow the parasitic Stalinist bureaucracies of the deformed workers states—but he demonstrates a sure instinct for seeking out the true allies of the Heath government. Unfortunately for Heath, however, his oil-sheik friends do not swing many votes in Britain.

Miners Strike: Is Working-Class Independence "Relative"?

The 22-32 percent wage increase to the mineworkers offered by the new Labour government on March 5, immediately after taking office, was more than double Heath's highest offer. This was a relative victory for the miners, and one which will put both Wilson and British business in a tight situation in the coming months. With continuing high inflation, other unions are sure to follow suit. While the TUC has renewed its pledge not to use the miners' settlement as the basis for making further wage claims, the Scottish Mineworkers' executive has already announced it is drafting demands for additional substantial increases as early as November, including a $50/week increase, a four-day workweek and an earlier retirement age.

While the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) leaders' strategy of toning down strike militancy in order to aim for a Labour election victory was successful in the short run, it certainly did not prepare the ranks for the battles ahead—nor even for what would have been necessary in the event of a Conservative victory at the polls. In addition to limiting the pickets and permitting deliveries to power and coking plants, the NUM agreed to participate in the government Pay Board's "relativity hearings" where the union leaders argued that higher wages for the miners were in the "national interest." These hearings amount to a safety valve for the unpopular state wage controls, permitting a group of workers to receive a wage increase above the legal maximum if they can prove, for one reason or another, that they are a "special case."

When the NUM leadership agreed to give voluntary evidence to the Pay Board it essentially accepted Heath's "Phase Three" wage controls and with that the rest of the Industrial Relations Act (an anti-labor law similar to the

Taft-Hartley Act in the U.S.). The bureaucracy demagogically denies to its membership that it is seeking a "special deal" for the miners. Yet as if participation in the hearings were not enough, every public NUM statement belies this contention. A typical example is the NUM leaflet entitled "The Rate for the Job." This flyer argues once again that miners are essential to the "national interest" and states point-blank: *"Miners must have wages which reflect the unique and dangerous conditions of this job and also their value to society"* (their emphasis)!

> "This resolution means that this Union, along with the Labour Movement, is in confrontation with the Tory Government.
> "Let us meet that confrontation by mobilising the army, and there is no bigger army in Britain than the army of the working class."
> —*Miner*, July 1973

That, if spelled out, could mean no less than a general strike against the Tory government. Needless to say, McGahey is not talking like this today.

The Communist Party did poorly in the elections, getting around 2 percent of the vote in the districts where it ran candidates. Its largest totals came where well-known CP trade-union leaders were running, as with Alex Maxwell in the Fife Central miners district (4 percent) and Jimmy Reid, chief steward during the 1971 Clyde shipyards "work-in" in Glasgow (15 percent). Overall the CP's 44 candidates polled 32,771 votes, down from 38,000 in 1970. This, according to the Stalinists, was because "the determination of militant workers to ensure Heath's defeat led to many voting Labour despite their agreement with the policies advanced by the Communist Party" (*Morning Star*, 2 March). This may be so, but their decision not to vote Communist was certainly facilitated by the fact that the Stalinists' own reformist program was barely distinguishable from that of social-democratic Labourism.

SPARTACIST TELEGRAM TO NUM

The Spartacist League/US, a revolutionary Trotskyist organization, has taken initiative in calling for solidarity action committees to build demonstrations throughout U.S. for victory to British miners. British miners are in forefront of world working class in resisting bosses' attempts to place cost of mounting economic crisis on backs of workers. U.S. workers face similar conditions—your fight is our fight. Spartacist League calls for general strike for victory for miners. Smash government wage controls. For major across-the-board wage increase with full cost-of-living adjustment. Smash the lockout, restore five-day work-week and rescind the budget cuts. Abolish Industrial Relations Act. Repeal Emergency Measures Act. Britain out of Common Market. Oust Tory Government. For a Labour Party-TUC government pledged to socialist program of expropriating capitalist class.

—sent 27 February 1974

This approach runs counter to every principle of trade-union solidarity and, moreover, it is a retreat from even the stated policies endorsed at the annual NUM conference at Inverness last summer. The resolution on "Government Policies" had stated flatly:

> "This Conference declares its complete opposition to the policies of the Conservative Government. It opposes the Industrial Relations Act and advocates a policy of non-cooperation with the agencies the Act has created. It rejects the Government's anti-inflation policy and urges a policy of confrontation when this stands in the way of legitimate pay demands."
> —*Miner*, July 1973

Presumably by "non-cooperation" the resolution did not have in mind participating in the "relativities" inquiry and by "confrontation" it did not mean staring at the government representatives during Pay Board hearings in Piccadilly Hotel.

And the Communist Party?

The reformist Communist Party will certainly gain from its successful maneuvering during the strike. On the one hand, the CP miners' leaders bolstered their image as wily trade-union strategists who can deliver more than the timid "moderates." Moreover, the Stalinists have gained protection and respectability by the fact that the Tories ran an election campaign against "reds under the bed" and lost. But like the NUM leadership (of which it is the most cohesive section), the CP did not pursue anything approaching a relentless class-struggle policy during the strike. Jimmy Young, Scottish miner and ranking CP member, told *Workers Vanguard* in an interview that "cooling it" during the entire election period was "sound trade-union tactics." Most telling of all, Joe Gormley, the social-democratic NUM president, revealed on nationwide television on March 1 that the suggestion to give evidence before the Pay Board had originated with the CP members of the union's national executive.

This was not the tune they were singing last summer at the NUM convention. There the CP vice president of the Mineworkers, Michael McGahey, proclaimed:

> "In other words, we are announcing to the Tory government that the miners are in the wages battle and will not be removed from it. . . .
> ". . . we reject any basis of negotiation with this Government on its so-called anti-inflationary policy.
> "It is not negotiations in Downing Street, but it is agitation in the streets of this country to remove this Government that is required. . . .

Centrist Waverings

During the last month and one half we have advocated a defensive general strike in Britain, directed at bringing down the Tory government and reversing its anti-labor industrial policies, as the necessary means for mobilizing the entire working class against Heath's attacks on the miners. The question has since been rendered moot by the installation of a Labour government, the settlement of the miners' strike and the rescinding of the three-day work-week. It is inevitable that for a time the working class will grant a partial truce to Wilson, though that will not necessarily mean the absence of sharp industrial battles. The chief tasks at this moment are to fight to extend the miners' wages victory—to power workers, railwaymen and engineers immediately—and to oppose Wilson's plans for "voluntary" wage controls, while demanding that the Labour government carry out all the nationalizations included in its election program as well as undertaking other measures which go beyond that limited program but are clearly vital for the working class.

The attitude taken by various ostensibly socialist organizations toward the question of the general strike during the last period was an important test of their revolutionary capacities. As we have pointed out, the International Marxist Group oscillated between calling for an insurrectionary general strike on the one hand, and a more limited defensive general strike on the other. It was notable that during the election campaign the IMG hardly mentioned the general strike at all, making only a single completely abstract reference to it in its lengthy election manifesto ("Capitalist Crisis and the Struggle for Workers' Power," February 1974)! This manifesto is also notable for its elaborate working out of policies for a workers government under capitalism (!), as some kind of "transition" to the dictatorship of the proletariat, and the repeated interchanging of the terms workers government and "left-wing Government moving towards socialism." Allende's popular-front regime in Chile is evidently included in this category. The IMG ran three candidates in the election, attracting little support, with a total of only 716 votes.

The Workers Revolutionary Party apparently did its best to run a "socialist" election campaign while ignoring the concrete class struggle provoked by the miners' strike and Heath's lockout. The WRP election manifesto, although it goes beyond Labourist and CP reforms within the capitalist state, posing a number of transitional demands and the need to overthrow capitalism, was completely silent on the question of the general strike. The nine WRP candidates received a total of 4,191 votes. Running against the right-wing Labourite Reg Prentice, actress Vanessa Redgrave received 760 votes in Newham Northeast, as against 202 for the IMGer Ross. One interesting result was in the Welsh mining district of Merthyr Tydfil where the CP got 369 votes and the WRP candidate 160.

As if seeking to outdo the IMG and WRP in opportunism, the International Socialists argued that it was wrong for the former parties to run candidates against Labour in this election and announced it would support only Labour, "because the government has chosen to fight this election on the issue of curbing the trade unions, and a Tory victory would give them the confidence to launch an intensified attack upon the right to organize. For revolutionaries to stand candidates in such an election is simply a diversion from the main issues."

—Socialist Worker, 23 February

This is an incredibly gross capitulation to Labourist parliamentarianism in a time of political crisis. *All* elections involve defending the trade unions—because insofar as elections are political they involve the class struggle. That is, in fact, one of the reasons we call in this country for a workers party based on the unions, which would fight for a workers government to expropriate the bourgeoisie as a class. The IS' argument is the standard line of all opportunists—that revolutionary struggle directed toward exposing the reformists is a diversion from the "main enemy." But the working class will never smash capitalism without also defeating its agents within the labor movement.

Far from having decisively defeated Heath and the Tories by "cooling" the strike and participating in Pay Board hearings, the NUM and CP leaderships have failed to prepare the workers for the industrial and political battles ahead. And by failing to focus on the struggle for the general strike throughout this last period (including during the elections), the IMG, WRP and IS capitulated simultaneously to Heath's electoral diversionary maneuver, the union leaders' strategy of holding back the strike and the traditional Labourist parliamentary cretinism they claim to oppose. ■

How Arnold Miller "Supports" British Miners

As an expression of international proletarian solidarity, during the past several weeks the Spartacist League and Revolutionary Communist Youth initiated a series of united-front demonstrations in support of the British miners' strike. Organized by local solidarity action committees, pickets were held in Boston, New Haven, New York, Toronto, Cleveland, Detroit, Chicago, the Bay Area and Los Angeles. Endorsement was sought and received from a number of trade unions and opposition groups within the unions. In New York the Miners Solidarity Action Committee sought, in particular, the endorsement of the United Mine Workers of America. Yet the recently elected "reform" president of the UMW, Arnold Miller, replied that he was working directly with the British miners' union, had given "substantial financial aid" and had no need of "intermediaries" (see telegram).

> Miners Solidarity Action Committee
> New York, NY
>
> UMWA are working directly with NUM. Have endorsed miners strike directly and have given substantial financial aid. Will continued to work directly with NUM rather intermediaries.
>
> Arnold Miller, President
> United Mine Workers of America

Unable to reach Miller directly, the MSAC spoke to two national staff members who relayed to the Committee some information that revealed what Miller's "support" of the British miners really amounted to. They explained that the UMW had already contributed $5,000 to the National Union of Mineworkers in Britain as an expression of solidarity. One staffer, just back from surveying the British miners' strike, reported that the British labor movement, particularly the power station workers, truck drivers and dockers, were mobilized solidly behind the strike. Yet, he continued apologetically, the dockers' union leaders had begun to capitulate, authorizing coal boats to be unloaded on the condition that "the coal not be removed from the docks."

Furthermore, the MSAC was told that non-union coal from the U.S. was being shipped from Hampton Roads, Virginia. (Earlier in the strike, coal was also arriving in Britain from "socialist" Poland. This came as no surprise, as the Stalinist bureaucrats who control the Polish deformed workers state shipped coal to Spain during miners' strikes in 1970 and 1971. They also transported container cargo to Britain during the 1972 British dockers' strike.)

It was learned later from a third UMW staff member that, in fact, union officials here believe that at least a significant part of the scab coal leaving Hampton Roads comes out of UMW-contract mines. While the union, he continued, had called on the British dockers to boycott this coal, the UMW leadership feels that "legal implications" would make it impossible to similarly appeal to the American longshoremen to hot-cargo scab coal, or to call on its own membership to refuse to mine coal intended for Britain. (The same "legal implications" argument is used by Miller to force his membership to abide by the rotten contract negotiated by the corrupt Boyle regime which preceded him and, in the last two weeks, to order West Virginia miners to abandon their work stoppages protesting gasoline shortages.)

Instead of solidly backing the British miners in their battle against the state wage controls, the "reformer" Miller chooses to buy his "solidarity" cheaply (a mere $5,000) and quash wildcats in his own bailiwick. This proves once again that the only real alternative to reactionary, pro-capitalist union bureaucracies of the Boyle type is a class-struggle leadership based on a full transitional program of working-class demands, including *concrete* acts of international labor solidarity—rather than mere hot air. ■

Canada's New Democratic Party: Right-Wing Social Democracy

1/ The Development of Populist Labourism

For revolutionary Marxists in the U.S. the struggle to defeat the present misleaders of the working class is centered in the trade unions, the only existing mass labor organizations. This is not to say that the fight is primarily "economic" as syndicalists and workerists might assert. There is, for example the necessary battle to expose the true policies of the various nationalist, Stalinist, social-democratic, Maoist, Castroist, fake-Trotskyist, Shachtmanite, etc., groups which pose as socialists even though on decisive

TWO-PART SERIES

questions their policies serve the interests of the bourgeoisie. Or the struggle to defeat the labor bureaucracy's support for the Democratic and Republican parties of big capital, by counterposing the need for a workers party based on the unions to fight for a workers government. As Marx said, every class struggle is a political struggle.

But if the struggle against the false leaders of the working class is everywhere a necessary step to the revolutionary mobilization of the proletariat, how this is accomplished will be somewhat different in countries, particularly in Europe, where there exist mass reformist workers parties such as the British Labour Party or the French Communist Party. The path to the creation of a mass revolutionary Leninist party goes through a necessary deep split along clear class lines inside the mass reformist workers parties.

How such a split can be brought about has been the subject of tactical discussions within the Marxist movement for years. In general what is needed is uncompromising adherence to the principles of Marxism-Leninism combined with various tactical maneuvers, including the united front, entrism, critical support, regroupment. However, such questions can seldom be decided in the abstract, but require analysis of the concrete situation.

"A Bourgeois Workers Party"

In the case of Canada, whose social-democratic labor party, the New Democratic Party, has consistently received about 1.5 million votes in federal elections over the last decade, the question is complicated by the fact that the NDP has a relatively weak base (for a mass electoral party) in the working class, is very right-wing and has significant ties to the petty bourgeoisie. To get a rough idea of NDP politics it is only necessary to note that party spokesmen often insist that it be called "social-democratic" and *not* "democratic socialist"; that in 1970 several NDP members of parliament voted for Liberal Prime Minister Trudeau's War measures Act (used to jail almost 1,000 leftists in Quebec, including more than 50 union leaders); that the NDP regularly votes for the Liberal government and failed to oppose in principle government legislation to break the 1973 rail strike; and in British Columbia an NDP provincial prime minister has proposed a Bill 11 which would subordinate the trade-union movement and the right to strike to a government labor board.

The politics of the New Democratic Party, in a word, are bourgeois politics. But the NDP is not a bourgeois party in the same sense as the Liberal or Conservative parties. The NDP is based on the independent class organizations of labor, in this case the unions, and its bourgeois politics are the politics of the *agents of the bourgeoisie within the workers movement*. Consequently it is necessary to deal with the NDP in a different way than we deal with the Democrats.

During the Second Congress of the Comintern there was a discussion over whether the small (about 10,000 members) British Communist Party should enter the much larger, but rotten reformist Labour Party. In arguing in favor of entry Lenin captured the essential quality of reformist workers parties in general, namely their inherent contradictory character, *both* bourgeois and working-class. On the one hand:

> "Of course, most of the Labour Party's members are workingmen. However, whether or not a party is really a political party of the workers does not depend solely upon a membership of workers but also upon the men that lead it, and the content of its actions and its political tactics.... Regarded from this, the only correct, point of view, the Labour Party is a thoroughly bourgeois party, because, although made up of workers, it is led by reactionaries, and the worst kind of reactionaries at that, who act quite in the spirit of the bourgeoisie."

But on the other hand: "these old leaders represent the interests of the bourgeoisie;...they are agents of the bourgeoisie in the working-class movement" ("Speech on Affiliation to the British Labour Party," August 1920). It is on this contradictory, simultaneously bourgeois and working-class, character of the reformist workers parties that Marxists must base their strategy to polarize such formations.

The Cooperative Commonwealth Federation

The labor movement of English-speaking Canada has much in common with its U.S. counterpart. For one thing, the major unions are part of U.S.-based "internationals," including the UAW, Steelworkers, Mineworkers, Rubber Workers, etc. (The IWW's "One Big Union" was also common to the lumber and maritime industries of both western Canada and the U.S.) Additionally there have been relatively high wages and considerable political backwardness compared to European workers. But there are two distinctive features which separate Canadian labor from the U.S. tradition: the close ties to the British labor movement and the longer duration and greater radicalization of the wave of agrarian populism. It was these two factors which led to the formation of the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation in 1932.

The CCF was, in the words of Canadian Trotskyists writing in 1946, "a petty-bourgeois Social Democratic party with some trade union support but deriving its main strength from the agrarian regions and from middle class elements in urban centers" ([SWP] *International Information Bulletin*, September 1946). It resulted from the fusion, at a conference in Calgary in 1932, of a number of provincial labor/socialist parties and farmers' unions. The labor parties included the Socialist Party of Canada (British Columbia), the Dominion Labour Party (Alberta), the Independent Labour Parties of British Columbia, Saskatchewan and Manitoba and the Labour Conference, which included several small socialist parties in Ontario. The political leadership of the CCF in its early years was in the hands of J.S. Woodsworth, a former Methodist minister, transplanted British Labourite, ILP member of Parliament from Winnipeg and an advocate of alliance with the radical populist farmers groups of the prairie provinces.

The United Farmers of Alberta, Saskatchewan, Manitoba and Ontario, which were the other main element in the founding of the CCF, represented a much different social milieu. The farmers' unions were based on wheat marketing pools and cooperatives and constituted the leadership of many rural communities. Representing a petty-bourgeois constituency, they were generally more conservative and to the extent that they had previously been politically active it was in support of the short-lived Progressive Party which briefly captured the vote of the prairie provinces during the 1920's.

NEW DEMOCRAT

David Lewis

In many respects the early CCF was similar to the Non-Partisan League of North Dakota and the Minnesota Farmer-Labor Party, which were also a fusion of the populist traditions with elements of the labor movement. However, the CCF differed from these in one important respect: program. The NPL and MFLP were two-class parties

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CCF founder J.S. Woodsworth and Lucy Woodsworth.

NEW DEMOCRAT

NDP Expels Leftists

TORONTO, March 9—As we go to press, the Ontario New Democratic Party Provincial Council has summarily rejected an appeal of the expulsions of two members of the Revolutionary Marxist Group (RMG), Barry Weisleder and Harold Lavandar, and of Lucille Boycott, member of Lyn Marcus' "International Caucus of Labor Committees." Although the defendants were allowed only five minutes each to present their case and discussion from the floor was ruled out of order, Weisleder and Lavandar made a brief political defense and pointed to their long-time history in the party (6 years and 4 years respectively, including serving on the highest bodies of the NDP Youth). Gordon Vichert of the ONDP executive made it clear that Weisleder and Lavandar were being expelled "primarily for their political philosophies, which are incompatible with the principles of the NDP." One militant then yelled out to Vichert, "why don't we expel the liberals like you and David Lewis [NDP national leader]?" Others challenged the executive to produce these so-called "principles."

Weisleder argued for the need for political struggle over program and for the right of all working-class tendencies to remain within the NDP. In particular he pointed to the potentially disastrous consequences of social-democratic parliamentary cretinism, using the fiasco of the Allende government in Chile as an example. Weisleder and Lavandar's defense was considerably weakened by the RMG's failure to orient toward struggle for revolutionary leadership within the unions. Had they been backed by delegates from the unions alfiliated to the NDP, and not just by militants in the ridings (election districts), their expulsion would have been far more difficult to accomplish.

These expulsions are the expression of a long anti-communist tradition in the NDP and are part of a thoroughgoing purge of virtually all organized leftist elements in the party during recent months. This witchhunt began with the leadership's offensive against the Waffle caucus in 1972-73, and continued with the expulsions of two members of the League for Socialist Action, Cliff Mack and George Addison, last September. While the Waffle leadership bolted the party before Lewis and Co. had gotten around to expelling them, a number of leftists in the Waffle organized the "Stay and Fight" caucus to remain in the NDP. With the recent series of expulsions, many of the latter have now been ousted or pressured out. ■

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...Bureaucrats Rig CLUW Conference

the capitalist government. In 1940 Leon Trotsky wrote:

> "In other words, the trade unions in the present epoch cannot simply be the organs of democracy as they were in the epoch of free capitalism and they cannot any longer remain politically neutral, that is, limit themselves to serving the daily needs of the working class. They cannot any longer be anarchistic, i.e., ignore the decisive influence of the state on the life of people and classes. They can no longer be reformist, because the objective conditions leave no room for any serious and lasting reforms. The trade unions of our time can either serve as secondary instruments of imperialist capitalism for the subordination and disciplining of workers and for obstructing the revolution, or, on the contrary, the trade unions can become the instruments of the revolutionary movement of the proletariat."
>
> —"Trade Unions in the Epoch of Imperialist Decay"

The CLUW organizers do not even attempt to disguise their overt collaboration with the capitalist exploiters. A meeting in New York on January 19 billed as the "First New York Trade Union Women's Conference" (see *WV* No. 37, 1 February) was sponsored by the Cornell University School of Industrial and Labor Relations (ILR) in cooperation with the U.S. Labor Department. As the Spartacist League pointed out in a leaflet, the Cornell ILR women's project is funded by the Ford Foundation, notorious for its union-busting role in pushing "community control" to smash the 1968 New York City teachers' strike and the "Philadelphia Plan" in the construction trades. Nixon's crooked government was represented by a spokesman from the Labor Department while the Democratic Party was represented by Bella Abzug.

Affirmative Action: A Recipe for the Bosses

The CLUW conference is being centered primarily on three issues: organizing the unorganized, affirmative action and "women becoming part of the decision-making in their unions." Organizing the unorganized has been a theme throughout the series of pre-conference meetings, but the conference rules prohibit the attendance of unorganized working women, even those militants in the process of organizing their shops! (On the other hand, at the Detroit planning meeting Edith van Horn of the UAW Women's Department stated that Abzug would be permitted to attend the national conference as an "honorary union member.") What the bureaucrats are trying to accomplish by this, of course, is to put up the maximum number of barriers in order to keep out rank-and-file militants and supporters of socialist organizations!

Among the reasons that women are often reluctant or apathetic about union organization is a fear that unions will not really fight to defend their jobs and conditions, based on the correct observation that the present union leadership sells out the ranks, especially women, to the bosses at every opportunity. It is incumbent on those serious about organizing women to wage a struggle in the unions to oust the present labor fakers in favor of a class-struggle leadership that will fight for the interests of women and all workers.

It is obvious from the statements of CLUW spokesmen that they support the so-called "affirmative action plans"—preferential hiring schemes initiated by the federal government—such as those now under way in the telephone and steel industries. The affirmative action plans give preference to women and minorities in hiring, transfer and promotions. This weakens the unions in bypassing union seniority plans and the union hiring hall. By providing more jobs for blacks and women at the expense of white male workers, affirmative action plans actually serve to inflame racial antagonisms and further divide the workforce—a long established capitalist tactic for weakening the labor movement. As opposed to preferential hiring, class-conscious militants fight for an elimination of all forms of discrimination in hiring and upgrading, shortening the workweek with no loss in pay in order to provide jobs for *all* and for union control of hiring and upgrading on a first-come, first-served basis.

While the equitable representation of women in union structures and policy-making bodies is a basic democratic right that all union militants must support and enforce, women trade unionists should have no illusions as to the capacity of women bureaucrats for treachery, a capacity that is equal to that of their male counterparts. The criterion for union leadership, as with all political leadership, should not be race or sex, but the political program which the candidate is pledged to carry out.

The female bureaucrats running the CLUW conference are not in a strong position. By attempting to use the issue of women's oppression as a means for their own advancement they will eventually raise questions they will not be able to answer. The proletarian militancy they hope to tap may well exceed the bounds they have set for it. Their attempts to contain this contradiction through artificial, bureaucratic means —stifling discussion, exclusionism, etc.—must be exposed by class-conscious militants who seek to oust these fakers from their phony posturing as the champions of women's liberation and from their positions of leadership in the trade unions. As part of the reformist trade-union bureaucracy, these agents of the capitalist class must be replaced by a leadership committed to a full class-struggle program. Only then can the trade unions begin to be transformed into the "instruments of the revolutionary movement of the proletariat," capable of securing lasting gains for women through destroying the capitalist system itself. ■

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German Workers...

the SPD as its predecessors did in the 1950's and much of the 1960's, or to bypass it, as it is now unsuccessfully attempting to do). Nor does it uphold the validity today of the Transitional Program of the Fourth International.

The Spartacusbund was founded in early February as the re-fusion of what remained of KJO-Spartacus and Spartacus-BL, the products of a 1972 split in the ostensibly anti-Pabloist Internationale Kommunisten Deutschlands (IKD). The IKD had split with the GIM in 1970 precisely over these questions of the Transitional Program and the USec's capitulation to petty-bourgeois youth vanguardism. However, neither the IKD nor the several Spartacus organizations have been able to fully break with the Pabloist methodology of trying to be the left wing of whatever is currently the dominant trend on the left. For example, the Spartacusbund rejects a struggle for a full transitional program in the unions. Instead, it proclaims, "we will raise the demands that already represent first steps toward transitional demands" (*Spartacus* No.1, 1974).

This "transition to the transitional program" approach was fully demonstrated by the Spartacusbund's intervention in the public workers' strike, with slogans that were limited primarily to calling for full realization of union demands and a "no" vote on the contract proposal. The demand that the unions break with the *Konzertierte Aktion* appeared in some leaflets, but without any political explanation or justification. The transitional demand of a sliding scale of wages and hours, an answer to the capitalist inflation and unemployment offensive, was mentioned in an article on the Spartacusbund's founding conference. But in the article on the public workers' strike itself, the call was simply for wage increases: the minimum (i.e., real) program. ■

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...Class Battles

class struggle in the form of the Detroit auto wildcats last summer and the Ford workers' initial rejection of the UAW-negotiated contract in the fall; while the anti-labor policies of the government combined with Nixon's incredible arrogance have led to massive opposition to the regime, partly over Watergate but also in protest against inflation and the "oil crisis."

The Democrats in Congress seem to be moving toward the point of actually initiating impeachment proceedings while the Republicans, burned by recent electoral setbacks, reluctantly tail along. From the special grand jury's indictment of seven former Nixon aides, the rumored contents of its special secret report on Nixon's involvement in the coverup, reports that the chief executive owes up to $500,000 in back taxes, evidence that tapes were deliberately erased, etc., it is obvious that Nixon's enemies have enough "dirt" of the illegal doings of "Mr. Law-and-Order" to kick him out of the White House and put him behind bars for years—if they wanted to. Their main concern is the blow this would mean to the authority of the government as a whole. But as this is now at an all-time low and sinking steadily, they may soon find it advisable to act.

Given the tight bureaucratic control of the unions and the generalized opposition to the government, the natural thing to expect would be a massive explosion of working-class discontent, more or less leaderless, overflowing the framework of the existing labor organizations. Although representing a section of the petty bourgeoisie rather than the proletariat itself, the independent truckers' chaotic work stoppages in the last three months could be an indication of things to come. As for the ability of the "liberal" union bureaucrats to control such an outburst, it is indicative that the "reform" regime now running the United Mine Workers was no more responsive to the coal miners' demands for effective industrial action against the fuel shortages than Boyle's gangster-ridden regime was to the 1969 agitation for health and mine safety legislation. In both cases the ranks were forced to undertake political wildcat strikes without union leadership.

An Opportunity for Revolutionists

In quiescent times, the hold of the traditional leaderships on the class is unchallenged. The job of Marxists must be to accumulate forces in preparation for future battles. We now appear to be close to a situation in which, for a limited period of time, mass struggles may be combined with an increasing inability of the labor tops to channel action into purely reformist solutions. Should important outbursts of class militancy, such as the French May events of 1968 or Italy's "hot autumn" of 1969, occur there is an objective possibility for revolutionary Trotskyists to greatly expand their influence within the workers movement.

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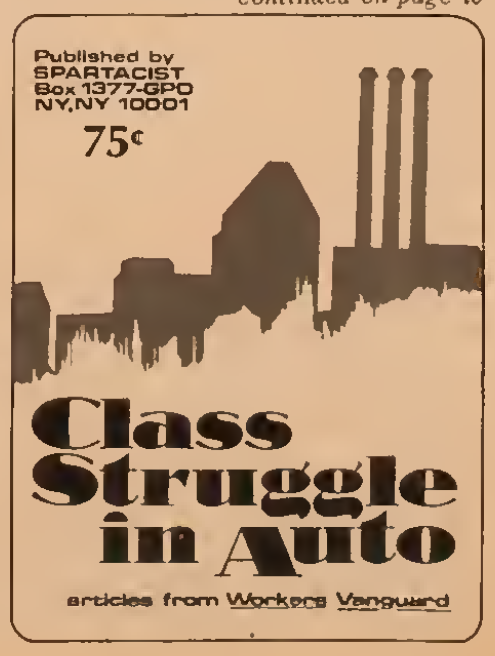

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...Class Battles

Sensing the increased, but so far suppressed, militancy of workers and youth the majority faction of the "United Secretariat," the fake-Trotskyist "international" led by Ernest Mandel and Co., has been speaking impressionistically of a mythical "new mass vanguard" of students, youth, women, young workers, immigrants, etc., who have already "escaped" the control of the traditional labor leaderships. Consequently the Mandelites see their task in setting up various kinds of ad hoc committees on the fringes of the existing mass organizations in order to crystallize this vanguard. Their model, it would seem, is the student committees against the Debré Law (eliminating student deferments from the draft) in France last year. A classic example of what this amounts to during an important class battle was the British International Marxist Group's agitation during the recent miners' strike for a general strike organized by nonexistent "committees of action" behind the back of the Trades Union Congress.

The key to a successful intervention in such explosions of class militancy will be a determined struggle for the Trotskyist program expressed tactically both in struggling for a revolutionary opposition within the existing mass organizations and, at appropriate times, in energetic intervention to build new organs of mass struggle including elements of the present labor movement. Marxists must undertake bold and determined efforts to raise the level of struggle, with an awareness of the real limits imposed by the absence of a revolutionary pole as a viable alternative mass leadership.

The USec revisionists offer no such perspective. These "new mass vanguardists" abandon the Trotskyist program at every step, seeing the key as simply organizational, grouping together various centrist forces and "mass movements" on any kind of mutually agreeable program. They failed to fight against the draft during the anti-Debré Law campaign; they voted for the popular-front Union of the Left in the 1973 French elections; they do not distinguish between a workers government as advanced by the Transitional Program—a call to achieve the dictatorship of the proletariat—and a "left government" supposedly (though in fact not) moving toward socialism (à la Allende). These fakers gave de facto "critical support" to the Chilean popular front, thereby helping prepare the way for the bloody coup which found the workers defenseless. Such opportunists can only prepare the way for further defeats.

An exemplary indication of the type of intervention needed was the recent campaign of the Spartacist League for a defensive general strike to bring down the reactionary Tory government and reverse its vicious anti-labor industrial policies. Calling on the top union leadership (the TUC) to initiate the strike (since at this point it could begin in no other way), we called for it to be organized by shop stewards' committees, elements of the existing trade-union structure which, however, are more susceptible to intervention by the masses and the revolutionists. (See articles in *WV* Nos. 36, 38 and 39 for a full discussion of these questions.)

This orientation is to be contrasted to that of the Pabloist centrist IMG, which oscillated between calling for an insurrectionary and a defensive general strike and believed it could effectively ignore the existing union and Labour Party leadership—until the election campaign, when it virtually abandoned its general strike agitation. It also stands in contrast to the parliamentary cretinism of the British International Socialists, who refused to run or support socialist candidates against Labour, and of the Workers Revolutionary Party which failed to agitate for a general strike and instead focused on its "socialist election campaign" during the sharpest industrial/political crisis in Britain since World War II. ■

Chilean Junta Holds MIR Leaders

Romero and Van Schouwen Must Not Die!

The Spartacist League calls on all socialist and working-class militants and organizations to take up an immediate fight to save the lives of two leading members of the Chilean Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria (MIR—Revolutionary Left Movement), Bautista Van Schouwen and Alejandro Romero, who are currently in the hands of the murderous butchers of the Chilean military junta. Van Schouwen, a member of the Political Commission (the leading body) of the MIR, was captured on December 14 and has been subjected to severe torture as a result of which he is reportedly being held in a military hospital. Romero, a member of the Central Committee, was arrested in November and has been condemned to death by the military government. He could be executed at any moment.

The junta has become increasingly politically isolated, both within Chile and worldwide. Faced with catastrophic price rises and pay cuts, sections of the working class have even attempted some limited protest and strike actions, despite the bloody white terror which is continuing. Sectors of the Christian Democrats, the Catholic church hierarchy and even the military are reported to be expressing dissatisfaction (some 350 officers are reportedly imprisoned for not supporting the reactionary coup). The junta is under pressure. The task, which is above all political, of preparing for a workers and peasants insurrection is on the order of the day.

At the same time there are now rumors of a deal being worked out to free a few prominent supporters of the Allende government through the intermediary of the United Nations. A *New York Times* dispatch (2 March) reports that the UN Commission on Human Rights had called on the junta to release five leading leftist prisoners, including Communist Party head Luis Corvalán. "A tacit understanding of the parties [Chile and the USSR] to the deal was that Chile would allow the imprisoned men to leave," the paper reported. We must vigorously demand the immediate release of *all* the political prisoners who are victims of the reactionary junta's repression, including Corvalán or even "constitutionalist" officers. However, such a special deal would put the lives of far-left militants such as Romero and Van Schouwen in immediate danger.

GAMMA

Inside the National Stadium following military coup last September.

Their situation is made doubly dangerous by the fact that so far no organization of the U.S. left has made a serious effort to mount protest actions or to publicize in its press the case of the MIR militants. The Communist Party has concentrated solely on Corvalán and other luminaries of the Popular Unity coalition. The Socialist Workers Party and the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA), for their part, have concentrated on publicizing the cases of Corvalán, Luis Vitale (a member of the "United Secretariat" with which the SWP has fraternal relations) and several intellectuals with the argument that "a campaign focused on these well-known figures will help dramatize the plight of the thousands of other political prisoners" (*Militant*, 5 October 1973).

ROUGE

Bautista Van Schouwen

Both the CP's sectarian refusal to defend far-left militants and the SWP/USLA opportunist "strategy" of focusing on those prisoners who are popular or likely to awaken the sympathies of bourgeois liberals ignore the thousands of class-war prisoners in Chile and open the way to precisely the type of "deal" now being rumored. It is the duty of all serious socialist militants and organizations to make a firm stand in demanding freedom for all the victims of the junta's repression, including (and for us, especially) those of the far left.

—FREE VAN SCHOUWEN AND ROMERO!

—FREE ALL VICTIMS OF THE REACTIONARY JUNTA'S REPRESSION! ■

Demonstrate/New York City

Immediate release of Van Schouwen and Romero!

Free all victims of the reactionary junta repression!

Friday, March 15

Lan-Chile Airlines–5 p.m.

545 FIFTH AVENUE FOR INFORMATION: 925-5665

Continued from page 8

Canada's NDP

with a bourgeois populist program, while the CCF, which included similar social elements, had adopted a petty-bourgeois "socialist" rhetoric and program.

Subject to the exploitation of railroad and grain elevator monopolies, in alliance with Eastern bankers, the small prairie farmers lived continually on the edge of natural and financial disaster. In the late 1920's the twin calamities of drought and depression foreclosed the mortgage: the monetary income of the prairie provinces dropped by 92 percent during 1928-32, nearly twice the drop nationally; hundreds of thousands of farmers were forced onto government relief (S.M. Lipset, *Agrarian Socialism*).

Rural populism during the early years of this century combined demands aimed at eliminating the middleman (anti-monopoly legislation controlling banks and railroads, producer cooperatives, etc.) and a program of monetary inflation (the Greenback Party, for instance) as the answer to pervasive farm debt. Under the hammer blows of the depression, these elements now separated into a right and left wing, with the more reactionary forming the "funny-money" Social Credit Party (centered in Alberta), and the more radical coalescing the CCF. For a historical moment a large section of the poorer farmers were temporarily won to socialism, at least in words. Thus the 1930 convention of the United Farmers of Canada (Saskatchewan Section) declared that: "the present economic crisis is due to inherent unsoundness in the capitalistic system which is based on private ownership of resources and capitalistic control of production and distribution and involves payment of rent, interest and profit." The 1932 convention of the United Farmers of Alberta called for "a community... in which all social means of production and distribution, including land, are socially owned" (quoted in W.D. Young, *The Anatomy of a Party: The National CCF, 1932-61*).

The Regina Manifesto

It is important to understand this background, for it is frequently assumed that the socialist phraseology of the CCF program was solely the result of labor influence. Petty-bourgeois parties, particularly nationalist ones, frequently have a "socialist" coloring in a fundamentally bourgeois program. Thus Bandaranaike's Sri Lanka Freedom Party in Ceylon, Mujibur Rahman's Awami League in Bangladesh, the Chilean Radical Party (member of the Second International) all claimed to be socialist, as does Prince Sihanouk of Cambodia, Sadat of Egypt, Boumedienne of Algeria, etc. These are basically cases of deception. However, on occasion there are splits in such parties, with the left section temporarily leaning toward support for socialism. Thus the Left Social Revolutionries in Russia supported the Bolsheviks from October 1917 until the spring of 1918; and in Chile both the Radical Party and left-Christian Democratic MAPU split during the course of the Allende government, with the left sections adopting an at least formally socialist program, without ceasing to represent a section of the petty bourgeoisie.

The CCF's program for a quarter century (1933-56), the Regina Manifesto, is an amorphous hodgepodge of pacifist, technocratic and reformist social-democratic terminology and anti-monopoly reforms. It was written by a group of Fabians (the League for Social Reconstruction) in Toronto and Montreal. Claiming, on the one hand, that "no C.C.F. Government will rest content until it has eradicated capitalism and put into operation the full programme of socialized planning," its main practical planks were "socialization of all financial machinery—banking, currency, credit and insurance" and "socialization (Dominion, Provincial or Municipal) of transportation, communications, electric power and all other industries and services essential to social planning."

For farmers, the CCF offered "security of tenure...; insurance against unavoidable crop failure;...encouragement of producers' and consumers' cooperatives; the restoration and maintenance of an equitable relationship between prices of agricultural products and those of other commodities and services [parity]; and improving the efficiency of export trade in farm products." A worker could look toward "a national labor code... insurance covering illness, accident, old age, and unemployment, freedom of association and effective participation in his industry or profession."

Looking Toward Labor

Despite the radical turn taken by ex-Progressive farmers, substantial conflict between the petty-bourgeois farmer and labor elements in the CCF were manifest. The Regina Manifesto rejected any mention of violent revolution, confiscation without compensation and working with the Communist Party, proposals which had been put forward by the more radical and predominantly labor British Columbia delegates. Moreover, Ontario and Alberta farmer delegates objected to such phrases as "the functionless owner class," for understandable reasons. The leader of the UFA told his constituents that socialization of credit was all that was needed, and the Saskatchewan section of the party issued its own manifesto in which the CCF slogan of "Production for Use and Not for Profit" was shortened by lopping off the last half (Young, *op. cit.*). In Ontario, when the provincial CCF decided to defend a persecuted Communist Party leader a couple of years later, the United Farmers pulled out of the party altogether.

The party press during this period had a strong petty-bourgeois flavor, preaching Christian virtues and bemoaning the corrupting influence of morally bankrupt capitalism. According to Young, "The CCF *Research Review*, published in Regina, attacked popsicles, processed cheese, and packaged breakfast cereal as examples of the corruption, dishonesty, and impurity of capitalist society." This is not unusual considering its farmer base and a leadership composed of preachers like Woodsworth and future Saskatchewan premier Tommy Douglas (a Baptist) and schoolteachers like M.J. Coldwell, who succeeded Woodsworth at the head of the party. But there was also an increasingly influential labor current, personified by David Lewis, national secretary of the CCF from 1936 to 1950, who has headed the NDP since its birth (in 1960). Lewis was a product of the socialism of the Montreal Jewish *Verbund*.

Simple electoral calculations forced the party leadership to orient increasingly toward labor. In the 1935 elections almost two-thirds of the CCF vote came from the more urban provinces of Ontario and British Columbia. However, there were difficulties in establishing ties to the unions. For one thing, there was no provision for affiliation of national unions (largely because of rural hostility to them). For another, the All-Canadian Congress of Labour, the left-wing federation at the time, refused to endorse the CCF because it was not unambiguously socialist:

> "The concessions made to the farmers have been ill required.... What is needed is an undiluted labour policy defined with such clarity as to leave no room for self deception or mental reservation by those who subscribe to it."
>
> —*Canadian Unionist*, March 1934 (quoted in Lewis, *op. cit.*)

Lewis tried to get a number of unions to send delegates to the 1936 convention of the party, a move which met little enthusiasm from labor and still less from some members of the CCF executive.

A turn in the CCF's reception by the unions came with the spread of the CIO unions in Canada after 1938, and particularly after they formed (with the ACCL) the Canadian Congress of Labour in 1940. Particularly the United Steelworkers, but also the United Auto Workers, the Packinghouse Workers and the Mineworkers were pro-CCF. In August 1938, the UMW District 26 affiliated in bloc. Another key development was the dramatic increase in CCF popularity in urban areas during the war, which led to the party representation in the Ontario provincial parliament jumping from 0 to 34 seats in the 1943 elections, while the Liberals went from 63 seats to 15 (L. Zakuta, *A Protest Movement Becalmed*). That same year the CCL endorsed the CCF as "the political arm of labour," and by 1944 the party claimed to have 47 affiliated union locals comprising 35,000 unionists. The CCF seemed on the verge of becoming a mass labor party.

Going Nowhere

However, the opposite occurred, and the party actually became if anything more agrarian in composition. This was partly because the CCF's 1943 electoral success was due to the popular impression that it was opposed to the war. As opposed to the Communist Party's campaigns for speed-up to support the war effort, the CCF called for "Conscription of Wealth Not Manpower." In fact, however, the CCF steadily backed away from its original antiwar position and eventually called for a Canadian expeditionary force. In any case, by the end of the war, this drawing-card was gone.

Equally important were the dynamics of the struggle between pro-CCF and pro-CP elements within the CCL. The CP strongly opposed affiliation to the CCF, using Gompers-style arguments that the unions must remain politically independent. When the move to endorse the CCF came up in 1943, many voted for it in order to vote against the CP. Subsequently, however, the federation made no effort to implement the endorsement, and growing CP strength made it impolitic to do so. By 1945 the number of affiliated locals had fallen to 16 with only 12,500 members.

Following the 1944 victory in the Saskatchewan provincial elections, the vote in that province continued around 40-44 percent of the electorate until 1956 when it began to drop. This was far higher than anywhere else, with Ontario falling to 11 percent and British Columbia down to 26 percent in the 1953 federal elections. Financially the party was very dependent on Saskatchewan, especially since its per-capita dues from affiliated union locals during the 1950's amounted to no more than $1,000 to $6,000, although during campaigns the pro-CCF unions would kick in more substantial amounts (as they do for the Democrats in the U.S.).

However, one should not overstate the extent of this shift. The CCF still pulled in more than 200,000 votes, mostly urban, in Ontario and more than 125,000 in British Columbia. And within the CCF's federalist structure, the Saskatchewan section operated semi-autonomously (as did the B.C. party) while the national leadership continued, with little success, to pursue its perspective of selling itself to the labor bureaucracy.

Toward a New Party

In order to break out of electoral stagnation the CCF leadership began pushing hard to win trade-union support again, particularly after the merger of the CCL (affiliated with the U.S. CIO) with the TLC (affiliated with the AFL) in 1956 to form the Canadian Labour Congress. There was a period of maneuvering between the different leadership sectors of the CCF and CLC for a couple of years, during which time the pro-CCF bureaucrats won out in the CLC (largely because of the numerical strength of the ex-CCL industrial unions) and those CCF forces who wanted to force the unions to affiliate to the CCF lost out to those who wanted a "new party" (largely as a result of the decline in CCF vote totals in the mid-1950's).

The April 1958 CLC convention passed a resolution calling for a "broadly-based people's political movement which embraces the CCF, the Labour Movement, farm organizations, professional people and other liberally-minded persons" (cited in Young, *op. cit.*). Organizationally the key was the merger with the unions, but politically the catchword was "liberally-minded persons." The CCF leadership, which had gradually abandoned the socialist rhetoric of the Regina Manifesto, eventually endorsed the war and in general shifted opportunistically every time the wind of public opinion changed direction, had already gotten the message. Lewis set the ball rolling in his book *A Socialist Takes Stock* in 1955 where he stated that because of the lack of freedom in "communist societies" it follows that "the democratic socialist today should continue to reject any suggestion of total nationalization...."

The attempt to reach out to "liberally-minded people" took programmatic shape with the Winnipeg Declaration in 1956 which replaced the Regina Manifesto. The new declaration called for "appropriate opportunities for private business," and where the Regina Manifesto had stated that "we aim to replace the present capitalist system... by a social order from which the domination and exploitation of one class by another will be eliminated," the Winnipeg Declaration now stated: "Private profit and corporate power must be subordinate to social planning designed to achieve equality of opportunity and the highest possible living standards for all Canadians."

A number of old-time CCFers complained that the party was moving to the right. The president of the Saskatchewan CCF bombastically proclaimed that "the trouble is that socialist parties have gone a-whoring after the Bitch Goddess. They have wanted Success, Victory, Power; forgetting that the main business of socialist parties is not to form governments but to change minds." As a matter of fact, the business of *all* parties is to defend their interests; and while revolutionary Marxists struggle to overthrow the present capitalist state and replace it with a workers republic, the day-to-day business of social democrats is to work within the parliamentary framework of the bourgeois system—in order to obtain concessions for the proletariat within the framework of "national interests." Already the 1948 convention had announced "a C.C.F. government will help and encourage private business" and social ownership would be restricted to chartered banks, transportation, basic steel, farm implements, meat packing and fertilizer, fuel and power—a program for an "anti-monopoly coalition" so dear to Stalinist and social-democratic reformists, but hardly a call for socialism.

[TO BE CONTINUED]

WORKERS VANGUARD

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Women Bureaucrats Rig CLUW Conference

The regional conferences held around the country in preparation for the founding conference of the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW) in Chicago on March 23-24 have given a clear—and ominous—indication as to what kind of organization CLUW is. Unless rank-and-file militants at the national conference take decisive action to reverse its course, CLUW will at best mislead the women workers it claims to represent and relegate itself to ineffectual pressuring of the trade-union bureaucracy and bourgeois politicians for a few crumbs, achieving next to nothing in the way of real gains for women. If the experience at some of the regional conferences is any indication, CLUW will harden into an artificial organization representing only the interests of a cynical clique of careerists who use the issue of women's oppression to their own private advantage. Rigidly controlled at the top by International union officials hoping to use women workers' felt oppression to develop a vehicle by which a few women trade unionists can maneuver up the ladder to personal success without threatening the trade-union bureaucracy, CLUW's main activity will be to funnel the restlessness of rank-and-file women workers into reformist, government-engineered dead ends.

There have been numerous indications that this is the direction things have been going. The main concern of CLUW's organizers in planning the Chicago conference, as evidenced by the undemocratic regional conference procedures and totally pre-determined limits on "permissible" topics of discussion, has been to limit or prevent participation by socialist trade-union militants, gag any opposition, prevent floor discussion of resolutions and railroad through a "statement of purpose" that will confine women workers' struggles to a few token reforms.

The December East Coast regional conference in Philadelphia, for example, allowed only half an hour of floor discussion (two minutes per speaker) and confined workshop discussion to the question of structure and the electing of regional planning coordinators. Such procedures are designed to keep the conference under rigid bureaucratic control. Structure is totally irrelevant until a programmatic basis for the formation of an organization has been determined. The purpose of organizational structure is to implement an organization's goals. But where are the democratically adopted goals of CLUW? Furthermore how can coordinators be elected on any basis other than cliquist personalism when the majority of women electing them has no idea who they are or what they stand for, as was the case in Philadelphia?

While the "statement of purpose" is being cooked up behind closed doors and yet to be made available, what is intended can be seen in the following statement adopted at the CLUW National Planning Committee meeting in Chicago on January 25-26:

> "To bring together women union members and retirees of bonafide Collective Bargaining organizations to deal with our special concerns as unionists and women in the labor force... In an inter-union framework, the Conference will consider positive action in the areas of equal pay, equal rights and equal opportunity... (more specifically)... education about women's legal rights, adequate maternity benefits and child care, equitable hiring and promotion practices, adequate minimum wage, upgrading and affirmative action, organizing the unorganized women workers, and equitable representation of women in union structures and policy making decisions."

Bureaucratic Rules of Order

The call to the national conference states that "only resolutions directly related to the January 25 statement above will be accepted"—an obvious tactic to rule out of order any resolutions that seek to expose and fight women's oppression on the basis of its causes, which lie in the fundamental nature of capitalist society.

At the trade-union women's conferences in Philadelphia and New York the introduction of resolutions was not permitted on the grounds that they would be considered at the Chicago national conference. This was a cynical maneuver by the conference leaders, however, as among the resolutions put off was one on Watergate calling on the labor movement to oust Nixon and to stage new elections, these measures to be enforced by a political general strike if necessary, in order to put forward a labor candidate against the twin parties of capital. This resolution, put forward by a trade-union supporter of the Spartacist League, went on to advocate the formation of a workers party based on the trade unions with a class-struggle program. Such a perspective is essential to the achievement of gains for women and for the trade-union movement as a whole, but if the conference is forced into the confines of the narrow January 25 statement, the leadership will certainly attempt to rule such resolutions out of order.

Furthermore, all resolutions must be submitted to a "Resolutions Committee" two weeks prior to the conference, thus prohibiting the elementary democratic procedure of allowing participants to put forth motions in response to discussion on the floor of the conference. At a planning meeting in NYC on March 4 Connie Kopelov of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers outlined the conference rules to New York women planning to attend the Chicago conference: all resolutions to the national conference will be discussed in 33 scheduled workshops *only* and brought to the plenary for vote with *no discussion*. How can the conference participants be asked to vote intelligently on resolutions if they are not permitted to hear discussion pro and

WV PHOTO

Addie Wyatt of the Meat Cutters Union, Chairman, CLUW Arrangements Committee.

con from the floor? Or is the goal simply to have the meeting rubber-stamp those resolutions which have been pre-selected by the bureaucratic leadership?

All literature must be submitted in advance for screening: someone will then decide whether it is "educational" enough to go on display. No "unauthorized" literature may be passed out. No observers will be admitted to the conference; only card-carrying union members may attend. When questioned as to whether or not male trade unionists would be permitted to attend the conference and be members of CLUW, Kopelov replied coyly, "We can't discriminate, but we can be discriminating." These female bureaucrats are no amateurs and are using every trick in the book to sew up this conference so tight that nothing will get through without their approval, and so that no one will be able to offer a class-struggle alternative to their reformist/liberal politics.

Trotskyism, Not Single-Issuism!

While the conference rules have been specifically tailored to preclude political struggle, this has not seemed to bother the organizations of the "socialist left" who have, with the exception of the Spartacist League, wholeheartedly tailed the CLUW reformists without a word of criticism. Most notable among these is the ex-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party (SWP), whose recent orientation to CLUW indicates its aspiration to become the "best organizers" of yet another reformist operation.

The SWP has been welcomed by the bureaucrats since its reformist politics actually mesh quite comfortably with those of the CLUW organizers. A supporter of preferential hiring schemes ("affirmative action"), feminist male-exclusionism, electoral lobbying strategies and scabbing during the 1968 New York teachers' strike, the SWP poses no threat to "simple trade unionism," that is, seeking to win a few piecemeal reforms without attacking the capitalist system itself. In the period of imperialist decay, this inevitably means dividing up a shrinking pie for the benefit of some sections of workers at the expense of others. So far the only discernible difference between the SWP and the bureaucrats is the former's predilection for "single-issuism," in this case in favor of focusing on the Equal Rights Amendment.

In contrast to the SWP, Spartacist League supporters have attended regional CLUW meetings in order to counterpose a class-struggle program to the fake militancy and demagogic rhetoric which prevail at these conferences. From the inception of the women's liberation movement the Spartacist League has consistently pointed out that the struggle against women's oppression can be successful only with the mobilized strength of the labor movement behind it. It ultimately requires the destruction of the capitalist system itself, as does the struggle of all workers against their exploitation by the bosses. But this struggle necessarily involves breaking the hold of the agents of the bourgeoisie within the labor movement—the reformist trade-union bureaucracy—and replacing them with revolutionary leadership. Covering for CLUW bureaucrats, as does the SWP, only propels the struggle backward. To imply otherwise, confining women's struggles to the framework of capitalism, is to betray women's aspirations for true social and economic equality.

In the era of monopoly capitalism the trade unions must struggle against the capitalist system itself, or else they will be turned into instruments of the bosses, either directly or through

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DAILY WORLD

January 19 New York Trade Union Women's Conference.

WORKERS VANGUARD 25¢

No. 41 29 March 1974

West Virginia and San Francisco:

Class Peace Breaks Down

"Only in the United States, traditionally the stormiest of labor-management battlegrounds, have wage settlements remained moderate while work time lost through strikes has dropped close to an all-time low of one day in 700. The wage explosion almost everybody has been expecting for a year is still not in sight, despite rapidly rising prices, record corporate profits and liquidation of most of the Administration's mandatory wage-price control program."

Even the bourgeoisie is amazed. The above comment, by the labor editor of the leading capitalist newspaper in the U.S. (A.H. Raskin, "Labor, the Sleeping Giant," *New York Times*, 17 February 1974), is indicative of the delight of the American ruling class with the unexpectedly low level of trade-union struggles in recent months. With an unprecedented world-wide inflation, the American working class has suffered a serious decline in real income. In addition to the economic basis for a wage explosion, there are also exceptional political conditions favoring major social struggles.

The central government is manifestly morally bankrupt, and its cynical appeals to "public interest" or "law and order" carry no credibility whatsoever. Prices of basic consumer goods like food, clothing and gasoline have become an intolerable burden for workers and their families. On top of all this—and at a time when the oil companies have reported record levels of profits—the long lines at gas stations (produced by "the oil crisis" which is almost universally regarded as a fraud) are insult added to injury. All the conditions, and more, exist for massive labor struggles.

Yet the Meany-Fitzsimmons-Woodcock bureaucracy has managed to impose an exceptional class peace. In the Watergate atmosphere, attempts to use massive police and National Guard force against striking workers would be politically suicidal (as liberals such as San Francisco's mayor Alioto well realize—see article on S.F. strikes in this issue). So the union bureaucracy, which in normal times deflects and sells out workers' struggles, has become the main agency for directly physically suppressing such struggles. A good example of this was the UAW's mammoth goon squad of rank-and-file upsurge continuously bordered on a mass political/industrial confrontation with the ruling class. The West Virginia and S.F. strikes were more an instinctive protest against the current conditions of working people in U.S. society than measured actions to obtain particular economic goals.

TIME

West Virginia miners vote in gas rationing protest.

Coal Miners' Wildcat Smashes Gas Rationing in West Virginia

Hitting on a gimmick to shorten gas pump waiting lines, West Virginia's governor Arch Moore ordered filling stations not to sell to anyone with more than a quarter tank of gas in their automobiles. When gas station owners protested against turning away customers, Moore responded with a state-of-emergency posture and threatened to replace pump attendants with National Guardsmen. But the "tough guy" governor hadn't reckoned with the men who dig coal out of the ground in his state.

Because southern West Virginia coal fields have been systematically abandoned, many miners are now forced to drive 50 to 70 miles each way commuting to the pit heads, often late at night. The quarter-tank regulation and irregular gas station hours that resulted from it made driving to the mines nerve-racking. Some miners chose to sleep in the pits as a lesser evil. Within a week after Moore's new regulation, miners in United Mine Workers' District 29, the largest in the union, began what became a 100 percent effective wildcat. The strike quickly dried up the supply of coking coal for steel mills throughout the Midwest.

The Miller leadership of the UMW, which since coming to office as "militant and democratic reformers" has

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local union officials used to check the wave of wildcats in Detroit last August.

Two events in the past month—the West Virginia coal miners' strike against gas rationing and the escalating strike of San Francisco city employees—indicate that the 1972-73 period of class peace may be ending. In both of these, the militant actions were out of proportion to the modest goals and the

LOUISVILLE COURIER-JOURNAL

Police arrest striking Brookside miners, Harlan, Kentucky.

San Francisco Hit by Strike Wave

SAN FRANCISCO, March 16—A potential general strike by the San Francisco labor movement has been sabotaged by the misleaders of the trade unions. What began as "routine" contract negotiations between the San Francisco city government and the public workers' union mushroomed into a strike movement that threatened to shut down the entire city. The question was sharply posed: will the workers' anger and so far frustrated efforts to fight back against the capitalist inflation and "shortages" offensive be held in check by the labor bureaucracy or will the workers be able to smash through this obstacle and make major gains?

The ability of the Service Employes International Union (SEIU) brass and their cronies in the San Francisco Labor Council to end the strike with a settlement which doesn't even make up for wages lost through inflation, and to defuse the widespread sentiment for a general strike only underlines the point that these fakers must be thrown out.

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State police attack strikers in San Francisco.

SAN FRANCISCO EXAMINER

Beginning of the End?

Exodus From Progressive Labor Party

The Progressive Labor Party has suffered a very serious split. Almost the entire New England membership of PL (close to a quarter of the organization) has walked out and formed a new group, the Party for Workers Power (PWP). The breakaway, allegedly triggered by long-simmering organizational disputes between the central PL leadership of Milt Rosen and the Boston PL leadership of Jared Israel, represents a severe blow to PL as a national organization. The leadership of the PWP represents the essential core of PL's recruitment from its successful entry into SDS. Thus since 1969 PL has managed to lose most of the several hundred supporters it was able to win from a deep left-right split in SDS, largely frittering away these potentially valuable cadres through reformist and liberal policies in the student movement.

It is difficult to say much about the PWP. It seems to be, at least at the outset, politically very similar to PL. The PWP's paper, *Spark*, is a parochial, New England version of *Challenge*. What is certain is that a merely regional formation like the PWP will have no stability and no future as a blurred carbon copy of PL.

"Mass Work" vs. Theory

The splitting away of the PWP is the price both PL and those who are now the PWP must pay for years of apolitical and mindless activism, for PL's Potemkin Village approach to party building, for its fake "mass work" trumpeted in phony *Challenge* articles and above all for its rejection of Marxism in favor of the most boorish ideological primitivism. The latter was key to PL's erratic evolution since it served to justify PL's cynical reformist maneuvers by abolishing the historical and theoretical content of Marxism. The split poses both to those militants who remain in PL and especially to those who have chosen to break away to form the PWP the question of political program, of the road to revolution and to the dictatorship of the proletariat.

PL had its origins as a left split from the Communist Party USA, but it was to be a left split that was unable to transcend its Stalinist origins despite the evident seriousness and subjectively revolutionary sentiments of many members. As the Revolutionary Tendency in the SWP (forerunner of the Spartacist League) was to point out:

> "But PL is quite without, indeed seems to deny the need for, a historical, theoretical or concretely internationalist outlook. Without both recognizing the need for and achieving a Trotskyist clarity about the nature of the SU [Soviet Union] and of Stalinism, no formation (above all one formed as a breakaway from Stalinism) can acquire an authentic and durable revolutionary quality."
> —"Memorandum on the 'Progressive Labor' Group," by Harper, Nelson and Robertson, 6 January 1963

Upon leaving the CP the PL group soon turned to Maoism as an ostensible alternative to the blatant reformism of the CP and its mentors in Moscow. For a time PL had the Chinese franchise and was the officially recognized Maoist party in the U.S. Yet PL was impaled upon the horns of a dilemma. It adhered to the theories of Maoism, the Chinese version of Stalin's schema for class collaboration, but at the same time had serious subjective impulses to construct a proletarian revolutionary party.

An Empirical Break with Maoism

These contradictions eventually led PL to empirically reject certain key aspects of Maoist class collaboration such as the "bloc of four classes" and the stages theory of the colonial revolution, whose true content had been revealed by Mao's policies in Indonesia, Pakistan, Cambodia and Vietnam. At this point, at about the time of the SDS split (1969), the question of Trotskyism and the need for PL to reevaluate the nature of Stalinism was sharply posed to PL by the intervention of the Spartacist League into SDS, counterposing a Trotskyist program to PL's eclecticism. PL, unable to shed its Maoist/Stalinist baggage and facing pressure on the left from the SL and on the right from the ex-New Left Maoists, spiraled into a bizarre rejection of the entire history of the communist movement.

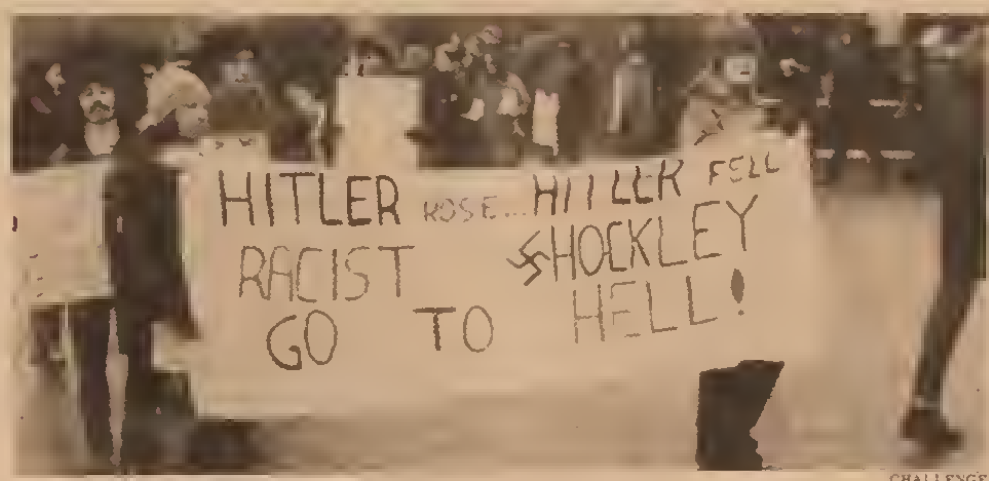
This rejection was codified in PL's last major foray into the realm of theory, "Road to Revolution III." In this document the idealist strains of the thought of Chairman Mao are carried to the point of logical absurdity. Thus PL had repudiated the "bloc of four classes" but was still faced with the question of the role of the peasantry in revolutions in the economically backward countries. PL dissolved this problem by neatly redefining the peasantry as part of the proletariat, thus leaping over Leninism back to the position of the Social Revolutionaries of tsarist Russia, contending that peasants "can be won to communist ideas." On the basis of "Road To Revolution III" it would not be inconsistent for PL to argue that "socialism" could have been achieved by the peasants of the Nile Valley three thousand years ago, if only PL had been there to sell them *Challenge* and lead them against the Pharaoh! Maintaining that the USSR is a capitalist state, PL attributed the degeneration of the Russian Revolution to nationalist ideas, emulation of capitalist techniques of production and Lenin's introduction of the New Economic Policy in 1921.

PL Rejects Lenin, Defends Stalin

PL quite rightly traced Mao's stages theory of revolution to Stalin, who borrowed it from the arsenal of Menshevism in order to serve the ends of the bureaucratic caste which had consolidated its position in the Soviet Union by politically expropriating the proletariat and destroying the Bolshevik Party as a revolutionary instrument. But in leaping over the lessons of the October Revolution PL rejected Lenin also, accepting Stalin's claim that Lenin's early mistaken formula of a revolutionary democratic dictatorship of the workers and peasants could justify political blocs with and capitulation to the bourgeoisie. Trotsky's theory of permanent revolution, which establishes that the tasks of the democratic revolution in the colonial countries can only be accomplished as a result of a victorious proletarian revolution, was dismissed by PL as yet another version of revolution by stages.

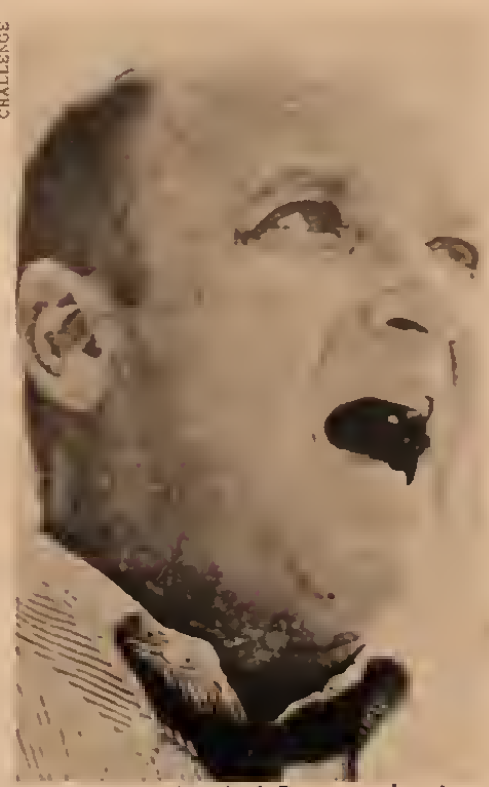
But PL could not bring itself to entirely reject Stalinism. Thus it turned for inspiration to the notorious "Third Period," with its doctrine of "social fascism," its rejection of the united-front tactic and its gangsterism. This does not prevent PLers, however, from being the most shameless opportunists when the possibility presents itself. In the guise of fighting racism, PL set up the National Committee Against Racism (CAR), which concentrates on mobilizing liberal academics against their more reactionary colleagues who currently are finding a ready market for their doctrines of social Darwinism and Caucasian racial superiority.

The recent furor over the exiled Russian author, Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn, has compelled PL to come out strongly in defense of Stalin, no doubt to the acute embarrassment of those PLers up to their necks in the liberal CAR's, since Solzhenitsyn has become the literary darling of such circles. More amusing, PL's defense of Stalin is basically identical to that of Khrushchev, who also claimed that Stalin was a good revolutionary who built socialism in the USSR but made a lot of mistakes. Yet PL maintains that Khrushchev was a capitalist roader!



PL/SDS "anti-racism" campaign.

CHALLENGE


CHALLENGE

Milt Rasen, head of Progressive Labor Party, broke with CP but not with Stalinism.

Of course the pardon which PL so willingly gives to Stalin it extends to itself. Every major line change is effortlessly brought off with a ritual mumbling about previous mistakes made with the best of intentions. After all what is really important to PL are its activities, its "mass work." When confronted with a political question the typical PLer dismisses it, asking instead, "What do you do?" The question should be turned around. Just what has PL done? Manifestly, it has ignored politics for years, engaging in the most mindless activism, trying to fool people into thinking that it is a real mass party. What has PL got to show for all this? A lot of burnt-out ex-cadres and now what appears to be a cliquist split on a regional basis.

The "Party for Workers Power"

The PWP insists that it has principled political differences with PL, but from its paper, *Spark*, it is hard to determine what they are. This is not surprising given the lack of internal democracy inside PL, which bans "factionalism" and treats minorities like police agents. One of the features of the internal life of all Stalinist parties is that factional groupings find their expression in subterranean cliques and that splits often take a cliquist expression. Unless the PWP imitates the internal regime of PL, it will soon find "a hundred flowers blooming" inside itself, as latent political differences which were suppressed inside PL erupt in a less repressive atmosphere.

Thus although the PWP may at first sight seem to be a mini-PL, the grouping may find itself to be far from homogeneous, and different sections of it may in a short time find themselves very far from their starting

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point. As of now the PWP's criticisms of PL are not substantial and have a certain ad hoc quality. According to *Spark* PL no longer fights racism in the workers movement. As proof it cites PL's failure to expose recent events in San Francisco, where, *Spark* claims, a wave of racist hysteria is being whipped up by the police and local government. Also, *Spark* accuses PL of immersing itself in the petty details of day-to-day struggles at the expense of fighting for "decent politics." (Remember the Campus Worker-Student Alliance, comrades of the PWP?) Finally, *Spark* accuses PL of mindless adventurism and deception:

> "...they prattle about super-militant actions by tiny groups of PLers and friends, with the sort of bravado that marked anti-worker nuts like the Weathermen....Their newspaper describes small, mock-militant actions as devastatingly fierce blows against the bosses. Their articles are full of swear words—'like real workers.'
>
> "The bosses could care less because this is only posturing on the part of PL leaders. In reality, these PL leaders have backed PL into an increasingly isolated corner."
>
> —*Spark*, 9 March 1974

All this must be taken with a grain of salt. PL has had a fake mass-party orientation for years. *Challenge* has always been full of "mock militancy" and "swear words." And PL has always oscillated between sub-reformist liberalism and sectarian adventurism. Adopting a more honest press policy, eliminating the "swear words" from *Challenge*, avoiding adventures and exposing every possible incident of racialist hysteria will not solve the problems of PL, and do not provide a genuine alternative to PL. Indeed, they may prove to be the prelude to pure and simple reformism. It is noteworthy that nowhere in *Spark*'s coverage of labor struggles is the demand of "30 for 40" raised—perhaps it was one of the things backing PL into an "isolated corner"? Failing to raise "30 for 40" is equally as indicative as failing to report an incident of racialist hysteria, a point that should be evident to the CAR militants of the PWP.

Marxism or Oblivion

Militants of both PL and the PWP who genuinely wish to construct a Leninist combat party, the prerequisite for a successful proletarian revolution, must seriously consider the recent split of PL in the most critical manner if they are not simply to lay the foundation for another rotting structure. PL's history must be examined from a Marxist standpoint. PL did not spring fully developed from the void, but was influenced by events in other lands and by the whole development of the Bolshevik Party, the Russian Revolution of 1917, the Communist International, their revolutionary conquests and their degeneration.

Such an examination, we are confident, will reveal that only Trotskyism can give a coherent and correct account of these events. A reborn Fourth International, the world party of proletarian revolution, based on the program of Trotskyism, is the only way out of the impasse of capitalism in the epoch of imperialist decay. ■

Perspective for Proletarian Revolution in Chile

The article "Romero and Van Schouwen Must Not Die!" in the last issue of *WV* (No. 40, 15 March) contained a formulation concerning the present situation in Chile which could be misinterpreted, with potentially serious consequences. After listing a number of factors undermining the junta's rule, the second paragraph concluded: "The task, which is above all political, of preparing for a workers and peasants insurrection is on the order of the day."

We do not wish to imply that the military regime is on the brink of collapse, nor that the task of revolutionaries is to organize an immediate insurrection. An attempt at guerrilla resistance or isolated terrorist activity in Chile at present would be futile. Rather, the task of the hour is the political rearming of the working class. The point to be stressed is that the stability of the junta is already seriously threatened, that the workers movement (though having suffered a serious defeat) has not been wiped out at the base and that the conditions are now ripe for winning large numbers of militants to the program of permanent revolution, and beginning the construction of a Trotskyist party in Chile. Foremost among these will be members of the MIR and other organizations which stood outside of and in some sense to the left of the popular-front Allende government.

In order to clarify the views of the Spartacist League on the current situation in Chile, we are reprinting below a section of the minutes of the SL Political Bureau meeting of February 12, reflecting earlier discussions:

"A reinforcement for our position turned up in the 8 February 1974 *New York Times* article, reporting that the Christian Democrats are now distancing themselves from the junta; in fact, the head of the junta, General Pinochet, is now observably distancing himself from some of the junta's deeds, saying it is important to be 'firm but not cruel.' We take this opportunity to reiterate our basic position.

"What is the character of the defeat in Chile and what are the working conclusions to be drawn by revolutionaries? It is on the one hand *real*, contrary to the statement by Angela Davis

GAMMA

General Augusto Pinochet

that there was no real defeat in Chile (because of course the CP was desperately involved in the political premises which led to the defeat). That was their initial reaction, however; they don't have that position now. It is on the other hand not a catastrophe, as many others have concluded. It is not like Germany, where fascism triumphed and *obliterated* the organizations of the workers. That was not just concentration camps for 100,000 people, but it smashed the organizations of the working class for a generation. Or Indonesia [in 1965] where hundreds of thousands of militant peasants and workers were simply killed, or the smashing of the Chinese revolution [in 1927] and the gigantic bloodbaths of Chiang Kai-shek. Nor is it qualitatively the same as the prolonged civil war in Spain, which killed around a million people and exhausted the proletariat. Those were defeats after which the proletariat was unable to raise its head for more than a generation.

"The character of the defeat in Chile, rather, is akin to that suffered by the working class in the coup d'état of the Austrian clerical fascists in 1934, where the old Social Democracy was smashed, numbers of people were killed, some concentration camps were set up, workers quarters were shelled, etc.—however an ostensibly revolutionary socialist organization of a left-centrist character was able to organize and lead the proletariat, at least until Anschluss [Hitler's annexation of Austria in 1938] (after which the best path for those who could was simply to flee). In Chile, some thousands of casualties have taken place, but the working class is intact, not atomized, although it is temporarily beaten down. The counter-revolution has one of the narrowest social bases imaginable. It seems to have no support whatsoever outside its own bonapartist apparatus, except the very top summits of the bourgeoisie and the officer corps. The Catholic Church from the beginning remained neutral and separated itself from the junta. The Christian Democrats, the other large party in the country, have given very equivocal, conditional support. The episodic mobilizations of middle-class truckers, housewives and the like immediately subsided. The government has imposed extremely heavy measures, wage reductions, severe inflation, etc. Equally important, the Stalinists and left Social Democrats have received a crushing political defeat, not by the counterrevolution, but in terms of their own programmatic claims before the masses. There is now a very severe slump and demoralization of the working class, but this is qualitatively not the same as a full-scale totalitarian holocaust.

"In Chile the possibility now exists, more intensely and better than at any time one can think of in Latin America, for the building of a Bolshevik party and a straightforward, virtually linear perspective of proletarian revolution. The working class is still there. It is seething with bitterness; it is down now, but in a few months the first economist tendrils will rise up, testing out the situation—perhaps a little strike at first. So, as an international movement, we must scan the earth for Chilean emigres and pound them on the lessons of the Chilean defeat, trying to consolidate them into some sort of emigre publication, and develop channels into the Chilean working class and socialist movement. Of course this must be done... with none of the suicidal "Pick Up the Gun" idiocy of the "United Secretariat." *Program* means knowing *where* to point the gun and *when* to pull the trigger. We must begin an underground political combat with those who led the masses to this defeat, and to crystallize Bolshevik cadres to be linked to the masses. The situation in Chile must crack, the junta is a mere stopgap, and what will happen next?

"This is by no means a solely 'objective' question. The urgent and central political task within the Chilean and international ostensibly revolutionary left is to assimilate concretely the lessons of popular frontism with or without revisionist 'structural transition to socialism' or petty-bourgeois guerrillaist rhetoric. Our international tendency is uniquely qualified programmatically to assist in such a regroupment perspective. Objectively, the stage in Chile is being set for a giant civil war, perhaps within a few years, because the underlying enthusiasm and capacity of the proletariat have not been exhausted. But without the painstaking and patient construction of a Bolshevik party by work from both without and within the country, this momentous opportunity can be let slip." ■

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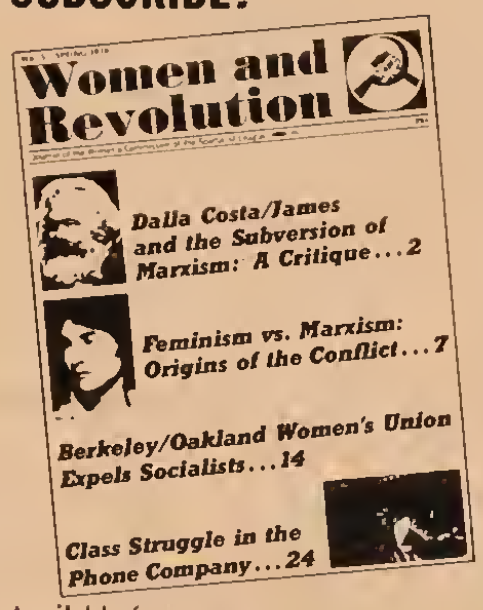

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MADISON

Militant Slate in Mahwah UAW Elections

Skyrocketing inflation and massive layoffs have put the trade-union bureaucracy, including that of the United Auto Workers, under tremendous pressure in recent months. Last November top UAW officials found it necessary to order an illegal re-vote in key plants to prevent Ford workers from turning down the contract. And when a series of wildcats over working conditions spread through Detroit-area Chrysler plants in August, the union leadership was completely isolated. It had to assemble a 1,000-man goon squad of UAW officials in order to break the Mack Avenue sitdown strike.

On the local level, these pressures were reflected in the election last spring of supposed militants (several of them backed by the United National Caucus and the Communist Party) as union leaders in important UAW plants around the country, including Tarrytown GM, Eldon Gear and Axle in Detroit, the Melrose Park, Illinois, International Harvester plant and Fremont GM on the West Coast. However, neither the International bureaucracy nor these fake-militant reformists have provided any answers to key questions such as protection against layoffs and inflation. Woodcock's "solution" has been to call for protectionist quotas on imports to protect the American auto market for U.S. capital. As for the CP, its only advice to auto workers lately has been to call on Chrysler workers "to enforce and implement" Woodcock's sellout contract!

While there is still no national opposition caucus in auto with a program of class-struggle demands, developments in a few UAW locals with elections coming up this spring show promise. At Local 906 (Mahwah, New Jersey, Ford plant) the incumbent president Joe Reilly and his running mates are standing on their "successes" in extracting a few concessions from local management—including repair of locker-room windows and speedy delivery of emergency messages from relatives.

Of the two opposition groups presenting candidates in the Mahwah elections, the heterogeneous United Action Caucus is running a full slate headed by former local president Aaron Resnick. The UAC platform is one of demagogic fake militancy, including slogans of "fight the layoffs" and "really fight job overloading." No strategy is put forward indicating how to achieve these goals, nor does the UAC offer a serious perspective for challenging the company's dictatorial powers and the record of betrayal and capitulation by the Woodcock bureaucracy of the International.

In contrast, a smaller opposition grouping, the Militant Solidarity Committee, is running three candidates for union policy bodies, emphasizing that what is needed is not just one more temporary election slate. "We must look beyond this year's power fight in Local 906," they write in a leaflet, referring to the battle between Reilly and Resnick forces, "and point to the real solution to our problems, with a clear program for struggle of the whole labor movement against the corporations and the government which backs them...."

Reilly's "Accomplishments"

President Reilly has launched his drive for re-election by turning the local's newspaper, the *Pacesetter*, into a personal campaign sheet with a lead article entitled "Accomplishments of Our Present Union Leadership Under the Direction of President Joe Reilly." The article identified "the need for cooling off the plant during the summer months" as "the most important issue" facing Local 906 and proclaimed victory with the installation of some 300 air fans and 22 water coolers!

The need for air conditioning in a plant where unbearable heat regularly leads to wildcat walkouts during the summer months is obvious. However, Mahwah workers' problems will not even begin to be solved by installing fans and water coolers. The *Pacesetter* deals only obliquely with the key questions of wages and layoffs. Limiting itself to noting some small increases in unemployment benefits under the new contract, it is understandably reluctant to mention the pitiful 3 percent wage increase negotiated by the Woodcock machine. On layoffs, an urgent problem at Mahwah where Ford is now scheduling production for every other week, every third week or every fourth week, according to its whims, Reilly offers nothing more than comforting words: "Our hopes are that the situation will not worsen." Even the company says that much!

One of the chief issues in Local 906 is the question of firings and disciplinary actions against militants as a result of walkouts last spring and summer. Reportedly more than 400 workers received some form of discipline, and the firings included the local's vice president Dave Gardner (now with the UAC). But instead of defending these union members who have been victimized by the company, Reilly supports the attacks with vicious red-baiting in his editorial column: "Many assembly plants last year faced a very serious problem stemming from alien organizations who infiltrate our ranks and wait for a serious problem to arise they can capitalize on so as to cause disruption to our jobs..." (*Pacesetter*, January 1974).

The United Action Caucus

The UAC did not arise as a rank-and-file protest against the Woodcock bureaucracy of the UAW and its pro-company policies, but rather as an electoral coalition of former and would-be bureaucrats who are seeking to install themselves in the niche now occupied by Reilly. Nonetheless, a number of UAC supporters and candidates sincerely want to see a sharp struggle against the betrayals of the present union leadership.

According to supporters of the Militant Solidarity Committee interviewed by *Workers Vanguard* last week this was reflected in the early meetings of the UAC platform committee which tentatively adopted a demand for "nationalization of the oil and automobile industries, without compensation, under workers control." However, this was dropped at a subsequent meeting as being "too socialistic"—i.e., it might lose some votes. Resnick, the UAC's presidential candidate, reportedly remarked candidly that "personality is what's important, not program."

Similarly, although a UAC planning meeting reportedly approved the demand "no government, management or court intervention in union affairs," the caucus has never come out with this position in print, perhaps because some UAC leaders are considering suing the union in the NLRB and the courts. Along with several sub-reformist points (such as "the company must sell gas to members during the energy crisis"), the UAC "action program" also includes several radical-sounding positions such as a "fight against layoffs" and a "shorter work week with no loss in pay." However, the caucus gives no answer as to *how* to fight layoffs and actually opposes a nationwide strike against auto layoffs.

International working-class solidarity is another key issue at Mahwah, where a large percentage of the workers is of foreign origin. Both the UAC and the MSC call for foreign language translations of union contracts and bulletins and for special union representatives fluent in these languages. However, the UAC presidential candidate is a long-time supporter of protectionist "Buy American" legislation. According to Resnick, unions "are to blame if they neglect to function as protectors of American labor; if they do not ask their members to look for the 'Made in Hong Kong-Japan, Germany, Italy or other foreign' labels on merchandise and refuse to buy it" (*Pacesetter*, August 1971). This kind of nationalist poison only serves to set worker against worker instead of uniting labor against the bosses.

The Militant Solidarity Committee

In contrast, the leaflets of the Militant Solidarity Committee reflect militant internationalism, calling for an end to discriminatory immigration laws and deportations and for full citizenship rights for all foreign workers. (This is a key demand in a plant where the many Haitian and Dominican workers face deportation to brutally repressive anti-labor dictatorships if they engage in militant union or political activity in the U.S.) Rejecting Resnick's narrow American nationalism, the MSC counterposes a call for internationally coordinated strike action against the "multinational" corporations such as Ford and for international unionization and wage scales to match U.S. rates. An MSC leaflet called on the UAW to back up Woodcock's verbal support for the British miners during their recent strike by sending substantial financial contributions and calling for hot-cargoing of coal to England.

According to Militant Solidarity Committee spokesmen, the MSC arose after discussions in the early meetings of the UAC. The MSC supporters say they would have been willing to call for votes for the United Action Committee slate if the latter had backed up its verbal opposition to government intervention in the labor movement by specifically rejecting use of the courts against the unions and if it had adopted the recommendations of its program committee. The MSC candidates and supporters had brought up the need for a class-struggle program in UAC meetings, including raising the nationalization, shorter workweek and union hiring hall demands. These were tentatively adopted by the planning committee.

However, the careerism of the UAC leaders soon got the upper hand, and the aspiring bureaucrats subsequently turned down the key demand for nationalization. These militants then formed the MSC in order to run an independent slate which would openly pose the key class issues facing auto workers, instead of maneuvering and ducking the issues as Reilly and Resnick are doing. (MSC supporters have subsequently been excluded from "public" UAC meetings.)

The MSC program recognizes that the interests of auto workers are irreconcilably opposed to those of their capitalist employers and that the fight against layoffs, speed-up and intolerable working conditions cannot succeed in isolation from a struggle by the whole working class for political power. The committee calls for a general strike to oust Nixon and force new elections, and for a workers party based on the unions to fight for a workers government. (The UAC, in contrast, calls only for a "fight to remove Nixon from office," ignoring the need for a working-class alternative and thereby backhandedly supporting Gerald Ford and the Democrats, just as Woodcock does!)

Other points in the MSC program are an end to all anti-red clauses and for the right of all pro-union tendencies to make their views known; for union control of hiring and upgrading, with no preferential treatment for any group; for an industry-wide strike against layoffs and a shorter workweek with no loss in pay; and for nationalization of the oil and auto companies, without compensation, under workers control.

Though the MSC is running only three candidates, Mahwah Ford workers have the opportunity to vote for representatives committed to the fight, as the MSC puts it, "to dump Woodcock and his machine and to replace them with a new, militant leadership based on a program of class struggle."■

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NYC Demo Defends MIR Leaders

MARCH 15—In response to an urgent call by the Spartacist League to publicize the case of two imprisoned leaders of the Chilean MIR, several radical organizations today jointly sponsored a demonstration at the New York office of LAN-Chile airlines around the demands "Free Van Schouwen and Romero!" and "Free All Victims of the Reactionary Junta's Repression!" The demonstration, which drew approximately 150 militants, was sponsored by an ad hoc Committee to Free Van Schouwen and Romero, and endorsed by Chileans for Democracy, Chile Solidarity Committee, North American Congress on Latin America, Puerto Rican Socialist Party, Revolutionary Communist League (Internationalist) and the Spartacist League/Revolutionary Communist Youth.

In addition to the main slogans of the demonstration, the more than 100 SL/RCY supporters on the picket line also carried placards demanding "Free Corvalán—Vitale—Van Schouwen—Romero," "No Popular Front Illusions," "For a Trotskyist Party in Chile," "For a Workers and Peasants Revolution in Chile," and "Toward the Rebirth of the Fourth International." Several SL/RCY signs emphasized the demand "No Deals to Sacrifice the Far-Left Militants in Order to Save the Chief Traitors of the Popular Front."

The last slogan referred to a rumored "deal" being worked out with the junta to obtain the release of five prominent prisoners, through the intermediary of the UN Commission on Human Rights. According to the 2 March *New York Times*, the commission has sent a cable to the head of the military government, Pinochet, as "part of a privately arranged deal in which the Soviet Union agreed to drop a resolution condemning Chile's suppression of human rights." The report continued: "A tacit understanding of the parties to the deal was that Chile would allow the imprisoned men to leave. Moscow was particularly eager to obtain the release of Luis Corvalán, the head of the Communist Party..."

In explaining the urgency of this demonstration at a planning meeting on March 11, the SL pointed out that it supported the demand of freedom for Corvalán, or for that matter for the several hundred "constitutionalist" officers reportedly imprisoned by the junta for failing to participate in the September 11 coup. But we are resolutely opposed to any "deal" which would save class traitors like Corvalán, who had prepared the way for the coup by preaching faith in the "democratic" military and "progressive" bourgeoisie, while abandoning the far-left prisoners such as Van Schouwen and Romero. This deal, if it goes through, would be used by the junta to pacify world public opinion and would immediately endanger the lives of the MIR leaders!

Further, until now no one had publicized their case in the U.S. The Chile Solidarity Committee, in which the Communist Party is active, had centered its efforts on Corvalán and other leaders of the Popular Unity coalition. The U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA), which is led by the ex-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party, highlights the cases of Corvalán, Luis Vitale (a co-thinker of the SWP) and several artists and writers who might awaken the sympathy of liberal intellectuals. But the brutally tortured Van Schouwen (member of the Political Commission of the MIR) and Romero (a MIR Central Committee member), had not been mentioned in public protests.

At the picket, in addition to the sponsoring organizations there were approximately a half dozen supporters each for the Revolutionary Socialist League, Youth Against War and Fascism and USLA. The SWP not only did not endorse the demonstration, raising no principled explanation for its sectarian abstentionism, but also failed to participate—except for a single lonely *Militant* salesman who spent his time trying to explain why his organization had taken such an anti-internationalist attitude.

In the short speeches following the spirited picketing, a representative of NACLA and the Chile Solidarity Committee emphasized the need to unite in support of the heroic struggle of the Chilean people. The RCL (Internationalist) spokesman, in turn, called for an international campaign to buy guns for the MIR, while a speaker for USLA called for a fight to free all political prisoners in Chile, noting that USLA had built this demonstration and others like it. (It is true that USLA members built the demonstration, but this was no thanks to the leadership which refused

continued on page 9

WV PHOTO

USLA Sectarian Liberalism

In refusing to join with the Spartacist League and others to endorse the demonstration to free the imprisoned MIR leaders, the USLA reconfirmed its commitment to bourgeois liberalism rather than proletarian solidarity. USLA's sectarianism in the present case is the logical culmination of a policy consciously adopted more than seven years ago by the SWP-dominated USLA. In a meeting on 21 December 1966, supporters of the Spartacist League had objected to the deliberately class-neutral "Statement of Aims" proposed by the USLA, which began "1. To aid in defending victims of political persecution and injustice in the countries of Latin America, regardless of their particular beliefs, affiliations or associations..." (*World Outlook*, 18 November 1966). The SL supporters pointed out that this policy would not in principle preclude the defense of reactionaries, citing as an example the case of several Nazis then being held in Chile.

Pointing to the need for a proletarian class axis in political defense work, the SL supporters proposed a declaration that USLA should aid "victims of rightist political persecution." When the USLA leadership objected to the proposed substitute declaration, on the grounds it might alienate liberal support, and voted down the SL wording, the SL supporters withdrew from the committee with a statement that the SL would work with USLA on particular defense cases but could not take responsibility for the committee itself.

Now this split, undertaken in 1966 on purely programmatic grounds, has found its logical culmination in concrete practice: the shameful foot-dragging of the USLA leadership in the urgent defense of Romero and Van Schouwen.

BAY AREA WAREHOUSE CONVENTION—

ILWU Dumps Blacklist Fight

OAKLAND, California—The Constitutional Convention of the Warehouse Division (Local 6) of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU), met here on March 16 after a year of mounting employer and government attacks on the union and labor generally. In addition to the rampant inflation, unemployment, scarcity, etc., which affect all U.S. workers, West Coast warehousemen are also facing direct government intervention in union affairs and a concerted campaign of blacklisting of militants for union activities.

A vigorous campaign by an ad-hoc Committee to Fight the Blacklisting had made a real impact on the ranks prior to the convention. The Committee had pointed out the similarities between employer blacklisting and the recent court intervention against the seniority system, both of which undermine the ILWU's chief achievement, the union hiring hall.

Bridges and Alioto

The Warehouse Division convention took place just one day after the settlement of a militant public employees' strike in San Francisco, a strike which had been threatened with military intervention by Governor Reagan and which almost went to the point of a city-wide general strike. Not unexpectedly the featured speaker at the convention, straight from the smoke-filled back rooms of City Hall, was none other than Joseph Alioto, Democratic mayor of San Francisco and the chief adversary of the city workers who had just been on strike. The Bridges regime in the ILWU depends heavily on its friendship with Alioto and has received from him many plums, including Bridges' seat on the S.F. Port Commission, for its services in sabotaging the fight against speed-up and job loss due to automation.

Alioto tried to come across as the world's greatest "friend of labor." He defended the right of public employees to strike, condemned Reagan's threat to call in the National Guard as "irresponsible" and claimed that his own declaration of a state of emergency had been for the protection of collective bargaining!

Alioto made the purpose of his policy clear. The situation in San Francisco had been extremely volatile. If Reagan's advice had been followed, he said, there would have been riots and blood flowing in the streets. "Reasonableness" is clearly preferable to the city's ruling class, especially when the public workers union bureaucrats are being so "reasonable," i.e., willing to settle for a 6-1/2 percent wage increase—well below the rate of inflation.

The address of Bridges to the convention should have been enough to dispel any lingering illusions in him as a "leftist." He said labor should call for a shorter workweek without specifying "no loss in wages," since that would make it harder to get, and "any union worth its salt would soon make up the difference." Thus Bridges calls on the workers to pay for unemployment by taking a massive wage cut during the worst inflation since World War I!

Bridges then launched into a sharp attack on the left—"a handful of people down below raising hell"—and a defense of the worst bureaucrats in labor, Meany and Gleason (of the East Coast longshore union, with which Bridges may soon advocate merger—on the former's terms, of course). Whatever the failings of the Gleasons and the Meanys, these men *are* the labor movement, Bridges said, and he was tired of hearing criticism of them.

Blacklist Fight at Warehouse Convention

The Committee to Fight the Blacklist distributed a packet of literature and presented two resolutions to the convention on the cases of unjustly fired union militants. The leadership has been dragging its feet on the blacklist cases since a sharp fight, as urged by the Committee, would disrupt its cozy relationship with the bosses. The bureaucracy thus permits various forms of discrimination against union members, in the process undermining the principle of union control of hiring.

In turn, supporters of the reformist Communist Party in the union, rather than joining the united-front committee to defend the blacklist victims, have ganged up with the leadership in a vicious red-baiting and race-baiting attack on the Committee.

As a consequence of this campaign inside the union against the victimized militants, two members of the Committee were denied seats at the convention, despite their election as delegates from the East Bay hiring hall, on an unconstitutional ruling from the chair which has the effect of denying representation to "red book" (second-class) members.

Included in the Committee's literature packet was a reprint of a letter which the *Dispatcher*, the International paper, had refused to print despite its supposed "open-to-the-membership" policy. It was within the required word length and had been accepted for publication, but was pulled at the last minute without explanation.

The letter pointed out that the Local's East Bay Division had endorsed the campaign against the blacklisting and mentioned the case of a fourth member who had been fired, obviously for connection with the Committee, since the original three firings around which the Committee was formed. It emphasized that fighting employer blacklisting of militants was "a vital effort in which all members, *including the officers*, should be united" (emphasis in original).

Bob Mandel, one of the blacklisted members and one of the delegates denied a seat, was allowed to speak by vote of the body. He emphasized that the unions were under attack from employers and the government on many fronts and that the blacklist was just another of the employers' many weap-

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Canada's New Democratic Party: Right-Wing Social Democracy

2/ What Policy for Revolutionary Marxists?

From the 1930's until it was transformed into the New Democratic Party in 1961, the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation attempted the difficult feat of simultaneously representing Canadian farmers, workers and liberal professionals on the basis of a social-democratic program of reforming capitalism by parliamentary means. But the interests of the working class and various sectors of the petty bourgeoisie are by no means identical. Moreover,

TWO-PART SERIES

neither among farmers nor in the labor movement was there wide support for the "socialist" rhetoric of the early CCF. Consequently none of its constituencies was ever really satisfied with this ineffectual reformist party. As a mass electoral party it was doomed to a marginal existence beside the two leading bourgeois parties, Liberals and Conservatives. (In fact, the CCF probably had the dullest history of any social-democratic party in the world. In all its life the most it ever accomplished was the introduction of state medical insurance in Saskatchewan.)

As its original mass base, the farmer population, dwindled (from about 30 percent in the 1930's to roughly 10 percent in 1960) and grew more prosperous, the marginal phenomenon of the CCF threatened to disappear completely. CCF vote totals declined more or less steadily from 1943 on while during the 1950's Diefenbaker's Progressive Conservatives began to make massive inroads into the social democrats' prairie support. As some of the top party leaders (notably David Lewis) had realized since the 1930's, either it would become a mass labor party linked to the unions or the CCF would disappear altogether.

The Canadian Congress of Labour (allied with the U.S. CIO) had once endorsed the CCF as the political arm of labor and generally supported it financially at election time, particularly in Ontario. In British Columbia, despite weaker ties to the unions, the party had a mass working-class electoral base. However, by and large the labor bureaucrats regarded the CCF as a party which generally reflected their interests but of which they were not really a part. As a delegate to the 1955 convention of the Trades and Labor Congress (affiliated to the AFL) remarked, "you can't expect school-teachers, lawyers, doctors or hardware merchants to speak for labor" (quoted in G. Horowitz, *Canadian Labour in Politics*).

Transformation of the CCF

The formation of a mass reformist workers party, to which the CCF leadership aspired, must be based on the trade unions, whether directly (as with the labor parties in Britain or Australia) or indirectly (as with the Communist and Social Democratic parties of France, Italy, Sweden or Germany). However in Canada, until the mid-1950's the constant feuding between the CCL and TLC and the latter's hard opposition to independent labor political action, made it impossible to achieve the desired link-up with the unions. Following the 1956 merger of the two federations to form the Canadian Labour Congress, this situation changed and the dominant ex-CCL bureaucrats moved to finally turn the decaying CCF into a social-democratic labor party.

This was accomplished by, on the one hand, direct affiliation of local unions with the new party and, on the other, by toning down the social-democratic rhetoric in favor of vague references to "liberally minded people" and "the democratic left." The National Committee for a New Party, a joint body set up by the CCF and CLC leaderships, worked out a program similar to the CCF's 1956 Winnipeg Declaration, except that it managed to eliminate any reference to socialism. (On the other hand, the controversial word crept back into the party's official documents at the 1963 convention of the New Democratic Party. In any case the NDP had applied for membership in the Socialist [Second] International immediately after its founding conference.)

Prime Minister Pierre Elliott Trudeau

YOUNG SOCIALIST (CANADA)

Indicating the strength of labor participation (and control) in the new party, the number of affiliated union locals shot up from little more than a handful to 679 by 1966. Ontario, which had the vast majority of affiliated unionists, had only 22 locals (with 20,000 members) tied to the CCF in 1959, but some 445 locals (with 187,000 members) affiliated to the NDP in 1966. Similarly, the vote for the new party more than doubled by 1965 (surpassing 1.3 million, compared to the CCF's 636,000 in 1953), particularly in the Industrial provinces (Ontario, British Columbia), while falling on the prairies (Horowitz, *op. cit.*). The NDP was unable to obtain the affiliation of a single provincial farmers' union.

A Social-Democratic Labor Party

Among New Leftists and Maoists it is frequently denied that the NDP is a workers party in any sense. Reference is made to the continued importance of the prairie farmers in the party (roughly one third of the total national NDP membership is in the single province of Saskatchewan). There is also the undeniable fact of the largely petty-bourgeois composition of the party's riding (electoral district) committees. Not only does the NDP's representation system give far greater weight to the riding clubs (one convention delegate per fifty members) than to affiliated unions (one delegate per thousand members), but it was explicitly designed to do so.

However, the essential question is that of who is dominant in the NDP. That is clearly the union bureaucracy together with the party apparatus which is

NEW DEMOCRAT

Stephen Lewis, right, Ontario NDP leader talks with father, Dovid, head of national NDP.

closely tied to it. The Saskatchewan party is essentially a farmers' organization not much different from the old CCF, but it operates quite autonomously from the national NDP. And in the 1958-61 CCF-CLC negotiations it was precisely the union bureaucracy which emphasized the need for a "broad people's party" which would not have the appearance of being dominated by labor. Probably the best demonstration of who rules in the NDP came with the drive to get rid of the left-reformist Waffle Caucus in 1972. The party leadership showed some hesitation because of fears of losing votes, but the determination of the union bureaucracy (concerned lest this caucus give rise to oppositions on its home turf) to crush the Waffle or drive it out rapidly became the determining factor.

But the most important reason advanced in order to deny that the New Democratic Party is a workers party is its bourgeois politics. Thus Judith Fox wrote in the 15 January 1973 *Old Mole* (now the organ of the Revolutionary Marxist Group):

> "To respond to those who say the NDP is a workers' party because of its trade union support, it must be said that there is a difference between a party of the workers and a workers' party. (Otherwise, the Democratic Party in the United States could be termed a 'workers' party' because of its union support and electoral vote among workers. . . .) ". . . In the final view, the program of the NDP stands in defence of the existing social order, and thus cannot be defined as proletarian simply on the grounds of its social base."

Fox preferred to define the NDP as simply "social-democratic" and leave its class character up in the air.

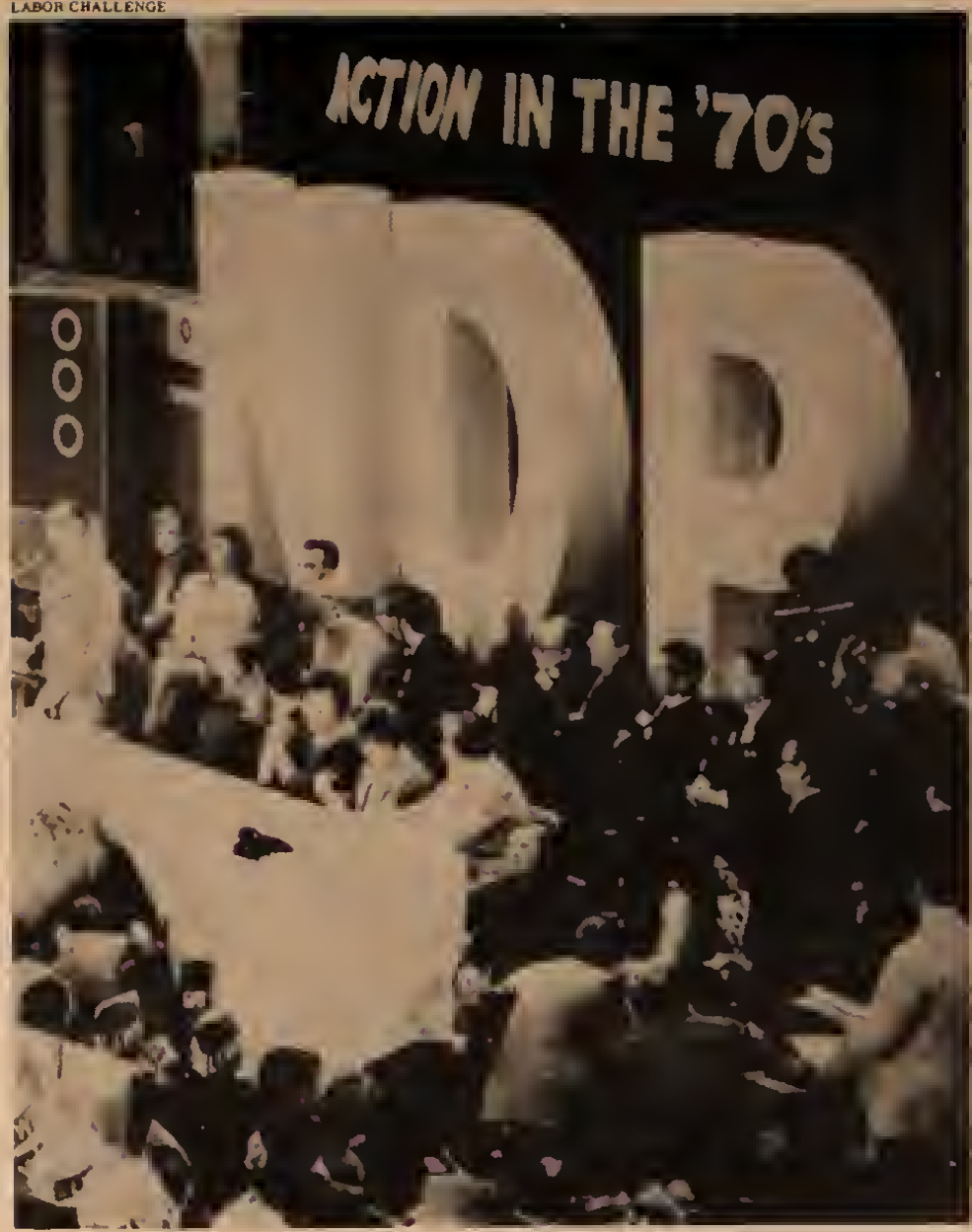
The reformist NDP certainly has bourgeois politics, just as does the British Labour Party or the French Communist Party. Reformism in the age of decaying capitalism, "when, in general, there can be no discussion of systematic social reforms and raising the masses' living standards" (Trotsky) means support for the bourgeoisie against the interests of the workers. It is in that sense that the NDP, BLP and PCF are all *bourgeois* workers parties. Not only does the NDP shy away from any mention of socialism (indicative of its position in the right wing of international social democracy), but its votes are crucial for maintaining Trudeau's minority Liberal cabinet in power.

A particularly revealing example of the NDP's bourgeois politics is the British Columbia government, which for more than a year after the 1972 New Democratic election victory maintained the old anti-labor legislation of the previous Social Credit administration. When it finally did introduce its own labor code (Bill 11), it included provisions for compulsory arbitration by a state labor board and outlawed secondary strikes (see the declaration by the B.C. Federation of Labour attacking the NDP government's labor code in *Labor Challenge*, 22 October 1973). But no matter how many anti-labor laws they pass, there is a crucial class difference between reformist labor parties such as the BLP or NDP, and the Democrats and the Liberals.

Where is the Class Line?

In an earlier article (see "Government Breaks Canadian Rail Strike," in *WV* No. 28, 14 September 1973), we characterized the NDP as "a farmer-labor party with close ties to the unions." However, since a two-class party with a bourgeois program is simply a bourgeois party, this description fails to make the necessary distinction between a bourgeois populist party such as the North Dakota Non-Partisan League and Minnesota Farmer-Labor Party in the 1920's and '30's, and the reformist social-democratic NDP (and its predecessor the CCF). The difference is that the latter is based on the independent mobilization of the working class, that is, on the unions and on a program which claims to represent the interests of the workers, while the former is a party of an alien class no matter how many labor votes it receives.

We must take account of the difference between direct representatives of the capitalist class on the one hand and the agents of the bourgeoisie within



the workers movement on the other. Obviously in a strike situation, a microcosm of the class war, it is necessary to treat cops differently from the sell-out union bureaucrats, even though both ultimately serve the interests of the bosses. Toward the cops and the bourgeois parties we adopt a policy of intransigent proletarian opposition.

But the reformist Stalinists and social democrats are in a different, contradictory position. Their policies reflect the interests of the bourgeoisie, but at the same time they sit atop the mass workers' organizations. This subjects them to pressure from below and occasionally can force them to put up a limited (and distorted) defense against attacks on the workers by the bourgeoisie. By struggling within the mass workers' organizations (the unions and reformist Stalinist and social-democratic parties) for the Marxist program of proletarian democracy, it is possible to separate the working-class base from these misleaders of labor.

Ultimately the difference comes down to this: the Democrats, Liberals, Populists (such as Perón in Argentina) and other bourgeois parties can, if necessary, destroy the unions without removing their own basis for existence. But the Canadian NDP, Willy Brandt's Social Democratic Party in Germany or the British Labour Party under Harold Wilson can talk of being "people's parties" and pass anti-labor legislation, but they cannot destroy the unions—without destroying themselves. That is why Trotskyists unconditionally defend the reformist workers parties against the bourgeoisie, why we can call for "critical support" to them in elections and can even enter them (in order to split them and extract a revolutionary section)—despite their reformist, pro-capitalist leadership and program they are part of the workers movement. To adopt the same attitude toward a bourgeois party is class treason.

Trotskyism and the CCF/NDP

The original Trotskyist nucleus in Canada was grouped around Maurice Spector, a former top leader of the Communist Party who was expelled, at the same time as James P. Cannon was booted out of the American CP in 1928, for supporting the program of the Russian Left Opposition in the Comintern. For some years they remained quite isolated, unable to rapidly expand their ranks through taking leadership of a mass struggle, as the U.S. Trotskyists benefited from their role in the 1934 Minneapolis Teamster strikes. Then around 1936 the combination of leftward motion among the working masses as a result of the depression, the existence of relatively leftist sections in the British Columbia and Toronto CCF and Trotsky's advocacy of entry into the social-democratic parties in order to congeal a revolutionary wing (the so-called "French turn") raised the question of entry into the CCF for the Canadian Trotskyists (then organized as the Workers Party).

In early 1937 the WP entered the CCF after a long and sharp internal conflict which resulted in a small majority favoring entry. Spector had already left for the U.S. where he joined A.J. Muste in opposing entry into the social democracy. Then shortly afterwards virtually the entire leadership under Jack MacDonald (which had supported entry) quit the movement. A section of the minority which had opposed entry refused to cooperate until 1938, and barely a year later the CCF top brass expelled all remaining Trotskyists. Needless to say, under these conditions, the initial entry was hardly a success.

But with the onslaught of World War II, independent organizational existence was not much more fruitful. The bourgeoisie passed repressive anti-labor legislation, the "Defense of Canada Regulations," which outlawed the Stalinist Communist Party. The first person to be jailed under this act was one of the Trotskyist leaders, and the rest of the leadership soon evaporated before the storm of war hysteria. The Socialist Workers League, which had been set up following the expulsion from the CCF, virtually ceased to exist and what remained turned once again to the CCF, this time for shelter against repression.

The founding of the Revolutionary Workers Party in 1946 did not end the orientation to the CCF, though with the reflux following the CCF's highpoint in the 1943 Ontario elections it was felt that a period of independent activity was necessary in order to assemble forces before again attempting a large-scale entry.

Entrism Sui Generis

With the continued isolation of Trotskyist forces following World War II, particularly in Europe where the reformist Communist parties were leading millions of workers, the International Secretariat of the Fourth International led by Michel Pablo capitulated to the mass reformist parties and advocated what amounted to the liquidation of the FI. The means for accomplishing this would be deep entry into the Stalinist and social-democratic parties. In contrast to Trotsky's tactic in the mid-1930's, which was aimed at breaking out a revolutionary section in a relatively short period, this would be "entrism *sui generis*" (of a unique kind) "in order to remain there for a long time banking on the great possibility of seeing these parties, placed under new conditions, develop centrist tendencies which will lead a whole stage of the radicalization of the masses..." (Pablo, "Report to the 10th Plenum of the International Executive Committee," February 1952).

This policy of abandoning the struggle for the independent Trotskyist party did not leave the Canadian section of the FI unaffected. The 1951 RWP convention document ("The CCF—Our Tasks and Perspectives") projected just such a "deep entry" as Pablo was advocating internationally. Its premise was "not the existence of left formations—nor an increase in internal democracy in the party or a wave of growth. . . ." Rather, the document argued, "the CCF under the next upsurge will embrace the class. The class will go there and nowhere else; there it will undergo the experience of reformism—and there, given the perspective of world and Canadian capitalism[,] will move forward to the revolutionary solution of its problems" (quoted in Ross Dowson, "Our Orientation to the NDP As a Strategy—And its Tactical Applications," 1970). The next year the RWP dissolved in order to enter the CCF.

The liquidationist implications of Pablo's line led to a 1952 split in the French section of the FI, and a year later to a worldwide split following the publication of the American Socialist Workers Party's "Open Letter" accusing the IS leadership of abandoning the proletarian program of Trotskyism by capitulating to the petty-bourgeois Stalinist and social-democratic bureaucracies. In Canada the majority led by Dowson after some hesitation sided with the SWP, while a minority supporting Pablo (led by Fitzgerald and McAlpine) split in early 1954, subsequently disappearing from the scene altogether. However, despite the majority's support for the SWP against Pablo, the entry into the CCF continued despite total stagnation and decline in the latter and the complete absence of any leftist forces toward which to orient. By 1955, openly liquidationist tendencies were already appearing in the Vancouver branch, which did not terminate its entry until early 1959. However, in Toronto the CCF leadership cut short this process of degeneration by summarily expelling the Trotskyists in 1955.

Pabloism Vulgaris Generis

At the time of the formation of the New Democratic Party in 1959-61, the Trotskyist groups in Toronto and Vancouver were brought together into a national League for Socialist Action (LSA) for the purpose of participating actively in the "new party" discussions. However following the 1963 convention most of the LSA cadre were expelled by the NDP leadership. Another attempt to build a left wing in the NDP was made with the formation of the Socialist Caucus in 1965. This, in turn, was liquidated two years later when the Ontario provincial NDP executive expelled 12 Caucus members. The following year a broad left-reformist caucus was formed (the Waffle) which attracted a number of ostensible Trotskyists until it left the NDP in 1972 following a determined campaign by the Ontario NDP leadership under Stephen Lewis (national NDP leader David Lewis' son) to crush it.

Dowson has since maintained that the 1952-56 entry into the CCF was not capitulatory "entrism *sui generis*" because the 1951 Canadian resolution called for a Trotskyist leadership based on the Transitional Program as the alternative to the reformist social-democratic bureaucracy led by M.J. Coldwell. Nevertheless, the entry had a long-term "non-split perspective" in the admitted absence of any significant leftward-moving forces. This perspective has continued to characterize the orientation of the LSA toward the NDP ever since 1962.

This was confirmed by Dowson himself when he wrote in his 1970 document:

> "Even today, 19 years after, the 1951 convention document's broad projection for the CCF-NDP entry remains accurate. The workers as a class are going through an NDP experience—it is only taking longer than we expected."

Another indication of the LSA's "non-split perspective" is its slogan for the NDP, "win the NDP to socialism." The LSA leadership occasionally makes orthodox-sounding statements that "of course" the NDP is a reformist, social-democratic party and that it cannot make a revolution. However, what possible meaning can "win the NDP to socialism" have except that of pressuring the present bureaucracy to the left? As if to underline the LSA's capitulation to the reformists, Dowson writes:

> "The orientation to the CCF-NDP has been the fundamental orientation of Canadian Trotskyism since World War II. In general our position in relation to the CCF-NDP labor party formation has been one of unconditional support and, but for the period of entry from 1952 to 1956, intensive fraction work with a non-split perspective."

An example of what the LSA means by its "unconditional" support for the NDP, and how little this has to do with the Leninist tactic of critical electoral support of a reformist workers party against the bourgeois parties, is its special election supplement for the 1971 Saskatchewan elections: "Saskatchewan can become a beachhead for the NDP, an example to the rest of Canada, of North America. Student-faculty control? Workers control? Women's liberation? Red power? An NDP government can mean all of these things—putting the powerful resources of the government at the disposal of the ongoing movements for social change" (*Labor Challenge*, June 1971). Rather than exposing the NDP's phony socialist pretensions *Labor Challenge* here builds illusions not only in the social democrats but in the bourgeois state as well! Such reformist rhetoric can never serve to build a communist opposition to Lewis & Co.

Furthermore, the political resolution of the April 1973 convention of the LSA explicitly states: "The intervention of revolutionary socialists in the NDP would have no purpose if it aimed only to recruit a revolutionary faction. . . ." Instead, "our aim is more ambitious—to provide a program for the broad struggle against the bureaucratic leadership, and for a socialist course, and to lead this struggle in action" (*The NDP—The Marxist View*, 1973). So rather than calling for something as "sectarian" as a revolutionary faction, meaning one based on a socialist program expressing the historical interests of the working class, the LSA prefers to win the NDP to . . . feminism and support for pacifist anti-Vietnam war movements!

The Waffle Experience

In the four years from 1968 to 1972 there arose a sizeable left opposition inside the NDP, the Waffle Caucus, which was rooted in petty-bourgeois ex-student/professional milieus and combined Canadian nationalism with left-reformist "socialist" rhetoric. At the height of the Waffle's influence, one of its top leaders, Jim Laxer, received 37 percent of the vote while running against David Lewis for head of the national NDP. The Waffle criticized the leadership of the party for its opportunist positions on Vietnam, its failure to support self-determination for Quebec and its lack of commitment to fighting for women's liberation. Its own strategic focus was on community organizing of single-industry towns threatened by the U.S. capitalists' al-

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Class Peace...

devoted itself primarily to suppressing wildcats, responded in its now standard manner. But this time its strikebreaking efforts were to no avail. At first the UMW bureaucracy denied there was a wildcat at all, claiming the miners simply couldn't drive to work. But since 15,000 miners were picketing the pit heads, this argument quickly became untenable. So the local union officials then urged the "non-existent" strikers to return to work. When persuasion failed, Jack Perry, president of District 17, the second largest in West Virginia, stated that the UMW "is not urging, it is directing miners with gas to end the strike." But then, who had gas? The miners stayed out.

Faced with the coal miners' combativity, Moore's position crumbled. The hapless governor tried a compromise whereby workers driving more than 250 miles a week would be exempted from the quarter-tank rule. When the miners refused the deal, claiming it was an attempt to split their forces, the state surrendered on March 13 and rescinded the order.

Although the gas rationing system made traveling far more difficult, the miners could have made it to work. The coal operators pointed out that clerical workers and supervisors, who drove comparable distances, showed no abnormal absenteeism. The wildcat was obviously about more than the quarter-tank rule. Opposing this absurdly discriminatory and burdensome system of gas rationing was an obvious way of legitimizing what was, in effect, a general protest against the rulers of American society.

Because the miners hit on the gas rationing system—in good part as a symbolic target, their victory does not begin to affect their real needs. It doesn't even mean that gas purchasing will be convenient, since the big refiners continue to starve the service stations in order to force up prices.

UNITED MINE WORKERS JOURNAL

Mine Workers' president Arnold Miller

Even on the issue the strike was fought over, only the nationalization of the oil monopolies and placing the distribution system under workers control would guarantee an improvement in the fuel supply situation. And in any case, the stated goals of this wildcat were completely separate from the main issues now facing the UMW, including safety standards and a shorter workweek.

While spontaneous rank-and-file revolts can sometimes generate broader and more important demands than the extremely narrow goal of the West Virginia miners' wildcat, in the last analysis that narrow goal reflects the absence of a proletarian leadership committed to a comprehensive class-struggle program. Under such a leadership, the miners' exemplary solidarity and militancy, their defiance of the UMW bureaucracy and the government, would have been put to a far greater purpose than eliminating a particularly maddening form of gas rationing.

General Strike Mood in San Francisco

The West Virginia coal miners' wildcat and the San Francisco city workers' strike show important parallels, as well as contrasts. The most important similarity is the vast disproportion between the class solidarity and militancy of these actions and their limited stated objectives. What began as an ordinary end-of-contract strike by the largest city employees' union in San Francisco (the Service Employes International Union—SEIU) rapidly became an incipient city-wide general strike. First the teachers, although they had separate negotiations with a different government body, formed a united front with the SEIU workers. SEIU picket lines were greeted with enthusiasm by the city workers; other unions' respecting the picket lines resulted in an impressive escalation: city hospitals blocked, the sewage treatment plants shut down, public transport halted. The condition of the San Francisco labor movement was like a plastic container stretched so thin that pressure at any point could rupture it, releasing tremendous pent-up energy. Even union bureaucrats were forced to admit the possibility of a general strike. Normally such a mass political strike is possible only when the workers feel threatened by a common danger. In San Francisco, however, the impulse toward a general strike also had an *offensive* character, as a show of militant class solidarity reflecting deep discontent with the system.

The West Virginia coal miners' strike was a spontaneous rank-and-file action; the San Francisco strike was effectively controlled by the bureaucracy throughout. Yet both strikes, despite tremendous militancy, ended with marginal gains, far less than could have been achieved given the bargaining strength of the workers. In West Virginia, the imbalance between the impact of the strike and the meagerness of its result reflected a lack of leadership committed to a general social program; in San Francisco, this same imbalance reflected the ability of the bureaucracy to determine objectives and terms of "victory." In their similarity and contrast, these rural coal miners' and urban city workers' strikes demonstrate that spontaneous militancy—lacking programmatic leadership—cannot win more than marginal gains for labor.

The Need for Working-Class Political Independence

Of particular significance in the San Francisco strike was the policy of "friend of labor" Mayor Alioto. Since the strike was directed against his administration, the resulting confrontation should have gone a long way toward discrediting Alioto among the working people of the Bay Area. This did not happen. Instead the liberal Democrat Alioto attempted, with some success, to deflect the hostility of the workers toward the right-wing Republican governor, Reagan. By using "friend-of-labor" demagogy ("we don't use the police as strikebreakers") and the support of union bigwigs, Alioto managed to present himself as a much lesser evil than the screaming-for-blood reactionary Reagan. Only a fundamental escalation of the San Francisco strike, which the bureaucracy effectively prevented, would have clearly demonstrated that Alioto and Reagan are indeed on the same side of the barricades.

Unionists protest in Rochester, N.Y.

DAILY WORLD

Alioto's demagogic maneuvering during the strike is a useful corrective to an over-simplified view of the effect of Watergate and the energy crisis on American politics. While the Nixon regime has certainly been discredited, bourgeois politics and politicians have not. The Watergate backlash has clearly benefited the Democratic Party electorally. Henry Jackson, with his anti-oil-monopoly posturing, has gotten at least as much political mileage out of the energy crisis as has the pro-socialist left.

There are limits to the degree to which bourgeois political forces can be discredited simply by cynicism. Workers know they need a way to affect government policy; unless and until that need is expressed through a party based on the labor movement, workers will remain tied to the liberal bourgeois politicians. And unless and until that need is expressed through support for a revolutionary leadership, committed to pursuing the class struggle through to victory and pointing the way forward with a transitional program which explicitly challenges the fundamentals of capitalist rule, working-class militancy and distrust of bourgeois politicians will be sold out, dissipated or, if need be, brutally crushed by the present bureaucratic misleaders of labor. ■

Continued from page 5

ILWU...

ons—one which in the past had been used heavily against the ILWU and its leadership. He emphasized the importance of setting up a special committee to deal with it (a proposal was contained in one of the Committee's resolutions).

Mandel was lambasted as a "new messiah," by the bureaucracy's sycophants, but the resolution was supported from many quarters. It was necessary for the leadership to call Lou Goldblatt, International Secretary-Treasurer, to the floor to oppose the resolution. Goldblatt was forced to agree with Mandel that there had always been a blacklist and that historically the union had always been "a haven for persecuted radicals." However, he claimed a new committee was unnecessary.

"All Those Opposed, Vote Aye"

Local 6 president McLain then conducted the vote in a way that will surely go down in history as a crowning achievement of bureaucratic sleight-of-hand. Up to that point all votes had been conducted normally, i.e., first those in favor and then those opposed to the resolution in question. This time, however, McLain said, "All those against say 'aye'"! Confusion reigned supreme—many members supporting the Committee's resolution voted "aye." The confused character of the vote was underlined when practically nobody responded to "all those contrary-minded vote 'nay,'" despite the evenly divided discussion which had preceded the vote. McLain breathed an audible sigh of relief and passed quickly to the next order of business.

Unless the best militants of Local 6 break with the fake leftists and the Bridges bureaucracy and organize independently into a caucus based on a class-struggle program, the growing strength of the right wing, both in the Local and nationally (e.g., Gleason) will sweep away the last vestiges of the gains of 1934—particularly union control of hiring. No reliance can be placed on "leftists" McLain, Goldblatt and Bridges to resist this onslaught—indeed, they welcome it. Their refusal to fight the blacklist, to wage a vigorous fight against the ravages of automation and to back up their verbal militancy on Vietnam, Chile, the farm workers, etc., with labor strikes and boycotts puts them in the same camp with Meany and Gleason. Only a new leadership committed to a class-struggle program can change this course. ■

Continued from page 7

Canada's NDP...

leged plans to "de-industrialize" Canada.

Waffle was a contradictory phenomenon which certainly merited the intervention of revolutionary Trotskyists in order to attract subjectively revolutionary militants to the program of proletarian internationalism. The LSA intervened in the Walfle, but with its focus on Vietnam and feminism it was unable to crystallize anything at all. Its demands were virtually indistinguishable from this "broad left wing" and in the end, when Walfle split in 1972 to form the Movement for an Independent Socialist Canada (since renamed the Waffle), it actually succeeded in winning a section of the LSA to its petty-bourgeois Canadian nationalism (the Dowson group which split in late 1973).

Probably the nadir of the LSA's policy came in the province of New Brunswick where an active LSA local had succeeded in winning the N.B. Walfle to the policy of expropriation of basic industry without compensation; the Walfle, in turn, won the N.B. NDP to this position. However, they had not won the LSA! Dowson wrote to the Fredericton local expressing that "the matter of compensation is by no means a matter of principle with revolutionary socialists," implying that the slogan should not have been raised. Another of the New Brunswick LSAers' sins included failing to win the N.B. Walfle to the demand of "repeal abortion laws now." This inability was caused by the fact that the Walfle had already adopted the demand "free abortion on demand" and reportedly "insisted on counterposing the two demands"!

But this is not the end. When the local Walfle won control of the N.B. NDP in September of 1971 (with the LSAers in a strong position; despite inexperience they twice won—and twice lost—leadership of the Walfle in this period), the national LSA leadership accused its New Brunswick leadership of attempting to split the NDP, suspended them for factional reasons (the local LSAers supported the European majority of the USec against the SWP-minority favored by the LSA national leadership) and ordered them *not* to carry out a policy of consolidating the Walfle victory! Needless to say, alter they did an about-turn and began implementing Dowson's rightist policies the LSAers were soon driven from the Walfle while the Walfle, in turn, was defeated by the NDP right wing (see [LSA] *Discussion Bulletin* No. 26, January 1973 for the sorry story).

Red Circle-RCT-RMG

While the LSA's opportunist policy toward the New Democratic Party never achieved its goal of forming or leading a "broad left wing" within the NDP, it did, however, succeed in aiding the formation of a "broad left wing" *within itself*. The leftist LSAers working with the NDP in the Toronto area came into contact with a leftward-moving New Left group inside the Waffle, the Red Circle, who were attracted by the more militant-sounding rhetoric and posturing of the European majority of the USec. In complicated maneuvering, both the Red Circle and a similar student group, the Old Mole, applied for membership in the LSA and were turned down; they thereupon fused to form the Revolutionary Marxist Group; simultaneously the leftist LSAers formed the Revolutionary Communist Tendency which in two batches walked out of the LSA to join the RMG, the last group in October 1973. Now both the RMG and the LSA are to be sympathizing sections of the USec in Canada as a result of the horse-trading of the February 1974 USec world congress.

The RCT's rejection of the LSA's rightist orientation toward the NDP represents a healthy empirical reaction to rank opportunism. The RCT document ("Our Liquidation into the Ontario Waffle: The Lessons to Learn From It," [LSA] *Discussion Bulletin*, April 1973) points to the "dual nature" of the NDP, clearly characterizing it as "a social-democratic labor party" and rejecting the LSA slogan of "win the NDP to socialism." It correctly calls for entry into reformist parties only on the basis of a struggle for the full Transitional Program, not simply for democratic demands which fail to distinguish the Trotskyists from left social democrats like the Walfle.

However, there are two important elements missing in the RCT's analysis, namely the realization that the roots of the LSA's opportunism lie in its 20-year perspective of a *strategic* orientation to the NDP on the basis of *deep entry* with a *non-split perspective*, and secondly, the linking of this false orientation to the fundamental international question of *Pabloist liquidationism*. It is only by failing to tie the LSA's opportunist policies to their programmatic and methodological roots that the RCT/RMG comrades can persist in a bloc with the USec European majority under Ernest Mandel and Pierre Frank.

It is no accident that Dowson approvingly quotes Frank's 1969 defense of "deep entry" in the 1950's ("this tactic was and proved itself to be the only one possible for a whole period") as a justification for his own liquidationist orientation to the NDP. *If you reject the one you must reject the other*, and if you reject both you are forced to deal with the question of the destruction of the Fourth International by Pabloist revisionism. Dowson stabbed New Brunswick LSAers in the back in order to avoid a split in the NDP? The RMG's friend Mandel, editor of an influential left social-democratic paper (*La Gauche*), in the middle of the 1961 Belgian general strike abandoned the call for a march on Brussels in order not to antagonize his friends in the labor bureaucracy—a betrayal which far surpasses anything the pitiful LSA is capable of!

A Revolutionary Perspective

The CCF was a petty-bourgeois social-democratic party with a strong agrarian base and some ties to the unions; the NDP is a weak labor party at the far right wing of international social democracy. Programatically both are within the framework of the workers movement—that is they claim to represent the interests of labor. Thus entry into the CCF/NDP is not, by itself, a betrayal of Trotskyist politics. But while it is principled to enter a workers party, this is not always tactically wise, and certainly not (like the LSA) over an extended 20-year period as the main focus of activity for the revolutionary vanguard. To have such a "strategic" focus on entry into a reformist party is necessarily to capitulate to reformism.

The normal activity of the Trotskyists must be to build the Leninist vanguard. Any entry into another party is a "compromise" which must be compensated by greater opportunities for revolutionary regroupment. Thus the tactic of entry must be selectively used. Thus, for instance, in the CCF the main areas of intervention for the Trotskyists were (and had to be) the leftist and largely proletarian British Columbia and urban Ontario sections. Intervention in Saskatchewan would have represented capitulation to the petty-bourgeois farmer element.

Revolutionaries must seek to split reformist, that is bourgeois, workers parties along class lines; moreover, Leon Trotsky sharply opposed the Stalinist chimera of "two-class" parties such as the Kuomintang in China or the attempt in the U.S. to build a national farmer-labor party around La Follette during the 1920's. But this does not mean that in the CCF the revolutionaries should have moved to expel all farmers and professionals or simply separate from the Saskatchewan section. In a social-democratic party, one whose ideology and ties to the labor movement situate it within the workers movement, the struggle must be directly political, to win support for the proletarian program of socialist revolution. If successful, such a fight for a communist program would effectively drive away the bourgeois elements in the party, though it could conceivably have attracted some of the more exploited sections of poor farmers. (After all, in the U.S. tenant farmers in Oklahoma and Texas, who published the *National Rip-Saw*, were a sizeable force in the left wing of the pre-World War I Socialist Party.)

Today, since the riding associations of the NDP are overwhelmingly petty-bourgeois in composition, and given the existence of a large alfiliated wing of union locals (particularly in Ontario), the intervention of revolutionaries into the NDP should be in large part through the unions. This gives the revolutionaries added social weight when it comes to sharp battles with the party bureaucracy, it makes it more difficult to expel them and it politicizes the struggle for leadership in the unions. However, intervention into the NDP through the unions is no abstract principle.

If a significant petty-bourgeois left wing such as the Waffle should develop once again (though this is unlikely for a time given the intensity of the current witchhunt in the NDP), it might be necessary for a small vanguard nucleus to concentrate forces in the riding associations in order to effectively intervene in this phenomenon and win a revolutionary core of militants from it. Or in British Columbia today, where there is a sharp battle between the NDP government and the unions but a much smaller number of affiliated unions, there may be possibilities for crystallizing a revolutionary nucleus through participation in the struggles in the riding committees.

The struggle for program, in turn, is not simply a question of ritualistically calling for socialism. Such an approach could be positively dangerous in the NDP where, due to the party's agrarian tradition and large petty-bourgeois membership, there is a not-negligible section of opinion which is "pro-socialist" but anti-working class—and sometimes actively so. Rather, revolutionaries must raise transitional demands which expose the reformists' pretenses to speak in the interests of labor while at the same time pointing unambiguously to the need for socialist revolution to bring them to fruition. In a situation where NDP parliamentarians are supporting a minority Liberal government, a crucial demand is that the NDP break all ties with the bourgeois parties. In British Columbia, a central demand is that the NDP government abolish all anti-labor legislation.

What is key in the struggle for program is that the fight not be limited to a few agitational issues around which it is possible to mobilize large numbers of militants, but that the revolutionary vanguard present its *full* program. While Leninists sharply distinguish trade-union consciousness from socialist consciousness, we do not hold a "stages theory" of consciousness whereby the masses must first be won to some kind of limited centrist program and later for socialism.

Equally importantly we must create no illusions as to the real nature of this rotten reformist party led by proven class traitors. This means rejecting such slogans as "winning the NDP to socialism." It also means not centering party activity on this arena at the present time. Because of its weak ties to the working masses, there is a good possibility that a proletarian upsurge would bypass the NDP altogether. It is important to conduct some work in the NDP in working-class centers such as Toronto and Vancouver. But in the absence of significant leftward-moving forces inside the NDP this intervention must be secondary to the main task of building an independent Trotskyist propaganda nucleus with a stable programmatic base and political identity; and to link it to the masses through the struggle to crystallize a revolutionary opposition in the unions. ■

Continued from page 5

NYC Demo Defends MIR Leaders

to endorse the picket.)

The SL speaker at the demonstration noted the encouraging turnout and stated that this was a warning to the junta. "The international working class will long remember the thousands of workers, peasants and socialist youth and intellectuals murdered by the military butchers," he proclaimed. "Their deaths will be avenged by a proletarian revolution overthrowing capitalist exploitation in Chile.... If you kill Van Schouwen and Romero, you will forever rue the day such a infamous deed was committed!"

The speaker went on to underline the SL's opposition to any "deal" which ignored far-left prisoners of the junta. "Whatever the motivations of those supporting this exchange," he noted, "what it amounts to is a hunting license to allow the murder of Van Schouwen, Romero and anyone else to the left of the Popular Unity coalition." The strategic importance of this demonstration for the SL, he stressed, lay in the fact that today thousands of Chilean peasants, workers and socialist youth can be won to the understanding that it was the popular-front policies of class collaboration of the dominant workers parties (Socialist and Communist) which led to the success of the bloody coup.

Despite more than 20,000 militants murdered by the junta's butchers, he noted, Chilean workers parties and unions have not been totally crushed but only driven underground, with much of their cadres and basic organization intact. Unlike Hitler's Germany, Chile now has a second chance for socialist revolution in the not distant future. The key to this perspective, he concluded, is an uncompromising struggle for the program of permanent revolution and the formation of a Chilean Trotskyist party as part of the struggle for the rebirth of the Fourth International! ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

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Continued from page 1

San Francisco Strike Wave...

A class-wide assault against the capitalists, their corrupt government, their high prices and wage controls, their artificial shortages of food and fuel, necessarily involves an open struggle against these bureaucratic misleaders of labor.

In the San Francisco public workers' contract negotiations which sparked the wave of walkouts earlier this month, the city began the usual bureaucratic ritual with an insulting wage offer of a 2-5 percent increase, which does not even come near the official national cost-of-living rise of 8.9 percent. The labor officialdom headed by John Crowley of the S. F. Labor Council went through the motions of threatening a strike and then postponing the deadline for 24 hours to allow the supposedly "neutral" mediator Mayor Alioto to rush in with a compromise settlement of a few pennies more. But this time things did not go according to script, apparently because the rank and file of the SEIU took the strike deadline seriously and set up picket lines anyway.

Strike Wave Escalates

Each day of the strike, which began on March 7, saw a major escalation. First the major city hospitals were blocked by pickets. Then the city's sewage treatment plants were shut down by Operating Engineers who were respecting picket lines. Next the city's public transit was shut down (Muni streetcars and buses and the BART subway). At the height of the strike the AC Transit buses going from San Francisco to the East Bay were also halted. By March 13 threats were being made to close the port and the airport. In each case the closings were effected by other unions respecting the roaming pickets of the SEIU, the major city employees' union involved in the dispute. Near the end of the strike, the ILWU dock workers and the unions of the Southern Pacific railroad, which brings commuters into San Francisco, were announcing they too would respect the picket lines.

Immediately after the SEIU went on strike it was joined by the American Federation of Teachers. The AFT contract dispute was not directly linked with the public workers' strike—teachers deal with the School Board, not with the Mayor or City Board of Supervisors, and negotiations had been set for March 18. Nevertheless, a large meeting called on short notice attracted more than 500 teachers who enthusiastically voted to strike, thereby linking up with the city workers who had just walked out. As an indication of how far the SEIU strike had gone, the local AFT president, Ballard, was forced to mention in public that his union was discussing a general strike.

The strike movement was a great embarrassment to the "liberal" S.F. labor bureaucrats. They realized they were sitting on top of a volcano of tremendous rank-and-file fury but *unorganized* fury. Thus their tactic was to gradually escalate the strike, maintaining careful control, while attempting to squeeze a few more pennies out of the city and then to return to work. However, at any point during the tense week a combination of wrong moves by the city or union bureaucracy could easily have transformed the strike into a general strike by all of S. F. labor. This possibility no doubt gave the bureaucrats nightmares and, from their vantage point, for good reason.

Bourgeois Politicos and Cops

In times of labor "peace" San Francisco labor officialdom ardently supports that Democratic Party "friend of labor" Joe Alioto. Even an SEIU leaflet (entitled "Salary Fight, 1974") notes that the bulk of the Board of Supervisors, as well as Mayor Alioto, received SEIU support in their last election campaigns! With Alioto's campaign for governor this year, the stakes are particularly high. The labor bureaucrats want to make Alioto look good, but instead they found themselves in the embarrassing position of being forced to lead a massive strike of San Francisco city workers *against* Alioto.

Alioto, for his part, has been trying very hard to look "pro-labor." When a local judge issued an injunction against the strike (growing out of a $1 billion damage suit filed by the San Francisco Chamber of Commerce) on March 12, Alioto tried to stall on the court order. "We don't use police

SAN FRANCISCO CHRONICLE

John Crowley, S.F. Labor Council

as strikebreakers," he said (*San Francisco Chronicle*, 13 March). Later, however, following a more detailed second order, Alioto instructed police to "obey" the temporary restraining order to "remove" pickets. The incumbent governor, the ultra-reactionary Ronald Reagan, was much more hard-nosed. Hoping to put Alioto on the spot, Reagan threatened to bring in the National Guard. And on March 14 State Police were used to clear away pickets from the AC Transit terminal.

Interestingly, the San Francisco Police Officers' Association, a part of the SEIU, issued a press release in which it vowed to remain "totally neutral" in the strike though legally obligated to enforce anti-strike injunctions! Militants must be wary of taking such statements seriously or of leaping to the conclusion that the SFPOA is a legitimate part of the labor movement. Certainly in periods of sharp class struggles there have been instances of police or military units vacillating or deserting. But insofar as this happens the bourgeoisie must bring in fresh units from outside the troubled area and purge and re-form the old units. In any case, this is certainly not what happened with the SFPOA, as its president, Gerald A. Crowley, made clear just how qualified was the SFPOA's "neutrality": "If called upon by the courts...San Francisco police officers, as a stronghold of peace-keeping and law enforcement, will make the required arrests. This is their public duty...." The SFPOA would have remained "neutral" just as long as the bourgeoisie did not seriously try to break the strike, at which time they would have done their job as the paid strikebreakers for the capitalist class. The cops must be expelled from the SEIU!

Inter-Bureaucratic Disputes

Another aspect of the strike was the rivalry of the SEIU with the Teamsters. Bourgeois commentators seized upon this to explain the strike as simply a power play in which the SEIU was trying to get the franchise for city workers. No doubt these conflicts are present, but they are insufficient to explain why the bureaucrats went so far in this strike. Instead it appears that there was a powerful revolt developing inside the SEIU:

> "The seeds of distrust planted by the rival unions have made the rank-and-file workers, particularly those with leftist political bent, wary of a close alliance between union leaders and Mayor Joseph Alioto. This has clearly affected—and prolonged—the current dispute.
>
> "The wildcat start to the strike last Thursday was one manifestation of this. The workers wouldn't wait for a 24-hour delay agreed to by Labor Council secretary John F. Crowley.
>
> "The strikers also have insisted on a large rank-and-file negotiating committee, which must be consulted regularly by the official team headed by Crowley."
>
> —*San Francisco Chronicle*, 14 March

While the inter-bureaucratic rivalry does not explain the scope of the strike movement, it certainly does reveal the utter bankruptcy of the Teamsters' union (representing about 4,000 city workers) leadership. During the height of the strike Rudy Tham, secretary of Teamsters Joint Council 7, issued a statement demanding that whatever was agreed to by the city and the SEIU should be submitted to a referendum vote, "because only 1,000 members of some 8,000 of the Service Employes International Union voted for a strike" (*San Francisco Examiner*, 13 March). Tham went on to criticize "the small strike committee" of the SEIU officials who "are tying up The City and causing so much misery to helpless people in hospitals." He said he did not consider the SEIU true unionists and said the city "is in danger of going broke." Finally he noted that his own union, Local 856, managed to avert a strike on March 12 at the San Francisco, Oakland and San Jose airports by ratifying a three-year contract with car rental companies! Tham and the Teamsters will apparently go to any lengths to prove their total loyalty to Alioto and the capitalists!

But no less loyal and no less bankrupt are the SEIU bureaucrats who sold out the strike and eagerly let Alioto off the hook. The striking AFT has been left to settle its contract on its own. The San Francisco strike began as an economic strike but quickly escalated into a political confrontation with the capitalist class. Faced with the possibility that they would be forced into leading a working-class battle with the bourgeois state, the labor "leaders" quickly backed down, settling for a wage package less than two thirds that which they originally demanded.

Betrayals such as these are, of

Teamsters' Rudy Tham

SAN FRANCISCO CHRONICLE

course, inevitable given the nature of the labor bureaucracy, the agents of the capitalists in the workers movement. Clearly, the problem in the recent Bay Area labor upsurge was not that the masses were unwilling or unready to fight! Rather, they had no leadership whose commitment to pursue the class struggle to a decisive showdown would have enabled it to win the strikers' just demands. What was necessary was precisely a revolutionary leadership of the workers movement prepared to transform a militant contract dispute into a political city-wide general strike. However, the performance of much of the supposedly "revolutionary" left during the recent Bay Area strike wave was not noticeably better than that of the bureaucrats.

For its part, the ex-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party has developed to a fine art the tactic of tailing after the labor fakers by simple and uncritical enthusing over every strike. The SWP's shameless apologies for Chavez' liquidation of the farm workers' strike last fall is a typical example. In this case, after describing the rank-and-file militancy of the public employees and the treachery of the "pro-labor" mayor, a 22 March *Militant* account of the S. F. strikes does not even criticize the union leaders for their support to the capitalist politicians (or for anything else, either). It concludes by remarking that "no matter what happens, this strike ... marks the emergence of a new force in the labor movement in San Francisco—the public employees...." Yet for the workers, though apparently not for the SWP, it is precisely what happens in the strike that counts.

The Spartacist League, in contrast, called in leaflets during the strike wave for a unified political general strike:

> "Trade-union militants must fight for immediate meetings of their union locals to discuss the situation and take action, building for a city-wide mass labor meeting to launch the general strike and extend it all over the Bay Area. The demands of the strike must be:
>
> "1. For a big pay raise to catch up with inflation! Tie wages to the cost of living! For a shorter workweek with no loss in pay to make more jobs!
>
> "2. Open the books of the city! Open negotiations! No secret talks!
>
> "3. Break with Alioto! Organized labor must break with the Republican and Democratic parties and prepare to run

SAN FRANCISCO EXAMINER

San Francisco mayor Joseph Alioto posed as "friend of labor" during recent strike then ordered cops to remove pickets.

> its own candidates (for governor and mayoral offices) based on the trade unions, not the corporations and business interests."
>
> —"For a Political General Strike! For Full Labor Solidarity!" 13 March

Furthermore, the answer is not, as Progressive Labor assumes, to simply be more militant in fighting for economic demands (promising, just like any out-bureaucrat, "to do the same thing, only better"). Nor is it, as the SWP announces, to elect real labor candidates (whatever that means) to city office after which supposedly all the strike demands will be granted. The entire history of the workers movement amply proves that simple trade-union militancy is not enough and that the capitalist state cannot be taken over and run in the interests of working people. It must be smashed and replaced by a workers state. The road forward to this goal lies through fighting to raise the independent political consciousness of the workers and through the increasing unification of the struggles of the masses into an ever broader and more direct assault on the capitalist system. ■

RCY FORUM

IMPEACHMENT IS NOT ENOUGH!

Saturday March 30

Speaker: Paul Schanoes
NY RCY Executive Committee

Washington Square Church
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NEW YORK

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Immigration and the Class Struggle

game" in which unemployment and high profits are automatically accepted as natural....

In fact, as long as the labor movement *accepts* unemployment it will remain divided against itself. Instead of fighting for more jobs it will fight against those it sees as threatening the jobs it has. And the bosses will use this fight quite skillfully against the working class, breaking strikes and pushing down wages. The solution to the problems of *both* U.S.-born and immigrant workers lies in overthrowing the system which creates unemployment and perpetuates poverty.

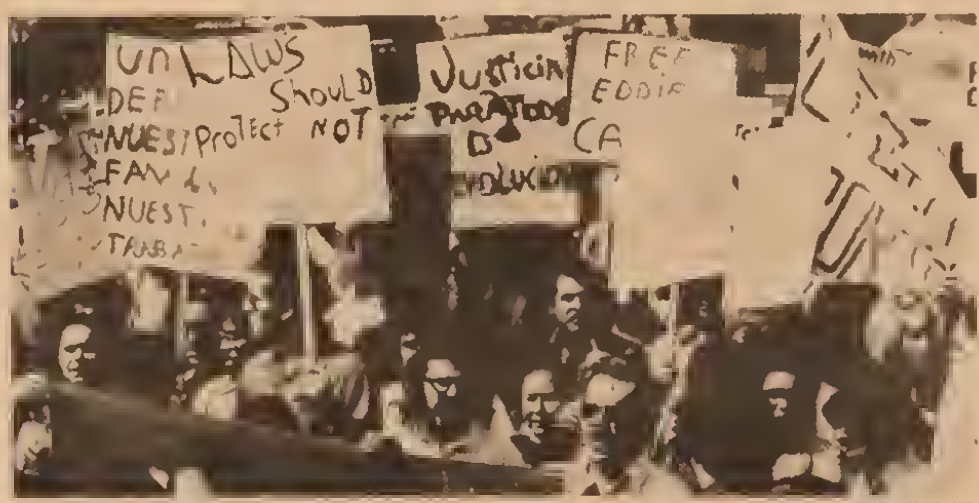
Because this course has not been followed there have been destructive "anti-alien" movements in the American working class since before the turn of the century. First it was the Chinese. In fact, the Mexican-U.S. border was first actively patrolled to keep out "illegal" Chinese workers. The employers have always gained. "Anti-alien" sentiment has gone along well with anti-communism. Most notable were the Palmer Raids of 1920 when thousands of alien radicals were deported, hurting the struggle of the working class quite badly.

To create this united struggle we must put forward a program which speaks to the needs of both the present organized labor movement and the future organized labor movement, including undocumented workers. Central to this is the fight for jobs for all, for a "sliding scale of hours and wages," (like thirty hours work for forty hours pay with no loss in pay and a full cost of living guarantee). If companies say they cannot pay decent wages, we say, "Open the books and show us." If it turns out that it's true, our answer is not to accept rotten wages, but to call for the company to be nationalized, under workers control....

If we want to end all restrictive immigration laws and practices we have to fight for a program like this....

UPI

Farm Workers pickets arrested during grape strike last summer.



THE MILITANT

Anti-deportation protest in Los Angeles.

Stages of Consciousness?

Many so-called revolutionaries, most notably the various Maoist groups like the October League, Revolutionary Union, and the Communist League, say that of course we must fight against capitalism some day, but right now if we tell workers that, it will "turn them off." They hope to trick workers into struggling, one step at a time. As Marxists we do not think that consciousness is changed that way, in stages. We believe the working class is smart enough to be told the truth, and we think that is what revolutionaries should do. The working class need not be fooled into action by pretending that there are easy solutions, which are in fact phony. This only leads to demoralization and cynicism, not to the "next stage."

The program we put forward for any struggle should contain the solution to the problem itself, in a set of demands which *can* lead the working class to the fight for socialism. The present program of CASA does not do this, although there are some elements of this approach. It is not the same thing to put forward a series of democratic demands and then to add parenthetically that it will take socialism to win them. Instead of this approach, which has one "minimum" program for today, and one "maximum" program for sometime in the future, we need a program of demands which take the struggle beyond the limits of this system, like the sort of demands which we have outlined above. We call these demands "transitional" demands.

The WFTU

The CASA program correctly calls for more international collaboration. But it sees a main avenue for this through the World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU). This Federation, which represents the narrow economic interests of the Soviet Union and Eastern European countries rather than that of the international working class, is a very uncertain ally. In the most notable recent example, the Polish government actually refused to stop shipping coal to Britain while the miners' strike was still on. Poland and the other deformed workers' states will do anything, including scabbing, if it is in their short-term economic interests. That is a rather unstable basis for international solidarity.

Another international dead end is a focus on the United Nations, an approach adopted by the Puerto Rican Socialist Party (PSP) and heartily endorsed by the Communist Party. Not only has the PSP concentrated on the U.N., trying to get it to declare Puerto Rico independent, but it has worked to strengthen illusions about the United Nations and the reactionary role of "third world" member nations of the character of Ethiopia and Iran. This is not surprising, since under the thin veneer of "Marxist-Leninist" rhetoric the PSP hides a thoroughly opportunist core, with a lot of emphasis on bourgeois nationalism. That the PSP does not have a class orientation is most horribly clear in the 1969 "Political Thesis" of the Movimiento Pro Independencia, the PSP's immediate predecessor. This contains the most blatant anti-class nationalism, not to mention male chauvinism, in the assertion that "After the family, nationality is what gives man a sense of belonging."

Break With the Parties of Capitalism

Because the problems of immigration are so completely the problems of capitalism, any movement against repressive immigration laws and practices which accepts the limits imposed by capitalism will have to sell out at some point. It is therefore absolutely necessary that such a movement break completely with the two parties of capitalism as well.

This is something that the United Farm Workers Union leadership, for example, refuses to do. Instead they are increasingly tied to liberal Democrats. Accepting the limits set by these "friends of labor," the Farm Workers not surprisingly have taken reactionary positions in the past, such as support for the Rodino and Dixon Arnett laws. If you do not see capitalism as the enemy, it is very easy to end up blaming other parts of the working class. If you accept that your share of the pie is limited, you will fight over the crumbs....

Simply denouncing the Democratic Party is not enough. The Communist Party suddenly discovered in December 1972 that it had been wrong for "some 25 years" in its electoral policy of supporting liberal Democrats.... But despite this remarkable discovery, and despite promises about "independence," the CP has fallen for every so-called "progressive" who has come down the pike, despite their membership in one of the capitalists' parties....

The LRUP is Not the Answer

It is not enough to provide an alternative to the capitalist parties. There must be an alternative to capitalist *politics*. This must be a working class political program. In capitalist society it is not possible to find a middle ground between the two major classes, the class which owns and the class which works. It is not possible to "transcend.... class and economic factions" as "El Plan Espiritual de Aztlan" claims. Lenin put it this way:

> "...The only choice is—either bourgeois or socialist ideology. There is no middle course (for mankind has not created a 'third' ideology and, moreover, in a society torn by class antagonisms there can never be a non-class or an above-class ideology). Hence to belittle the socialist ideology in any way, to turn aside from it in the slightest degree means to strengthen bourgeois ideology."
>
> —*What Is To Be Done?*

Thus the LRUP [La Raza Unida Party] has broken empirically *from* the Democratic and Republican Parties but it has not broken *toward* a working class alternative. This requires a program to fight all capitalist exploitation and oppression, one which can lead toward the rule of the working class. Instead of building working-class unity, the LRUP divides the working class, and serves up a utopian program of "community control" of impoverished communities, which cannot possibly answer the problems of mexicanos.

Because the LRUP is not clearly counterposed *politically* to the Democratic Party it is logical that LRUP will slide into endorsing Democratic candidates. This happened most notably in Texas last year, when Raza Unida Party women at the Texas Women's Political Caucus convention supported the endorsement of "Sissy" Farenthold for governor in the Democratic primary, in return for the endorsement of the RUP candidate for lieutenant governor, Alma Canales.

Most left groups have uncritically endorsed the LRUP as it pursues its dead end. The Socialist Workers Party, formerly a revolutionary Trotskyist organization, shows how low it has sunk when it does not stop the uninterrupted flow of paternalistic praise even when the LRUP endorses Democrats. It waits for them to "learn from the experience." That its attitude toward the LRUP reeks with paternalism is shown by the fact that it could criticize a proposed "King-Spock" candidacy in 1968, supported primarily by whites, because "despite its 'independence' from the two major capitalist parties, it does not represent a breach with capitalist politics," but quickly forget this correct criticism when there was a group it wanted to tail.

In place of La Raza Unida Party, the Spartacist League proposes a fight inside the labor movement for a revolutionary leadership through the vehicle of caucuses based on a class-struggle program. These caucuses will fight to dump the present sellout labor leadership, basing themselves on a program including such demands as, "end racial and sexual discrimination," "organize the unorganized" and "oppose all repressive immigration laws." Instead of building an organization for "community control" under a bosses government we should be fighting to build a *workers party based on the trade unions* which will fight for what workers —Chicano, white and black—need; above all a workers government. This party will fight for the special demands of Chicanos as well, such as decent housing and bilingual education....

To fight for this strategy a revolutionary, multi-racial party is necessary, one which will not hesitate to tell the truth, one which will apply the lessons taught by past struggles. If there had been such a revolutionary, Trotskyist party in Chile the bloodbath need not have occurred, for such a party would have known that Allende's "peaceful road to socialism" and this alliance with the ruling class in the Unidad Popular were bound to lead to a terrible defeat. The Spartacist League is committed to building such a party, and a revolutionary International Party to lead in the fight to end exploitation and oppression. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

Embarrassed by Chile CP Betrayals

Stalinists Expel SL from Los Angeles Chicano Conference

LOS ANGELES, March 10—In a carefully executed maneuver, the leadership of the Communist Party-supported Chicano organization CASA today expelled supporters of the Spartacist League from the Conference for Fair Immigration Laws and Practices in East Los Angeles. In a tense confrontation, the Stalinists mobilized the leaders of the National Committee to Free Los Tres to act as goons for the expulsions. This desperate move to cut off political discussion was caused by the CP's acute difficulties at the conference in defending the role the Stalinists had played in preparing the way for the bloody Chilean coup last September by teaching the masses to place their faith in the "democratic" military and "progressive" bourgeois parties.

Bert Corona, chairman of the conference and founder of CASA (General Brotherhood of Workers), initiated the evictions while himself trying to appear quite neutral. At the beginning of the Sunday plenary session, Corona stepped to the mike to announce that "before we go on there is a delegation here that some of the other delegations would like to deal with." He then introduced Soledad Alatorre, treasurer of CASA (a member of *his* delegation), to launch the attack.

Alatorre, using the time-worn line of "we must get rid of these Trotskyite disrupters who are trying to destroy the unity of our movement," came up with the most unlikely pretext (no doubt reflecting "the deepest interests of the Chicano people") since the CP-dominated true-blue, all-American Progressive Party dropped the demand for a greater Macedonia in the middle of its 1948 conference as a result of Stalin's break with Tito: the problem, it seems, was the SL's "insults" to "socialist Poland"! She quoted a passage from the SL position paper on "Immigration and the Class Struggle" (see excerpts printed elsewhere in this issue), which was distributed at the conference, criticizing CASA's support for the Stalinist-dominated World Federation of Trade Unions. The SL paper pointed out that during the recent British miners' strike the Polish Stalinists continued to ship coal to England—a fine example of what the CP's "working-class solidarity" amounts to.

Following Alatorre's demagogic diatribe against "enemies of the USSR," SL supporters were forced from the room with the aid of a goon squad and rhythmic chants of "Fuera" ("Out") initiated by the CASA leaders. During the eviction proceedings supporters of both the International Socialists and Socialist Workers Party sat by passively. After all, they had caused no "disruption" since neither of these groups had at all raised its politics during the conference! Later, the IS hypocritically deplored the expulsion and stated that it would publish a protest letter in its newspaper.

The issue of Poland was obviously a smokescreen raised to cover the real source of the confrontation—the SL's exposure of CASA's worse-than-reformist approach toward Chilean political prisoners. One of the main aims of the conference was gaining signatories to a petition addressed to the United Nations which did not even demand the release of Chilean prisoners of the junta, only calling for inspections, supervision, etc. The SL, in contrast, called in a resolution for the conference to demand that the U.S. admit all political refugees from the junta's repression, while criticizing the Stalinists' policies of promoting illusions in a "peaceful road to socialism" in alliance with capitalist parties. When this resolution was raised in the Saturday workshop on Chilean refugees, the discussion produced a sharp polarization and a lively debate which attracted much interest (the workshop doubled in size during the course of the discussion).

CASA no doubt sought to avoid any further discussion and to keep the SL's resolution off the floor of the plenary since there is reportedly trouble within the ranks of the Communist Party over this question, as well as differences between CASA and Los Tres. Only last December, Rodolfo Sanchez, one of the Los Tres defendants, publicly explained at a Militant Labor Forum that Allende had "done wrong" by allying with capitalist parties.

The Spartacist League "disruption" also included the raising of class-struggle politics in opposition to CASA's reformist answers to the problems of undocumented foreign workers. Corona is a slick maneuverer and careful to cover his reformist tracks with fake working-class rhetoric. When pressed he will even admit that the problems of immigrant workers can really only be solved through united working-class action and socialism. But that is all for later—"we must start where the people are at now." Thus CASA turns instead to alliances with liberals and trade-union bureaucrats, urges letters to congressmen to vote against the Rodino Bill and takes a social-worker approach toward the "illegal" aliens.

Bert Corona MILITANT

The other side of this reformist reliance on the liberals and the bureaucracy is, of course, violence and undemocratic exclusion directed against the revolutionary Marxists who expose the Stalinist betrayals. The SL position paper pointed out the inadequacies of "community organizing"; the need for a political (not just organizational) break with the capitalist parties, for the formation of a workers party based on the trade unions, to fight for a workers government; and the need for a class-struggle opposition in the unions which would call for organizing the unorganized, opposition to all discriminatory immigration laws, a shorter workweek with no loss in pay in order to provide employment for all and expropriation of industry, without compensation, under workers control. The logical consequence of the reformists' alliances with the capitalists, the paper concluded, was the bloodbath in Chile, which could have been averted only by the independent revolutionary mobilization of the workers. It was to prevent discussion of such a class-struggle program that the Stalinists were forced to resort to their contemptible tactic of expelling the communists. ■

Immigration and the Class Struggle

excerpts from Los Angeles WORKERS VANGUARD Supplement, March 1974

...Because the capitalist economic system is the cause of repressive immigration laws and practices, it is the capitalist economic system which must be fought. Capitalism's greed for cheap labor pulls undocumented workers over the border into the United States. Capitalism's inability to develop the Mexican economy pushes them. Inevitably an economic crunch comes, a "recession" or depression. These workers aren't needed for the time being, and the capitalist state, in the form of *la migra* [U.S. Immigration Service], tries to drive them out.

For decades Mexican labor has been desired by U.S. capitalists. But every depression or recession has seen an attack like the one we are now witnessing. In the 1930's, during the Great Depression, the first mass deportations were launched. But when World War II came the U.S. capitalists were hungry for Mexican labor, and contracted for 20th century slaves in the form of *braceros* [contract laborers]. After World War II, and while the Korean War was ebbing, the greatest attack on undocumented workers was launched, the so-called "Operation Wetback." In the slump year of 1954 over 1,000,000 workers were deported to Mexico, most without any hearing.

Even while the bosses are deporting "mojados" ["wetbacks"] they are busy trying to arrange for slave labor *braceros*. This was true in 1954 and it is true now....

NEW YORK TIMES

U.S. border patrol in action.

Fighting to Win

You cannot fight capitalism by trying to arouse powerless "communities" to fight on their own. You cannot fight capitalism by appealing to *la raza* on the basis of a common cultural identity, ignoring class, further separating mexicano workers from anglo workers. You cannot fight capitalism by individual acts of terrorism which leave the economic system untouched. The key to the fight against capitalism, and the fight for the rights of undocumented workers, lies with the working class. It alone has the power *and* the interests to carry the struggle through to the end.

It is in the interests of the working class to back the fight of undocumented workers for their rights, because undocumented workers will otherwise continue to be used as a weapon against the rest of the working class. Those in desperate, illegal situations are more difficult to organize and must accept lower wages. Unfortunately, labor does not always see its real interests so clearly. It is led today by bureaucrats who not only accept, but actively enforce, the capitalist "rules of the

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WORKERS VANGUARD 25¢

No. 42 12 April 1974

Kissinger/Brezhnev Bury Détente in Moscow

Nixon Beefs Up Pentagon War Arsenal

U.S. Minuteman missile. U.S. AIR FORCE

Commenting on the current state of the U.S.-USSR détente *The Wall Street Journal* sarcastically observed last month: "Except that we're not hurling warheads at each other, which was also a blessed condition of the Cold War, it does seem that detente these days seems to mean Mr. Brezhnev won't mention Watergate and Mr. Nixon won't mention the Gulag Archipelago." (*Wall Street Journal*, 19 March).

Scarcely nine months ago Nixon and Brezhnev were clinking champagne glasses in Washington, toasting the latest Soviet-American accord—an agreement that each side would try to avert military confrontations that could lead to nuclear war between the U.S. and USSR or any other country. This agreement, like most of the "atmosphere of détente" has evaporated, a casualty of the recent Near East War. The crowning blow to this accord was Nixon's order for a world-wide alert of U.S. military units in October, allegedly called in response to an imminent Soviet intervention on behalf of the beleaguered Egyptian armies.

The latest rebuff to the "peaceful coexistence" illusions of the Stalinists, revealing the fundamentally phony nature of the Nixon/Brezhnev détente, is to be found in the military policies that the chief architect of détente, Richard M. Nixon, is currently advocating to the U.S. bourgeoisie. Nixon's proposals, including a record $85.8 billion defense budget (plus $6.8 billion for long-term Pentagon contracts, plus another $6.2 billion to supplement the current defense budget and pay for the replacement of $2.2 billion in weapons and munitions sent to Israel during the recent Near East War), starkly reveal the undying hostility of U.S. imperialism to the Soviet degenerated workers state, Kissinger or no Kissinger.

SALT

In effect, Nixon's latest proposals amount to tearing up another scrap of paper that was supposed to be a historic monument to détente and peaceful coexistence, the 1972 Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty (SALT 1). SALT 1 was an agreement between the U.S. and the USSR to set a five-year limit on the number of offensive missiles each side could have. The U.S. was to have a ceiling of 1,054 land-based intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBMs) and 44 missile-launching submarines with 710 submarine-launched ballistic missiles (SLBMs). The USSR was to have 1,618 ICBMs and 62 submarines with 950 SLBMs.

Brezhnev and Nixon in Washington, June 1973. UPI

The U.S. bourgeoisie was willing to agree to this position of seeming numerical inferiority, despite the fact that the payloads of the Soviet missiles were up to 120 percent greater than those of the Americans, because SALT 1 set no restrictions on the number of warheads each rocket could carry. By 1975 the U.S. expected half of its missiles to be tipped with very high-accuracy multiple independently targeted warheads (MIRVs) that can hit widely separated, pre-plotted targets. The Russians had no MIRV capacity in 1972, and Pentagon planners expected it would take five years for the USSR to develop such a capability. Consequently the U.S. missile force, while numerically smaller than the Soviet force, can deliver 7,100 warheads to the Soviet Union's 3,300.

Moreover, SALT I placed no limits on long-range bombers (the U.S. has 440, the USSR has only 140), medium-range missiles and "tactical" nuclear weapons. American planes based in West Europe and on aircraft carriers are capable of striking deep into the Soviet Union, while the Russians lack an analogous capacity. Thus the effective nuclear advantage of the U.S. is considerably greater than the above-stated relation of 7,100 to 2,300.

This hegemony in nuclear weaponry the Pentagon prefers to term "a rough balance" of nuclear forces. But the successful development of MIRV capacity by the USSR in August of last year has unexpectedly upset this nuclear détente. If the more numerous Soviet missiles with their greater throw-weight were equipped with MIRVs, the present American advantage could possibly be erased.

The Great Kissinger Flops in Moscow

The response of the Nixon government to this new Soviet "threat" has been very quick. Kissinger was sent to Moscow to discuss a new SALT treaty. There he magnanimously offered to halt further deployment of MIRV missles, conditional on the Soviet Union's doing the same. If this could not be accomplished, Kissinger reportedly insisted that a new accord equalize the total throw-weight of MIRV missiles, while not limiting the payloads of long-range bombers or single-warhead missiles. Kissinger also called for equalizing the total number of strategic missiles and bombers on each side.

Clearly this proposal has as many loopholes in it as a stock deal concocted by Robert Vesco. So it was not surprising that Kissinger was sent home empty-handed. These SALT negotiations are simply an elaborate charade in the most elegant tradition of bourgeois hypocrisy and diplomatic horse-trading. It is a measure both of the cynicism and stupidity of the Kremlin misleaders that they pretend that this farce has anything at all to

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Chile After the Coup

Last September 11 the Chilean armed forces toppled President Salvador Allende's "Popular Unity" (UP) coalition government in order, they claimed, to "avoid violence and lead the Chilean people along the road to peace." The junta announced its aim as "the liberation of the country from the Marxist yoke"; however, "the workers of Chile may be certain that the economic and social benefits they have achieved to the present will not suffer fundamental change" (*New York Times*, 12 September 1973). But while piously proclaiming that there would be "no victors and no vanquished," the *gorila* officers proceeded to reduce real wages by more than 50 percent through astronomical inflation, drastically increase the workweek and massacre more than 20,000 workers and socialist militants.

The September coup was probably the bloodiest in Latin American history. Far from being a mere palace revolt, it was directed at smashing the large and combative workers movement. Factories which resisted the military takeover were bombed; after surrendering, any workers present during the fighting were shot on the spot. The CUT labor federation was abolished and all leftist parties outlawed. Moreover, the coup was endorsed by virtually the entire bourgeoisie—including the supposedly "progressive" Christian Democrats (CDP)—and most of the middle class as well.

But a scant half year later, the junta now appears increasingly unstable, with reports of internal rifts, opposition from the Christian Democrats and the Catholic hierarchy, universal hatred in the working class and widespread discontent in the petty bourgeoisie and even sectors of the ruling class. Internationally it has managed to achieve a position of isolation rivaled only by Rhodesia.

The first duty of a revolutionary is to call things by their right names. It must be recognized that the workers movement suffered a tragic and costly defeat with the September coup in Chile. Thousands of militants murdered, the unions and left parties outlawed, driven underground and at least partially disorganized—this is not, as some maintain, a mere "detour" on the "Chilean road to socialism"! Responsibility for the bloodbath lies with U.S. imperialism, the Chilean bourgeoisie *and with the reformist leadership of the workers movement* which lulled the masses by preaching confidence in the "democratic" military.

However, despite the best efforts of the junta's butchers, the generals' Chile is not Nazi Germany. The military regime remains in power solely through brute military force. Pinochet and Co. have nothing of the fascist mass movement behind them which enabled Hitler and Mussolini to decapitate and literally obliterate the workers movement. The junta cannot last. This means that Chilean workers will have an opportunity rarely afforded by history—a second chance for socialist revolution in the not-distant future. What is needed, above all, to turn this possibility into a reality is a genuine Trotskyist party which will draw the lessons of the ignominious defeat of the Allende regime and begin the political rearming of the working class.

It is necessary to drive home to socialist militants and the working masses that the death and destruction wreaked by the September coup were the product of the Stalinists' and social democrats' counterrevolutionary policies of "peaceful transition to socialism" and "popular front" with sectors of the bourgeoisie. The UP regime was not a workers government (which would immediately undertake to crush the class enemy by expropriating the bourgeoisie and destroying its armed forces) but rather a class-collaborationist "people's government," whose main purpose was to prevent the independent mobilization of the workers.

The Allende regime paved the way for the coup. Therefore, to simply "continue the struggle," to fight to replace the junta with a new version of the "Popular Unity," is to prepare yet another defeat, this time one of catastrophic proportions. Chilean socialists must inscribe on their banners, "Death to the Junta! No Popular-Front Illusions—For a Workers and Peasants Revolution!" Without this perspective, *nothing* will have been gained from the deaths of thousands of militants martyred on the alter of the "non-violent road to socialism." As Marx pointed out, those who do not learn from history are doomed to repeat it.

War on the Working Class

If the bonapartist military regime has been unable to atomize the working class, it has not been for lack of trying. Immediately upon taking power it unleashed an avalanche of decrees declaring a state of siege (no. 3), state of emergency (no. 4) and state of internal war (no. 6); authorizing immediate execution if units of the armed forces are fired on (no. 5, article 2) or in the case of the discovery of a weapon "when the circumstances or antecedents permit the supposition that the weapon was intended to disturb public order or attack the armed forces..." (no. 5, article 3).

During the crucial first weeks after the coup the new regime made great efforts to create a temporary prosperity by ordering immediate payment of salaries, announcing draconian measures against anyone charging more than the official price for the main essential goods, unloading on the market stocks of "luxury" goods which had been hoarded for months (Nescafé, cream, sugar, beef, cigarettes, etc.) and ending the truck owners' work stoppage which had paralyzed the country for the last six weeks. However, this euphoric condition lasted about three weeks. The junta then published another decree freeing all prices from government controls while rigidly freezing workers' wages. The five-day week was abolished, a half day added on Saturdays and employers were given the "option" to "propose" an additional two hours a day (*Rouge*, 23 November 1973).

The inflation in particular has brutally reduced the consumption of the working masses. The more than 300 percent annual rate of price increase during Allende's last months was a principal cause for petty-bourgeois discontent with the UP government. Now, however, the masses are faced with a rate which is double to triple that already astronomical level (many items have gone up more than 1,000 percent since the coup) combined with rigid freezing of salaries. According to the *New York Times* (5 November 1973), "Radios blare the new slogan, 'The party is over, now it's time to pay the bill'." Capturing the flavor of the new regime, Economics Minister Fernando Leniz remarked on television, "housewives must learn to buy. If the free prices are too high, it is better not to consume for a while" (*Rouge*, 30 November 1973)!

GAMMA

General Augusto Pinochet, head of the Chile junta.

Workers Resist

While executing thousands of militant workers and firing additional thousands of suspected leftists, the junta has been unable to totally extinguish working-class resistance. The 22 February *Rouge* reports a number of strikes, including a one-hour work stoppage by workers at the Sumar textile factory protesting the expulsion of the Swedish ambassador, a strike at the IRT factory at the beginning of January because of non-payment of legally required wage increases, and a wave of "absenteeism" at Santiago bakeries at the end of the month. While these are only timid beginnings, they presage future strikes as the junta's power weakens and real wages continue to plummet.

Discontent in the Bourgeoisie

The military plotters and their Pentagon backers clearly had in mind a "Brazilian-style" junta, combining a rigidly authoritarian government with *laissez faire* economic policies to produce a boom based on foreign investment. The generals did their part, denationalizing hundreds of factories, driving down real wages, crushing the unions, etc. The U.S. banks immediately chipped in some $180 million to the now "low-risk" government (*New York Times*, 12 November 1973); the International Monetary Fund has granted the new regime "stand-by" credits to cover balance of payments deficits. The junta has agreed to "compensate" the American mining companies for their "losses" due to nationalization of Chilean copper under Allende, and the companies, in turn, are now providing technical aid. And yet the government now announces that 1974 will be "the worst year in the history of Chile," calling on the population to perform still more "sacrifices" (*Tricontinental News Service*, 13 March).

According to official figures, the gross product for the period from the September coup to the end of the year was 4 percent above the last four months of the Allende regime (*Rouge*, 22 February 1974). But the last 120 days of the UP government included a major copper miners' strike in May, occupation by the workers of more than 1,000 enterprises following the June 29 attempted coup and a six-week truck owners' stoppage in August and September! A 4 percent increase over a state of near-total economic collapse is no improvement at all.

This economic stagnation is causing considerable unease among sectors of the bourgeoisie (particularly those connected with the production of consumer goods) which had enthusiastically supported the coup and the return of nationalized and occupied factories to their former owners. In a letter to General Pinochet this January, the leaders of the CDP complained that, "The remunerations of workers barely permit them to feed themselves and in many cases do not permit them to meet the vital needs of their families" (*New York Times*, 8 February 1974). The letter contrasts this to "businesses whose profits exceed all expectations" and points out that, "Nobody can ignore the injustice of this situation and the dangers which this entails."

However, the Christian Democrats' concern is not limited to a sudden twinge of conscience over "unjust profits"—higher wages would be good business, too. Editorializing in the CDP newspaper *La Prensa*, they point out that salary increases "would stimulate production in a more effective manner" because "all the income of this immense majority goes directly to the market, to demand for goods and services, and it must be understood that this money, transformed into purchasing power, is a stimulant for production..." (quoted in *Rouge*, 1 February 1974).

Already in September the left wing of the CDP (headed by Bernardo Leighton) took a negative attitude toward the junta (without, of course, attempting any kind of active resistance). However, ex-President Eduardo Frei endorsed

the military action. Moreover, a number of prominent Christian Democrats took positions in the new government. Thus the minister of justice is a member of the CDP, as are four vice-ministers. General Arturo Bonilla, minister of the interior, has in the past been associated with officers close to the CDP.

However, the ultra-reactionary policies of the junta have dampened their earlier enthusiasm for the elimination of the UP. This does not mean that CDP leaders now oppose the military dictatorship. After asking, in an interview with General Bonilla, that the regime raise workers' wages, CDP head Patricio Alwyn sent a private memorandum to party leaders in which he noted: "We do not like it, but we concede that a period of dictatorship is necessary. But we believe that in order for it to be efficient, excesses should not be committed, and it is these excesses which we are criticizing" (*New York Times*, 8 February).

The junta, for its part, has been intensifying its pressure on the CDP. In January it issued a decree prohibiting any meetings of party leaders without prior authorization by military authorities and on the eve of its sixth month in power it issued a document stating that, "The two majority groups that led Chile into decadence—Marxism and Christian Democracy—were international movements in many respects" (*Excelsior* [Mexico], 11 March). Commenting on the increasing tensions between the CDP and the government, and within the junta itself, a U.S. business publication, *Latin America* (1 March), wrote recently:

> "...the signs are that the darkening economic situation will soon require a resolution of the contradictions within the armed forces. In the short run, at least, this can only result in a strengthening of the hard-line group associated with the air force General Gustavo Leigh and Admiral Jose Toribio Merino....
>
> "The Christian Democrats may have come to feel that things have come to such a pass that there can be no further point in collaborating with the present junta. Such a decision would have a powerful impact on Christian Democrat supporters within the army—among whom General Pinochet has often been counted."

The Left: Aftermath of the Coup

Although virtually the entire workers movement saw the inevitability of a coup after the withdrawal of the military ministers from the Allende government in late August, there were no systematic preparations to combat it. What stocks of arms the left possessed were either not in the hands of the workers at all or were randomly distributed rather than being made available to organized self-defense groups. Moreover, on the day of the coup the CUT leadership gave the order to guard the factories and await further orders—orders which never came. Consequently, after the military had finished mopping up the government offices in the center of Santiago, it was able to trap a large number of the most militant workers in the factories where they were forced into a desperate resistance with nothing more than a few machine guns.

Of all the parties, Allende's own Socialist Party was without doubt the most affected by the coup and today hardly exists as an organization. Because of its loose structure it was apparently the most infiltrated of the left organizations. In addition, the SP was the only group which had distributed a certain number of guns to its militants in the factories. Therefore, it was often they who put up what disorganized resistance there was to the coup, and consequently it was they who suffered the largest number of casualties.

The right wing of the Socialist Party was concentrated among government officials, many of whom were at their posts at the time of the coup and were either immediately arrested or killed. According to a report of the Mexican paper *Excelsior* (28 February), "Of some 45 members of the [SP] Central Committee, only three are now active." Party chief Carlos Altamirano, now in Havana, was saved from the repression only by the efforts of the MIR.

Accounts of the situation of the Communist Party are contradictory. Clearly it is now functioning underground, in contrast to the decimated SP. However, its top leader, Luis Corvalán, was captured by the military and on September 11 CP organization and action were reportedly nil. The party's stock of arms was not in the hands of the workers, and due to the junta's 72-hour curfew there was no means of distributing them. Moreover, when the leadership decided early (about 11 a.m. on the day of the coup) to order a retreat, this was not communicated to its factory organizations even in the capital itself (according to *Rouge*, 16 November 1973, which interviewed two CP leaders underground in Chile after the coup). On the other hand, the CP youth organization is apparently functioning and is credited with organizing, on a few hours' notice, the impressive 2,000-strong demonstration at the burial of Pablo Neruda in late September.

Of all the left parties, the Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria (Revolutionary Left Movement) has reportedly best survived the severe repression. Its militants put up a limited resistance in the slum districts immediately following the coup; but by the third day the MIR leadership ordered a retreat (the only possible course under the circumstances). Having in the late 1960's made an attempt at guerrilla warfare and having predicted the coming of a coup for months, the organization was able to go underground with relative ease. However, despite their warnings and boasts of being the only group to possess a real military apparatus, these Castroist ex-guerrillaists were unable to do anything effective to stop the military takeover.

In the area around Valdivia and Temuco in the south (where the MIR had achieved considerable support among the Mapuche Indians) the leftist peasants were forced into the hills where they have been carrying on sporadic guerrilla warfare in response to an invasion of several thousand soldiers who have carried out a systematic "pacification" operation, murdering all peasant union leaders and often their families as well. The military succeeded in capturing and executing the top MIR leader in the region, "Comandante Pepe" (José Gregorio Liendo) soon after the coup but has been unable to completely crush the peasants' movement. One union leader recently reported that a clandestine congress representing 300,000 organized agricultural workers had been held in the Mapuche region (*Daily World*, 2 April). On the other hand, a top MIR leader (Bautista Van Schouwen) was captured by the government in mid-December which, like the loss of Liendo, is certainly a serious blow.

In short, while all of the groups have suffered some losses, the Socialists in particular, the junta has by no means succeeded in destroying the left parties and crushing the working class. The elements exist for beginning clandestine struggle against the military regime—the question now is, for what goals, and with what strategy and tactics.

The Left: Once Again the Popular Front

Of all the parties of the Unidad Popular, the Stalinist Communist Party was the most shameless in its policies of class collaboration with the so-called "anti-imperialist" sectors of the bourgeoisie. Until the very end the party leadership called for including the Christian Democrats in the government, putting faith in the "professionalism" of the armed forces, increasing production and holding down wages, returning occupied factories and estates to the owners, limiting the number of nationalizations, etc., while blaming the antagonism of the reactionaries to the UP government on the "adventurism" of the MIR. According to French CP leader Bernard Fajon, shortly after returning from a trip to Chile, "the ultra-leftist slogan of disobedience directed at the soldiers...has aided the efforts of the officers favorable to a coup d'état" (*L'Humanité*, 1 September 1973).

One would think it impossible to stoop any lower than calling on the Christian Democrats and the generals to join the government at a time when these were preparing a military coup and then blaming the putsch on the "excesses" of "ultra-leftists." Apparently not. Now the Chilean Communist Party is again calling for unity with "those Christian Democrats who have come out in opposition to the coup" as well as with the "democratic officers." However, there is a new twist: it seems that the slogan "Down with the dictatorship" is "expressing a general feeling" but "as a phrase it, by itself, is not in a position to unite the majority in a concrete mass action." Instead, the demand "end the situation of internal warfare" is "an agitational slogan...that can prepare for mass action, that will seriously unite the majority..." (*Daily World*, 16 January).

The Stalinists, of course, are past masters at the theory of two-stage revolution (first, "anti-feudal revolution" or "advanced democracy"; later for socialism). Now a third stage ("normal" bourgeois democracy resulting from the overthrow of the "fascist" junta) and even a fourth stage (military dictatorship without the "state of internal war") have been added. The purpose of this charade is to, at all costs, avoid the independent mobilization of the workers and peasants for socialist revolution, a goal which would frighten the CP's bourgeois friends and hoped-for allies.

That the Communist Party continues to believe in a popular front is certainly no news. Instead the most significant political development since the coup is the sharp right turn of the MIR. After several years of criticizing the UP government because it refused to break sharply with the Christian Democrats, the MIR has now joined the UP parties in calling for a "broad, anti-fascist alliance" with the CDP. Having convinced the UP parties to include itself in their popular-front coalition (along with the Radicals and Christian Left), suddenly the "new MIR" adopts the same class-collaborationist orientation it had criticized for the past three years! The MIR leadership now believes that:

> "The immediate objectives of the popular resistance against the dictatorship are:
>
> "To push for a minimum platform demanding the re-establishment of democratic liberties and raising the defense of the living standards of the masses, undertaking a struggle for adjustments equal to 100 percent of the rise in the cost of living.
>
> "To construct a political front of the anti-*gorila* [militarist] resistance incorporating all the forces of the left and a sector of the CDP (the democratic petty bourgeoisie)."
>
> —MIR, "A los trabajadores, a los revolucionarios y a los pueblos del mundo," January 1974

It should be clear to anyone who has read the above paragraphs that *this is precisely the policy of the Communist Party*, the same policy which, as the

continued on next page

TRIUNFO

Sumar textile factory in Santiago, scene of sharp fighting during the coup.

GAMMA

International Defense of Chilean Leftists

In recent weeks, the international Spartacist tendency has initiated a series of demonstrations calling for freedom for all victims of the junta's repression and focussing on the case of two captured leaders of the Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria (MIR-Revolutionary Left Movement), Bautista Van Schouwen and Alejandro Romero. Particular emphasis on these militants was important because until now they had not even been mentioned in Chile protest demonstrations in the U.S. Additional urgency was lent by the possibility of a "deal" to save a few prominent reformist leaders such as Corvalán, an arrangement which would immediately endanger the lives of far-left militants (see "Romero and Van Schouwen Must Not Die!" *WV* No. 40, 15 March).

In addition to the New York protest picket (reported in the last issue) which brought together some 150 militants, demonstrations have also been held in Ann Arbor, Madison and Los Angeles in the U.S.; and in Melbourne and Sydney, Australia.

MELBOURNE: The April issue of *Australasian Spartacist* (monthly newspaper of the Spartacist League of Australia and New Zealand) reports that "approximately 45 people attended a rally defending Van Schouwen and Romero in Civic Square on March 22. Members and supporters of the Spartacist League (SLANZ), the Communist League (CL), the Socialist Workers Action Group (SWAG) and the Socialist Workers League (SWL) attended, as well as a number of independents." While speakers from the CL, SWL and SLANZ addressed the rally, only the Spartacist spokesman spoke of the necessity of mobilizing the Australian working class in defense of the imprisoned Chilean militants.

In addition to raising the demand of "free all Chilean political prisoners," the SLANZ called on a trade-union fact-finding commission departing for Chile to demand the release of Van Schouwen and Romero. Union and Australian Labor Party bodies and the Labor government were challenged to demand the release of Chilean political prisoners, offer them asylum in Australia and institute all possible sanctions against the junta until the prisoners are freed and martial law rescinded.

SYDNEY: The same issue of *ASp* reports a March 23 demonstration in Sydney, called by the Committee for Solidarity with the Chilean People (CSCP), to send off the Chile delegation organized by the Amalgamated Metal Workers Union, Plumbers Union, Miners Federation and Transport Workers Union. Among the 50 people attending the demonstration around the slogan "free all political prisoners in Chile" were supporters of the CSCP, the CL, the Communist Party (CPA), the SLANZ and individual Latin Americans.

While speakers of the other groups confined themselves to tales of horror and calls for a "broad-based" campaign involving "all progressive people" in Australia to protest the junta's repression, the SLANZ speaker at the rally explained the importance of a *class* defense of the Chilean militants and the absolute necessity of assimilating the lessons of the failure of the UP coalition government.

WV PHOTO

Madison rally to defend Chilean militants.

LOS ANGELES: Approximately 70 militants participated in a united-front picket of the Chilean consulate on April 6 in defense of the two imprisoned MIR leaders and all prisoners of the junta's butchers. Active in organizing of the demonstration, in addition to the Spartacist League/Revolutionary Communist Youth, were a number of comrades from an independent black collective, 15 of whom participated in the picket. Among the organizations endorsing the demonstration called by the Committee to Defend Van Schouwen and Romero were the Black Student Union of East Los Angeles College, Hashomer Hatzair, International Socialists, the Los Angeles Group for Latin American Solidarity (LAGLAS), the Militant Caucus of AFSCME Local 2070, the Revolutionary Socialist League, the SL/RCY, MECHA at California State (North Ridge), La Vida Nueva (East L.A. College), News and Letters and the AFT organizing committee (Local 1781) at UCLA. Several individuals from the National Committee to Free Los Tres also participated. Prominent among those refusing to support the demonstration were the Communist Party and the Committee for the Restoration of Democracy in Chile which it leads.

MADISON: Nearly 40 militant workers and students participated in a spirited picket line in defense of Van Schouwen and Romero at the University of Wisconsin Madison campus on April 5. In addition, the rally after the picket attracted a crowd totalling about 100. The picket/rally had been called by the SL/RCY-initiated Committee to Free Van Schouwen and Romero, and the united-front action was endorsed by a number of Madison-area labor and left groups, including the De Mau Mau Defense Committee and the United Farm Workers Boycott Committee, as well as several University of Wisconsin professors. Actively participating in the Committee were supporters of the Progressive Labor Party, the Spartacist League/Revolutionary Communist Youth and trade unionists from the Teaching Assistants Association of the AFT and AFSCME Local 634.

At the rally an SL/RCY spokesman criticized the sectarianism of the Young Socialist Alliance, namely its refusal to participate in the united-front committee, even though it attended the rally and its spokesmen claimed it supported the demands, endorsed the demonstration and would help build it. Even this position represented a shamefaced retreat for the YSA, which had earlier walked out of the planning meeting called by the SL/RCY, tailing behind an SWP supporter who had left on the grounds that he could not endorse the demonstration unless Luis Vitale's name appeared alongside that of Van Schouwen and Romero. ■

Continued from page 3

Chile After the Coup

MIR itself used to say, led straight to the victory of the military putsch last September..

As early as 1970 the Spartacist League pointed out that the MIR's policy of "critical support" to the Unidad Popular was in fact an excuse for acting as the left tail of the Allende government. Earlier articles on Chile in *Workers Vanguard* noted that these left Castroites never understood the basic question posed by the UP regime, namely its *class character* as a popular-front *bourgeois* government. They instead labeled it "reformist" and concentrated on criticizing some of its policies and the "orientation" of "certain sectors" of the coalition, i.e., the CP. We warned that without a policy of intransigent opposition to the popular front, calling on the workers parties to break with the bourgeoisie and take power in their own name, the MIR could provide no way forward for the Chilean masses. The utter impotence of the MIR in the face of the coup and now its sharp turn to the right must serve to underline these warnings.

"Unity" and Capitulation

Today the struggle against Stalinist and social-democratic popular-front politics is more crucial than ever as every fake left from MAPU and the MIR to the CP hastens to call for the "broadest possible anti-fascist unity" as a cover for capitulating to the class enemy.

The task of the hour is to begin the political preparation for a workers and peasants revolution, not some kind of "people's revolution" to restore bourgeois democracy! The MIR wants a "political front of the anti-*gorila* resistance incorporating all the forces of the left and a sector of the CDP"? Well then, comrades of the MIR, are you prepared to tell workers who are occupying factories in the aftermath of the overthrow of the military dictatorship that they must "wait," just as the Stalinists always preached? That is what unity with the bourgeoisie means, and nothing else. This was the line of Scheidemann and Noske in Germany in 1918. Enforcing this policy, the soldiers of the social-democratic government shot the leading Communists, Luxemburg and Liebknecht.

The MIR leaders seek to defend their right turn with the assertion that the Stalinists and bourgeois parties of the UP have now committed themselves to "armed struggle." This is an old Castroist/Maoist ruse, since adopted by the pseudo-Trotskyist guerrilla enthusiasts of the Mandel wing of the so-called "United Secretariat." The Stalinists have never rejected armed struggle, when they are forced to undertake it by the logic of self-preservation; neither have bourgeois populists like Perón. Perón and the left Peronists favored armed struggle against the Argentine military dictatorship—should communists have sought a "unified anti-*gorila* resistance front" with them, as the PRT/ERP "Trotskyist guerrillas" did? Only if they want to sign their own death warrants! The Stalinists led the armed struggle against the fascists in Italy and France during World War II—*only to betray the struggle at the decisive moment* by dissolving the resistance units with arrival of Allied forces and ordering their guns to be turned in. In addition, they shot every Trotskyist they could get their hands on.

It is possible to betray a revolution "gun in hand." In fact, the MIR's profuse commitments to "armed struggle" have not prevented it from capitulating to the same enemies and the same reformist, class-collaborationist policies it vehemently denounced only nine months ago. The real unity of the working class is programmatic—unity to achieve the dictatorship of the proletariat, unity to build the revolutionary Trotskyist party. What has happened in Chile in the past year has been a bloody defeat for the working class. The task now is not to achieve unity with the traitors who systematically prepared this massacre with their criminal policies, but division and split!

Without the destruction of the Stalinist and social-democratic stranglehold on the workers, without the splitting of the mass reformist workers parties, the seeds of a new catastrophe are already now being sown. An underground Bolshevik party must be built which will relentlessly drive home the lessons of the popular-front debacle and prepare the working class so this does not occur once again. Such a party would undertake to lead the strikes which must come, the underground trade unions, the soviets. It would make temporary blocs with the UP parties and even Christian Democratic unionists in order to undertake specific actions. But it would do so not to achieve some kind of bogus strategic unity with the conscious agents of the bourgeoisie but so that it could better destroy their stranglehold on the workers movement and drive home the reality of their sabotage of proletarian struggle in the name of "people's unity."

The time is ripe in Chile today for a far-reaching revolutionary political regroupment. Not only the Stalinists and social democrats, but the centrist MIR are faced with severe political disorientation as a result of the coup. The first condition for success in this enterprise is granite determination to defend the Trotskyist program of permanent revolution. Not capitulation to the popular-front traitors, but relentless exposure of their crimes and inoculation of the working class against reformism! ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

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USec World Congress Preserves "Scotch-Tape" Unity

The Tenth World Congress of the so-called "United Secretariat," which not only falsely claims to be Trotskyist but fancies itself to be the Fourth International as well, was held in southern Sweden in the middle of February. Ostensibly devoted to political discussion of outstanding differences, the repeatedly postponed congress was in fact a desperate attempt on the part of the two main currents in the USec—the reformist minority led by the fraternal U.S. affiliate, the Socialist Workers Party, and the centrist majority led by the ex-Ligue Communiste of France and other European sections—to paper over deep programmatic divergences in order to be able to proclaim the health, growth and democratic functioning of their pseudo-"Fourth International."

Actually, the USec congress merely consolidated the political divisions between the main protagonists by a series of last-minute organizational deals and political maneuvers. Where the internal tensions in the national sections of this far from "united" rotten bloc have already led to an open split, as has occurred already in five countries (Canada, Mexico, Australia, Peru and Spain), the congress attempted to put on a good face by elevating the dissident groups to the status of sympathizing organizations. The Revolutionary Marxist Group (RMG) in Canada and the Communist League of Australia, both of which support the European majority, were accepted into the USec on this basis. In Argentina, as a result of the abrupt departure of the until-then majority-supported PRT/ERP (the so-called "Trotskyist guerrillas") from USec ranks last summer, the congress recognized the minority-ite Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (PST) as the sole sympathizing section (with which the pro-majority former "Red Faction" of the PRT/ERP had recently fused).

Parallel to the organizational horse-trading were the political deals aimed at pacifying everyone, but which of course satisfied nobody. Prior to the congress the main debates had centered on the guerrilla orientation of the European majority, particularly as expressed in the 1969 USec Latin American resolution but also, as the recent SWP/ex-Ligue Communiste dispute over the Basque nationalists' assassination of Spanish premier Carrero Blanco demonstrated, with regard to Europe and the U.S. as well.

Since the brunt of the SWP-led minority's criticisms had been directed against the Argentine PRT/ERP—which claimed Mao, Castro, Ho Chi Minh and Kim Il Sung among its mentors and which walked out of the USec last summer—the Mandel/Maitan/Frank-led majority attempted to cover its tracks by belatedly discovering "militarist deviations" in the ERP. As a result of the majority's embarrassment over the departure of the PRT/ERP, Livio Maitan, the chief proponent of USec guerrilla strategy for Latin America, was forced to make a mild self-criticism (*Intercontinental Press*, 2 July 1973), and the SWP-backed PST was reconfirmed as a sympathizing section. On the other hand, the utter political bankruptcy of the PST was clearly demonstrated by the assertion by some of its delegates at the congress that the situation in Argentina would "stabilize" in the near future—a prediction made at the height of Perón's witchhunt against the left and shortly before the right-wing police coup in Córdoba!

In fact, however, the majority sees a guerrilla orientation as valid in Europe also. Thus the ex-Ligue Communiste (and its Spanish satellite, the LCR) has consistently advocated "minority vanguard violence" as an important means for mobilizing the masses. Only last year a member of the Political Bureau of the Ligue referred to the Uruguayan Tupumaros as making appropriate use of the "military abilities" of the petty bourgeoisie to compensate for the passivity of the working class (*[SWP] Internal Information Bulletin*, No. 6 in 1973). That this line has had considerable influence in the European majority, despite a formal retraction by its author, was shown by the Ligue's substitutionist attempt to single-handedly take on the armed might of the French state with its attack on a meeting of the fascist Ordre Nouveau last June. It was this adventure which led to the banning of the Ligue, now regrouped as supporters of the *Rouge* newspaper.

The terrorism/guerrillaism debate flared anew in January over the assassination of the Spanish premier by the Basque nationalist ETA-V only a few weeks before the world congress. The pro-European majority Spanish groups, the Liga Comunista Revolucionaria and ETA-VI (a split-off from ETA-V) gave "total support" to the dramatic bomb attack (see interview published in *Intercontinental Press*, 21 January 1974) on the grounds that it opened up a political crisis in Spain. This, of course, leads to the question, if the European majority "totally supports" such terrorist actions, why does it not undertake them itself? The question is left unanswered for the moment, because USec leaders are well aware of Lenin's and Trotsky's consistent opposition to the anarchist-nationalist strategy of terrorism, as well as being unwilling to risk giving up their respectability which enables them to run candidates for office (perhaps even getting free television time!), hold mass meetings on Chile, etc.

The Mandel/Maitan/Frank majority also attempted to minimize the profound political differences by making concessions to the so-called "Third Tendency," led by the Kompass current in the German section, the Gruppe Internationaler Marxisten (GIM). The majority adopted cosmetic amendments proposed by the Kompass tendency which simply replaced some of the more obviously anti-Marxist language of the European "new mass vanguard" document, without changing its essential content. Even these alterations, however, did not pacify the Kompass group which drew up its own resolution (as well as sending a delegate to the SWP convention in December). A leading figure in the Kompass has reportedly said that the factional battle is continuing in Germany, where it was separated from the majority by only two votes out of 238 at the last national conference of the GIM.

The truly desperate character of the deals at the world congress is indicated by rumors that chief majority spokesman Ernest Mandel had to threaten to vote with the SWP before some of the European delegations would vote for the organizational compromises. Equally interesting evidence is the report that the U.S. fraternal group has, in effect, decided to boycott the resident secretariat by refusing to send its own representative to assist the body which carries out the decisions of the congress under the direction of the International Executive Committee.

While the European majority was able, with some difficulty, to present a united front against the SWP, it is far from united itself. In addition to tensions between Mandel and Maitan, there is considerable unease over the Latin American guerrilla orientation. Prior to the congress, the editor of *Rouge*, J.-P. Beauvais, who is also the leading USec spokesman on Chile, had contributed a devastating critique of the majority position on Latin America, while also rejecting the minority. Meanwhile, the ex-Ligue is stagnating, with little real internal discussion and a widespread sense of isolation, ineffectiveness and disgruntlement. One recent example of the total political disorientation of the ex-Ligue is the fact that during the recent French bank strike, *Rouge* supporters put out a leaflet concentrating on four demands, one of which was: "for clear demands"!

In the official voting the Mandelites received 65 percent of the delegate votes; however, when the votes of sympathizing organizations are counted in, their majority falls to a bare 53 percent. In addition to the existence of roughly equal forces on the international level, the political differences between the two wings of the "United Secretariat" have by no means diminished. Thus the organizational maneuvering of the last several months is at best a stop-gap measure which will be unable to prevent new oppositions and splits. (The reported ban on new expulsions will be no more effective in preventing splits than Mandel's earlier "unity" preachings were in stopping the walkouts by pro-majority groups in Canada and Australia.)

Amid the mire and ooze of the USec swamp, the task of serious militants seeking their way to Trotskyism is to struggle for political clarity. This is something which neither side in the dispute desires, for it would burst apart their fake "International"—in the process forcing hundreds of activists to study Lenin and Trotsky rather than figuring out better ways of adapting to their respective "mass movements" and "new mass vanguards." It is necessary to understand that the SWP and Mandel/Maitan/Frank are united in one respect, namely their common hostility to authentic Trotskyism.

Both minority and majority reflect the same adaptation to non-proletarian leaderships which is at the heart of the Pabloist revisionism which destroyed the Fourth International at the time of the 1953 split. If the SWP supporters stand to the right of their European counterparts, it is primarily a reflection of differences in the milieus to which they are capitulating—radical petty-bourgeois guerrillaism in the latter case and bourgeois pacifism, feminism, black nationalism and labor reformism in the former. The struggle for the rebirth of the Fourth International is above all a struggle for the program of revolutionary Marxism. ■

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SWP's *Militant* Tells Stalinists:

Axe Trotskyists "Politically"!

On March 10 supporters of the Spartacist League were excluded from a Conference for Fair Immigration Laws and Practices held in East Los Angeles. This expulsion was engineered by the Communist Party-supported CASA in a desperate move to cut off political debate on the role of Stalinism in preparing the bloody defeat of the Chilean workers and peasants. This discussion had been initiated by the sharp political intervention of the SL at the conference.

Seeking, in the words of CASA treasurer Soledad Alatorre, to "get rid of these Trotskyite disrupters who are trying to destroy the unity of our movement," the Stalinist leadership of the conference moved to exclude the SL on the pretext of the SL's "insults" to "socialist Poland"! The SL had criticized the recent scabbing by the Polish bureaucrats who shipped coal to Britain during the recent miners' strike.

What was the ostensibly Trotskyist SWP's response to this filthy Stalinist exclusion? They sat on their hands and uttered not one murmur of protest. This crime has now been compounded by a disgraceful article entitled "Critics from the Sidelines" by one Miguel Pendás (*Militant*, 5 April 1974) criticizing the role of the SL at the conference.

The bulk of Pendás' article is a masterpiece of slander and innuendo, providing the Stalinists with arguments that the conference organizers were not astute enough to make themselves. Although noting the SL's opposition to "community control," the article ignored the SL's call for a class-struggle perspective which includes a fight for full citizenship rights for all foreign workers in the U.S., a concerted drive by the unions to organize the unorganized, a shorter workweek with no loss in pay to eliminate unemployment and the construction of a workers party to fight for a workers government. Instead of dealing with the SL's positions politically, Pendás relies on not-so-veiled accusations of racism, i.e., "The Spartacists tell us not to do anything that might offend white people." (For an accurate account of the conference and the CASA-engineered exclusion, see the last issue of *Workers Vanguard*.)

But the low point of Pendás' article is his attempt to dissociate the SWP from the SL's exclusion. Nowhere stating the real reason for the exclusion, he lectures the Stalinists that the exclusion was a tactical mistake. Offering the CASA Stalinists some friendly advice on how to axe the Trotskyists, he sermonizes that "the most effective way to deal with them [the SL] is to politically expose their false ideas." Members of the SWP, *do you know what you are saying?*

The SL was excluded because the Stalinists wanted to stifle discussion of their traitorous policies in Chile; the excuse was our exposure of the Polish bureaucrats' scabbing on the British miners' strike! There is a better way, remarks Pendás coyly—"defeat their ideas." You see, says the SWP in effect, "comrade Stalin" was too crude in his ways; instead of murdering thousands of Bolshevik-Leninists and Trotsky himself he should have concentrated on "defeating their ideas." Members of the SWP, your grovelling cowardice has led you to defend the Stalinist policy of "socialism in one country"! You are apologizing for the exclusion of militants who were defending principled Marxist positions that you yourselves pretend to hold. Or do you? Has the SWP's tailing after "consistent nationalism" reached the point that the distinction between Trotskyism and Stalinism, between principled revolutionary Marxism and whoring for the capitalists, has no meaning at all to you? Apparently so!

What Workers' Control Is Not

Lessons of the LIP Str

PARIS—The drawn-out struggle of the workers at the Lip watch factory at Besançon began with the takeover of the plant by the strikers in June 1973 and ended nine months later with the imposition of an agreement which represents a clear defeat for the workers. The action captured the attention of the workers of France who were and still are threatened by the tightening cycle of permanent unemployment, rising inflation and threatened plant closures.

The announcement last June 12 by the Lip administration of the separation of the factory into three different sections (watches, precision machinery, weapons) and the termination of salaries provoked the takeover of the plant three days later by the 1,300 Lip workers.

The reformist trade-union bureaucrats found themselves helpless as the rising tide of anger and determination of the workers expressed itself in acts which went far beyond the norms of bourgeois law and by implication challenged the cornerstone of capitalism, private property. The strikers not only stayed in the factory but decided to start the production and selling of watches, keeping the money in order to pay themselves. (Traditionally the trade unions in France have no strike funds.)

Also they took as "hostage" a stock of 25,000 watches, their "trésor de guerre" or war chest, and publicly exposed the company books, revealing documents with the details of the company's carefully worked-out plan of systematic layoffs. These audacious acts stirred great publicity both in the left and bourgeois press. They also put the union brass on the spot and posed the need for a revolutionary leadership to take the struggle forward to victory.

Who Shall Run the Factories?

The main organizational form of the strike, issuing out of the traditions of May-June 1968, was the general assembly of all the workers, the only body with decision-making power. The general assembly broke itself down into a number of committees to deal with different aspects of the strike: for production, publicity, correspondence, defense and a special "action committee" which played an important role especially at the beginning of the strike.

Although it played an important role in leading the strike, this committee was not a factory committee as referred to in Trotsky's "Transitional Program" or early resolutions of the Communist International. It did group together a part of the union members (in this case the ex-Christian Democratic CFDT and the Communist Party-controlled CGT were the two main unions in the factory) along with the most militant non-union workers. However, it was not elected but entirely voluntary and could therefore not be held responsible for its actions, with the possibility of recall. At its height, the committee numbered one hundred members and essentially initiated the early part of the strike, but was soon overtaken by the trade-union apparatus.

Initially bypassed by the militant action of the workers, the CGT and CFDT found themselves having to support the workers or be outdistanced and left completely isolated. They formed a tenuous bloc with one another for leadership in the strike, which was made difficult for them given the democratic organizational forms initiated and maintained by the workers during the conflict. It is to the credit of the militant workers of Lip that it took nine months of struggle before the bureaucracy was able to channel their fight into "acceptable" norms.

The question posed by the continued occupation of the factory—that of who owns and runs it, the workers or the boss—was not lost on either the bourgeoisie or the working-class movement. Each in its own way had to respond to this question.

To a section of the ruling class, Lip provided an opening to warm over the old Gaullist concept of "participation," in which a couple of workers or union representatives formally sit on the board of directors but lack any real power. This provoked only mildest sympathy from some die-hard Gaullists and laughter from everyone else. However in the workers movement the questions of workers control, workers management and "*autogestion*" (self-management) stirred widespread debate as a result of the Lip strike.

Workers control and workers management are closely related, but they must be precisely defined. "Workers control is the attempt to impose control over different aspects of the power of the bosses and the ruling class" (*Workers' Control*, Revolutionary Communist Bulletin No. 6 of the Spartacist League of Australia and New Zealand). This includes the different aspects of control of hiring, the opening of company books for public inspection, control over line-speed rates, overtime and other aspects of the work organization.

Because it directly attacks the property rights of the owners, the slogan of workers control immediately raises the question of state power and therefore must be closely linked to the political perspective of a workers government to expropriate the exploiting class. In contrast, the slogan of workers control if confined within the limits of bourgeois society becomes only one more phony reform peddled to the working class and used to keep the struggle within the bounds of capitalism. The presentation of demands for workers control, linking them either to a reformist or revolutionary perspective, is doubly important in France where the CFDT labor federation, under the leadership of Edmond Maire, has achieved a militant reputation from its calls for "self-management"—despite the fact that it supports the popular-front Union of the Left electoral coalition and is in fact no more interested in revolution than its more staid CGT counterparts.

Workers management of expropriated industry is in the Marxist sense a beginning of the reorganization of production for social needs. Self-management or "*autogestion*" in contrast is used as a reformist fig-leaf which does not pose the question of state power. Numerous such schemes have been propounded by the employers in Germany and France.

The growing number of factory takeovers and other forms associated with "workers control" and *autogestion*, and the so-far successful reformist channeling of this fight by the union bureaucracy, only emphasize the necessity for clarity on how and in what conditions workers control can advance the struggle and at the same time expose the sell-out bureaucratic trade-union leadership.

Crisis of Leadership

The dominant CFDT's role in the strike was exemplified by its utterly reformist "consciousness-raising" approach to workers control. For it, the question of a change in the economic system or for that matter in who runs the factory is not dependent on the taking of state power, but instead is a question of workers' developing the confidence and expertise to collectively run things by themselves. All during the strike the CFDT limited itself to finding a "better" boss to take the factory!

As for the fake-Trotskyist ex-Ligue Communiste, its oft-repeated attack on *autogestion* ("there is no island of self-management possible in a capitalist world") served it as an orthodox cover for its opportunist practice. It was only too happy to continually point to the exemplary nature of the Lip struggle and to reinforce its isolation by simply glorifying its combativity. The ex-Ligue consistently uncritically tailed after the leader of the strikers, Charles Piaget, head of the CFDT and Lip and also a member of the PSU (a petty-bourgeois left-social-democratic party), in yet another example of its systematic capitulation to the present bureaucratic misleaders of the workers movement.

The strikers themselves correctly viewed their action as a defensive action and not as an experiment in self-management. The decision to produce and sell watches for their own salaries was understood as a tactic used to keep them alive for the duration of a long, hard fight. They harbored no illusions of taking over the factory in order to make it profitable; which is best illustrated by the fact that during the early part of the strike just one assembly line was started up again with only about one hundred workers out of 1,300 producing.

The Lip workers were very conscious of going beyond the normal trade-union forms of struggle. The text of the banner installed before the plant read "It is possible, we make, we sell, we pay ourselves!" But this slogan also illustrates the limitation of the struggle, despite its use of the "illegal" militant tactic of factory occupation, to economic reforms.

This limitation was demonstrated by the Lip workers' three demands: (1) no layoffs, (2) no subdivision and (3) no loss of benefits previously won. Reinforced by the reformist bureaucratic CFDT/CGT misleadership, these economic demands were never raised to the level of political struggle. This fact serves as an indictment less of the bureaucrats, from whom one must expect a narrowly reformist approach, than of the ostensibly revolutionary movement which failed to intervene with a revolutionary program.

ROUGE

Pay distribution at Lip during factory occupation.

As an example, for Lutte Ouvrière (LO) "it was the job of the revolutionaries to do all in their power to draw a clear picture of the political lessons and the perspectives offered by the then-growing movement in Besançon" (*Class Struggle/Lutte de classe*, November 1973). This passive reaction to the Lip strike was also reflected by routine reportage of the day-to-day happenings at Besançon. They presented themselves as spectators waiting for the "lessons" of the strike to be brought to the working class.

Although the Organisation Communiste Internationaliste (OCI) attacked the illusions spread by the reformist approach to *autogestion*, it failed to adequately warn the workers of the treachery of their leadership. A prime example, occurring early in July, was a series of unanswered questions (the OCI's favorite form of expression) over

rike

how to give aid and support to the isolated Lip workers who had just been told that the banks would give no credit to them:

> "We ask the question again: why don't the trade unions of bank employees, and those of the BNP in particular, take it upon themselves to unblock the credits necessary in order to assure the pay and permit the factory to work? Would this not be the best way to demonstrate the solidarity that everybody is speaking about?"
> —*Informations Ouvrières*, 4 July 1973

The OCI's pretended inability to answer the question is one of the consequences of the anti-Leninist concept of a "strategic united front," a pervasive deviation which in practice is translated into systematic capitulation to the bureaucratic misleaders of the working class.

French State Sends in Riot Cops

By mid-August, realizing that with the end of summer vacation came the return of millions of workers to their factories and recognizing the danger posed by the widespread popularity of and support for Lip, the government carefully prepared the preliminary steps for dealing with the continued occupation by the strikers. On 15 August in the early morning the CRS—the brutal riot police created in 1948 by "socialist" minister Jules Moch—occupied the factory after easily expelling the twenty-five Lip workers on guard. The response of the working class was immediate, with sympathy strikes, spontaneous demonstrations and solidarity strikes occurring throughout France.

The tide of immediate outpouring of support for the Lip workers, a phenomenon unheard-of in the middle of the summer vacation period, caused little trouble to the well-oiled machinery of the Communist Party, together with the CFDT. They were only too happy to dissipate emotions into mass demonstrations such as held at the Paris stock exchange two days after the police occupation.

The dramatic demonstration of solidarity, even though effectively channeled, culminated in a grand finale during the summer's-end "rentrée." The famous march on Besançon, proposed and effectively controlled by the trade unions, was born. The well-attended march was enthusiastically tailed by the ex-Ligue's *Rouge*, LO and Révolution! (a split-off from the Ligue) who sent sizeable delegations on the march. For the ex-Ligue, "the task of revolutionaries is to make [the march] a success" (*Rouge*, 14 September 1973). The CP sent only its sizeable "service d'ordre" (defense squad) to Besançon—which proved useful in containing the forces of Rouge, LO and Révolution! (who were forced to band together for protection from the CP's goons).

Meanwhile, the OCI counterposed a call for a national march on Paris, explaining that the demonstration in Besançon only led (geographically) away from the direction of bourgeois power which was concentrated in Paris. However, when it was apparent even to the OCI that the march was going to take place with or without them, it silently let the matter drop and did not intervene at all in the march.

Left Fails to Recognize Setback

The loss of the factory was a real blow to the Lip workers. They lost their first line of defense and from this moment on they remained vulnerable before the avenging capitalists and union misleaders. This major defeat could have been avoided had there been a real revolutionary leadership at Lip to organize mass occupation of the plant.

CRS riot police patrol Lip factory.

Piaget poured soothing ointment over the workers' anger and determination by stating "They [the state] do not know that the factory is where the workers are. The factory is not the walls, it is the men" (*Le Monde*, 16 August 1973). This statement may have something to do with the guild crafts of the medieval age when workers carried their tools with them, but it is certainly irrelevant to the reality of modern capitalism, which is defined precisely by the separation of the worker from the means of realization of his labor power.

In a similar vein, the ex-Ligue Communiste, while denouncing the CRS occupation, had in July already pronounced its verdict on this expected eventuality that "the strikers outside the factory are just as dangerous to the [state] power as those on the inside. They would not be isolated, on the contrary that could only intensify the popularization campaign" (*Rouge*, 27 July 1973). The isolation of Lip was on the contrary made only more total by the expulsion. Even if *Rouge* was not aware of it, this act was only the beginning of the end.

Lutte Ouvrière, reacting in an editorial to the police occupation, asserted that "... the government operation will have succeeded on one point: it will have demonstrated to the workers of Lip ... that the government was not neutral in this affair. ... By defending Lip, we make a gesture of solidarity toward our own selves" (*Lutte Ouvrière*, 21 August 1973).

Apparently these comrades were content to comment about the relationship of the state to the interests of the bourgeoisie only after its concrete expression. While the level of class consciousness at Lip was certainly not homogeneous, the advanced sections of workers no doubt had already figured out that much and had no use for the primer-book approach of LO.

Sign says: "It is possible, we make, we sell, we pay ourselves."

The reaction of the OCI, demanding that the trade unions call for a general strike in order to broaden the conflict instead of limiting it to its local particularities, revealed a correct impulse. However, the OCI's repetitive calls for the trade unions to realize unity have no meaning without an exposure of the real barrier to unity: the labor bureaucrats' failure to mobilize the workers around a class-struggle program.

The strikers through all of this continued their fight, showing great imagination and combativity. They set up a new factory in an old gymnasium and continued to sell and produce watches there. The finishing touch was taking with them small but vital parts from their machines at the police-occupied Lip factory so that while the machinery was not destroyed the production was hampered.

Union Bureaucrats Negotiate a Sellout

After the turmoil of all the marches and demonstrations was over, everybody went home leaving the Lip workers to deal with the slow grind of the negotiations to find a new owner for the factory. The involvement of the workers in the negotiations was very high. Tape recordings of the proceedings were played at the daily general assemblies, which gave them a check on their leadership, preventing any secret deals.

The fruit of these lengthy and convoluted negotiations was the Giraud plan which emerged in the middle of October. According to the plan, 989 of the 1,300 workers would be rehired but with very little guarantees and the firm would be split into three sections under separate ownership, blatantly going against the workers' original three non-negotiable demands.

The reaction of the workers was overwhelmingly against the plan which did not meet their conditions and completely ignored job security. The CFDT rode the crest of this sentiment and opposed the settlement while the CGT fraction in the general assembly cautiously gave it its support. The CGT was obviously anxious for the affair to be settled quickly and to be out of sight and mind of the rising tide of class struggle.

In a secret ballot the strikers voted down the Giraud plan by 626 against and 174 in favor. The outcome represented a real defeat for the CGT as the number voting in favor of the agreement represented a substantial loss in their rank-and-file support in the general assembly.

After the rejection of this settlement, there followed a period of slump. The isolation of Lip, brought on and encouraged by the CFDT-CGT leadership, was by now almost complete. The confidence of the workers in their leadership was even pondered over in the bourgeois press:

> "No criticism is made of these same trade unionists, who a little while ago were interrupting the negotiations in order to report to the base, but who today speak of secret contracts. Indifference or blind confidence? The strikers seem to have contracted a solid pact with the organization which since April has been stating that Lip can again take up its activity in its totality."
> —*Le Monde*, 23 November 1973

Despite their discouragement the strikers fought on for their demands. Attendance at the general assemblies, which numbered from seven to nine hundred at the beginning, now brought only four hundred daily. But as one striker commented, "It is true, they are nearly all registered at the employment agency, but they refuse all job offers. Even the cadres [highly-skilled workers] have rejected certain offers. They still believe that Lip will live" (*ibid.*).

In the meanwhile, the CFDT-CGT leadership continued its search for a "good boss" for the Lip workers. New negotiations were held with a certain Claude Neuschwander representing French and Swiss interests, against a background of diminishing national interest now distracted by the Chilean coup, the Arab-Israeli conflict and the fuel crisis.

The Neuschwander plan, unveiled by the end of January, revealed the full scope of the coming defeat. The agreement calls for the rehiring of three hundred workers with the *possibility* of five hundred others being called back on the condition that the factory is profitable. The remainder of the Lip workers was given vague promises of retraining and rehiring in surrounding factories.

The sliding scale of wages (a cost-of-living clause) was not mentioned at all. Yet it had been one of the most important gains achieved by the Lip workers in the recent period, one which was unique to them in that region of France and represented for them a long and difficult fight. The three sections of the factory, while not under separate ownership, are in the hands of a holding company indicating that its eventual dissolution is by no means excluded.

Backed up against a wall, the Lip workers with the advice of the CFDT and CGT accepted the plan. One of the conditions turned out to be the return to the "proper authority" of the famous war chest (the stock of watches). The ink was hardly dry on the settlement when the CFDT leadership returned the watches, valued at fifteen million francs ($3 million), the company documents taken from the owners, the machine pieces and 2,194,363 francs representing the difference between the receipts from the watches produced and sold and the "illegal" pay of the strikers!

Fake Lefts Hail Lip "Victory"

With this crushing defeat and betrayal of the strike, the CFDT had the gall to label it a great victory. Piaget in summarizing the conflict states,

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Against Oppression of Women Workers–

A CLASS-STRUGGLE PROGRAM

In contrast to the vague reformist "Statement of Purpose" railroaded through the CLUW conference by its bureaucrat organizers, a Marxist program is based on the understanding that it is necessary to go beyond the confines of capitalism to eliminate the oppression of women workers. The program printed below starts with the immediate needs of the doubly oppressed woman worker and through a series of transitional demands leads the struggle forward to the inexorable conclusion: socialist revolution.

1. *For trade-union organization! Organize the unorganized!*

In addition to aggressive organizing campaigns, a real effort to incorporate the masses of unorganized women into the labor movement will require such militant tactics as secondary boycotts and "hot cargoing" (refusing to handle) scab goods in support of such campaigns. For example, a pan-union organization like CLUW could call upon its Teamster members to wage a fight within their union to halt Fitzsimmons' campaign to destroy the Farm Workers and instead assist UFW organizing through Teamster hot-cargoing of scab lettuce and grapes.

2. *No job discrimination based on race, sex or age! Equal pay for equal work! Equal access to all job categories! A shorter workweek with no loss in pay! Union control of hiring and upgrading on a first-come, first-served basis! Extend protective legislation to men! Strike against layoffs!*

Such demands can improve the position of women in the workforce and strike a blow against unemployment through united struggle of the working class rather than inflaming sexual and racial antagonisms by pitting one section of the workers against another. Affirmative action programs, such as advocated by CLUW leaders and initiated by the government, give preference to women and minorities in hiring, transfers and promotions, thus constituting a form of reverse discrimination. They also weaken the unions by bypassing hard-won seniority systems and union hiring halls. Make the bosses pay to eliminate discrimination by providing jobs for all!

3. *Socialize household labor! Free quality health care for all, including free abortion and birth control on demand! Free 24-hour child care-paid for by the state or employer and under worker-parent control! Free, immediate divorce on demand!*

The struggle for the emancipation of women in the workplace cannot be separated from the struggle for the emancipation of women from the family. The family is the principal institution for the oppression of women under capitalism, rendering housewives economically and psychologically dependent on their husbands, isolated from the class struggle and held back in their political development. It also serves to atomize the working class into isolated cells, each one consumed by its own private problems. Women must be free to engage in socially productive labor; quality social services are the alternative to enforced domestic drudgery.

4. *Build militant caucuses based on a class-struggle program! For a workers party! Toward a workers government!*

The Democratic and Republican parties are run by and for the capitalists. They will never fight in the interests of workers because they are based upon the exploitative system. The union bureaucrats who are running CLUW call for putting faith in Republican or Democratic "friends of labor" who regularly vote for wage controls, to break strikes, against an adequate minimum wage, etc. Workers, men or women, must break with these parties of the bosses and form a workers party based on the trade unions to struggle for a workers government and expropriate the capitalist class.

CLUW leaders' "historic moment." Edith van Horn, second from left. Second from right, Addie Wyatt; far right, Chairman Olga Madar.

Does Nothing for Women's Rights

CLUW Conference: Bureaucracy and Tokenism

The Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW) held its founding conference in Chicago over the weekend of March 23-24. Fifty-eight national and international unions were represented. The conference was attended by 3,200 women, and it appeared that virtually every woman active during the past ten years in left-wing or trade-union politics was present.

The large attendance was partially a reflection of the drying up of the petty-bourgeois women's liberation movement, which left many militant women with no organizational vehicle for their radical activism. It also reflects the real and felt double oppression of women workers, whose needs and interests are systematically ignored by the narrowly self-interested and socially deeply conservative trade-union bureaucracies.

The forces which led to the setting up of CLUW, however, are quite different. Recognizing these working women as a potential constituency, the female union bureaucrats who initiated CLUW are seeking to build a militant-sounding but powerless organization to use as leverage to increase their clout within the existing structure. At the same time, as was made clear at the Chicago conference by the impressive display of top union brass and the heated battle over whether or not to take a position on the Teamsters' scabbing on the Farm Workers, the International bureaucracies themselves are closely controlling the whole operation to make sure it does not get out of hand.

Rigid bureaucratic control by the conference organizers was necessary to keep in check the impulses of militancy, trade-union solidarity and internationalism manifested by many rank-and-file participants. A purposefully vague "Statement of Purpose" and the election of national officers were rammed through despite eruptions of stormy and bitter debate over such issues as union democracy and solidarity with the UFW.

Despite the gross bureaucratism of the proceedings and the CLUW leadership's single-minded avoidance of "controversial" class-struggle politics, the principled programmatic approach of the Spartacist League emerged as the clear working-class pole and was recognized by the CLUW organizers as the main danger to their stage-managed reformist conference.

Trade-union supporters of the Spartacist League had attended several regional CLUW gatherings during the past few months to counterpose a class-struggle program to the narrow reformism of CLUW, in addition to exposing the CLUW organizers' collaboration with agencies of the capitalist government and private union-busters like the Ford Foundation. These interventions were not without effect on the CLUW leadership, which came to this first national gathering prepared to do battle with the SL.

Addressing the United Auto Workers' (UAW) delegation caucus meeting Friday night, Olga Madar (UAW International Vice President, elected National Chairwoman of CLUW at this conference) waved a xeroxed copy of a *Workers Vanguard* article ("Women Bureaucrats Rig CLUW Conference," *WV* No. 40, 15 March) and told the delegates that if they heard anyone saying anything similar they should "shut them up." Due in part to this unsolicited advertising, Spartacist salesmen sold over 400 copies of *WV* and *Women and Revolution* to participants during the course of the conference.

(It has since been reported that this same Olga Madar was one of the leaders of the 1,000-strong goon squad of UAW officials mobilized to put down the Mack Avenue sitdown strike in Detroit last August [*Detroit Free Press*, 31 March]. It is unfortunate that this was not known at the conference, for then the question could have been sharply posed as to just who supports the cause of doubly oppressed women workers, bureaucratic goons like Madar or rank-and-file militants like the supporters of the SL who fight for a class-struggle program.)

Split on "Union Democracy"

The conference excluded all women without union cards—a ploy to keep out radicals, but which also excluded the Brookside Women's Club and wives of the striking Harlan County miners who wanted to address the conference. There was even debate on whether members of public-employees unions (AFT, AFSCME) in states where they do not have the right to strike were a legitimate part of the conference! CLUW's advocacy of organizing the vast majority of unorganized women workers is thus revealed as a sheer fraud.

A railroading job was necessary to get the delegates to approve the agenda during the opening session Saturday morning. Addie Wyatt (Director of "Women's Affairs" for the Meat Cutters union, elected Vice-Chairman of CLUW) noted that everyone had a "private agenda," which she indicated should stay private so the conference could focus on "cooperation" by adopting *her* private agenda! Despite attempts to amend the agenda to allow for programmatic resolutions defining CLUW to be voted before the election of officers and to allow literature distribution and floor discussion, the agenda and conference rules were rammed through, although with significant opposition.

The discontent and political heterogeneity seething beneath the rigid structure were revealed when a seemingly innocuous amendment erupted into heated debate late Saturday night. The amendment simply noted that union members benefit from "full and complete democratic procedures" and called on CLUW to go on record as "encouraging democratic procedures in all unions." The motion split the conference down the middle. Three votes

had to be taken, including a final standing vote, and the motion only narrowly passed, with 700 for and 649 delegates voting *against* democracy in the unions! The tensions pushed underground by tight bureaucratic control surfaced as the amendment became a referendum on one's attitude toward the CLUW leadership. Those women, mostly bureaucrats themselves, who voted against the amendment did not want to imply in any way that the unions they were helping to run back home were undemocratic; besides, they had a suspicion that the motion was inspired by "radicals." Those who supported the amendment found in it a minimal way of expressing their distrust of the undemocratic conference proceedings.

Union Solidarity vs. CLUW

Controversy over support to the United Farm Workers (UFW) threatened to explode the carefully laid plans of the organizers. The proposed "Statement of Purpose" included what became the infamous "Point 14," stating that CLUW "not be involved in issues or activities which a union involved identifies as related to a jurisdictional dispute."

There is no "jurisdictional dispute" in the fields of California—Fitzsimmons' Teamster bureaucracy is conducting a straightforward strike-breaking operation, and Point 14 amounted to backhanded endorsement of Fitzsimmons' attempt to provide the growers with hired goons and scabs to smash the UFW. This willingness of the CLUW organizers to sacrifice the farm workers' struggle to petty deals with the Teamster bureaucracy was obscene and despicable.

The issue of deleting Point 14 was hotly debated in some workshops, while others voted unanimously to delete it. Only widespread sympathy for the UFW made it possible to brush aside workshop leaders' ludicrous miscounts on votes and attempts to adjourn, and to finally push the motion to delete Point 14 to the plenary floor, where it passed.

The determination of UAW tops to preserve the conference façade of "unity" made them the broker for Fitzsimmons. Edith van Horn, International Representative of the UAW, in the same workshop as some of the leading UFW organizers, offered a "compromise" amendment to Point 14, which read "with full support of workers to have the union of their choice." Hoping to obscure the issue and make it seem "unreasonable" to oppose Point 14, this amendment merely echoes the rhetoric Fitzsimmons uses to justify his treachery.

A spokesman for the Militant Action Caucus (MAC) of the CWA pointed out in the discussion that UFW head Chavez' use of the bourgeois courts to sue the Teamsters gives Fitzsimmons a perfect tool for undercutting rank-and-file Teamster support to the UFW. Moreover, Chavez' pacifism and refusal to appeal to other unions for concerted militant class action in support of the UFW play right into the hands of the AFL-CIO and UAW tops, who refuse to go beyond token financial assistance to the UFW grape/lettuce boycott, which without strike action must necessarily be ineffective.

The Militant Action Caucus has been active in UFW defense in California, collecting money from its CWA local and traveling to Delano to participate in Farm Workers' rallies, where MAC proposals for a united labor defense of the UFW were warmly received by the union's ranks. The MAC submitted the same proposals to the conference, calling on CLUW to support and extend the boycott by calling for a California-wide general strike and calling on all unions to refuse to handle struck goods. Given the UFW's catastrophic drop in membership and loss of contracts in the last year, only such a policy will keep it from going down to utter defeat at the hands of the Teamster-grower alliance.

UFW Capitulates—Conference Explodes

After pushing all weekend to have CLUW come out in support of the boycott, the UFW leaders present abruptly caved in to the conference organizers' pressure for "unity" and on Sunday afternoon dramatically dropped their motion, flatly deserting their numerous and vocal sympathizers. Josephina Flores of the UFW insisted that "this is not a fight with the Teamster sisters," who had earlier threatened to walk out of the conference if the motion in support of the UFW was passed!

The Teamster and UFW women, assisted by Edith van Horn and Olga Madar of the UAW, held a tearful reconciliation on stage. However, this revolting spectacle did not put an end to the issue. A supporter of "Union Wage," a West Coast women's labor pressure group, rose to insist on introducing the motion to support the UFW. The conference exploded at this point, with half the delegates loudly demanding that the motion come to a vote and the other half equally loudly denouncing it as "disruptive." Although Madar condescendingly reprimanded the UFW supporters, reminding them that the UFW wanted the conference to proceed in an orderly fashion, they refused to be silenced. Anarchy reigned, as motions to suspend the rules were ignored, voice votes ignored and/or miscounted, speakers cut off at the mike, microphones unplugged and at last the sergeant-at-arms was instructed by the chair to clear the floor. The turmoil eventually subsided, and the motion to support the UFW never did come to a vote.

After imposing a bitter and uneasy "peace" the conference organizers attempted a diversion: a "guest speaker," Adaire Hannah, Australian Labor Party member and an active trade unionist in the Federated Clerks. Next time they will screen their "diversions" more carefully. Hannah, a militant fighter for the working class internationally, solidarized with the Militant Action Caucus as a model of how to conduct working-class struggle. She pointed out that women in the union leadership were no guarantee that women workers' interests would be upheld, citing the case of the New Zealand Clerical Workers' Union, where the woman president told women workers that it was reasonable to wait five years for equal pay.

Hannah discussed the role of the Australian Labor Party in both aiding and hindering the struggle of workers, comparing it to the American trade-union bureaucracy, which is interested above all in keeping the struggles of workers within reformist bounds. Cheers greeted her insistence that the Democratic Party in the U.S. cannot represent the interests of the working class and that workers need their own political party based on a class-struggle program. The delegates responded with applause to her internationalist orientation and in appreciation of the evident discomfiture of the conference leadership.

The conference ended on a sour note, as Edith van Horn quickly moved the agenda to announcement of national officers. In particular, UAW bureaucrat Madar, who was elected National Chairwoman, was greeted by booing. Flippantly announcing that she had another unpopular announcement, van Horn proposed that all resolutions from the workshops on policies for CLUW be tabled to the new national coordinating committee, in final contemptuous disregard for the delegates, who came to the conference to fight for their views, only to have the political decision-making "tabled" back to the bureaucratic leadership.

WV PHOTO

Sergeants-at-arms attempted to prevent the distribution of MAC literature.

"Left" Takes a Dive

Most of the ostensibly revolutionary organizations, whose supporters attended the conference in some numbers, simply abdicated the basic duty of socialists to expose the self-serving reformism of the CLUW leadership and to counterpose a class-struggle program. The supporters of the International Socialists attempted to pressure the CLUW leaders to support the UFW (offering no criticism of Chavez' sellout policies) while hailing the conference as an exciting and positive development. Supporters of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) simply buried themselves—they even capitulated on support to the UFW, in the interests of preserving "unity." SWP supporters have been involved with CLUW for over a year, since the earliest planning meetings, and have yet to raise a word of criticism. The 5 April *Militant* reprinted the empty CLUW "Statement of Purpose," mildly noting that "it would have been educational . . . " if a political program and concrete proposals for action had been discussed and adopted!

The cynical silence of these opportunists, who hope to be allowed to be "the best builders" of yet another reformist diversion from the class struggle, starkly highlighted the role of the Militant Action Caucus and Spartacist League in polarizing the conference. The shameful default of the fake lefts enabled SL and MAC supporters to exercise a weight out of all proportion to their numerical strength at the CLUW conference. Only the principled program of Trotskyism offers a way forward for militant women workers to become leaders of a united working class rather than pawns in the CLUW leadership's cynical careerist games. ■

WV PHOTO

UFW spokesmon oddresses CLUW conference.

Militant Action Caucus CLUW Conference Resolution:

For a United Labor Defense of the UFW!

WHEREAS: the attack on the UFW by the Teamster bureaucracy-grower-government alliance threatens farmworkers with a return to pre-union working conditions by loss of UFW contracts,

WHEREAS: such a defeat would be a serious setback for the labor movement as a whole,

WHEREAS: the trade-union movement must enlist the assistance of the entire labor movement not only in boycotts, but in building a militant, unified working-class defense,

We call for state-wide general strikes to defend the UFW in face of attack, and further we call on all unions to direct its member unions to refuse to handle struck goods, recognizing that this was a key tactic in building the CIO in the 1930's,

Further, we oppose taking the Teamsters to the bosses' court to settle this affair, but counterpose a strong united labor defense as a winning strategy.

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...Fremont GM

hoc committee in the Local was "informationally" picketing the plant, and some picketers were distributing a leaflet opposing the Local contract, which was finally coming up for ratification months after Woodcock's sellout on the national contract. Some of the leafleters included ex-Brotherhood supporters who had been misled into voting for the Brotherhood by the aforementioned Maoists, particularly the *Bay Area Worker*, a paper supported by the RU. This "effrontery" of ex-supporters defying his will (and implicitly criticizing the International!) was apparently too much for Mays, who according to reports came over after the press conference and denounced the leafleters in a physically menacing manner, telling them they couldn't pass out their leaflet.

Ironically, this incident recalled to the mind of many militants earlier incidents in which supporters of RU and the *Bay Area Worker* had menaced and attacked salesmen from socialist groups, including *Workers Vanguard*, outside the plant. When the Local passed a resolution—"No member of this union shall attempt to prevent the sales or distribution outside the plant of the literature of the various labor-socialist groups, since this violates the basic traditions of this union of free and open discussion within the labor movement"—the attacks ceased (see *WV* No. 32, 9 November 1973). Mays's action was such a gross violation of the rights of members to propagate their views within the union that another official came over later to apologize for him to the leafletters.

At a special ratification meeting, Mays enumerated the "achievements" of the Local contract: more phone booths, water fountains and coat hooks for the workers. Traded off for so many water fountains and coat hooks was a three-year accumulation of grievances—some held over from the previous administration!—on job overloading, safety, etc., and numerous cases of political firings, including some Brotherhood supporters! Grievances against too much work were dropped because the line speed is going to change anyway, said Mays. (Perhaps this is why he *wants* the Company to change over to small cars!)

The left-wing supporters of the Brotherhood were divided among themselves on the Local contract, with some voting for and some against! The teetering alliance of this group with the Brotherhood may well fall apart during the election for convention delegates, as the bureaucrats move in to divide up the "pie" their own way. Meanwhile, the old Unity slate has crawled out of the woodwork once more in time for the election, with no more programmatic differentiation from the Brotherhood than last time, naturally. The *Bay Area Worker*-backed "Concerned Rank and Filers," however, have thus far not announced candidates.

Also failing to announce candidates is the Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party (TUALP), represented by Tom Cagle. TUALP is supported nationally by the pseudo-Trotskyist Workers League, a frenzied opportunist sect which thinks the struggle for wages is necessarily "revolutionary." The strange lack of relationship between reports in the WL paper, the *Bulletin*, and reality is explained simply by the fact that the political method of the Workers League consists of lying. For instance, a recent *Bulletin* (2 April 1974) claims that TUALP calls for a national strike to defend Lordstown workers and quotes Cagle as calling for a national strike in connection with layoffs, yet Cagle *abstained* on the February resolution calling for a nationwide strike against layoffs and for a shorter workweek!

The authors of that resolution, Joan Putnam and Darlene Fujino have declared themselves candidates for convention delegate on the basis of that resolution and what it represents as a class-struggle strategy counterposed to the Woodcock bureaucracy. They were also the authors of the earlier resolution defending the right of socialist groups to sell outside the plant, and Putnam is the co-chairman of the Committee to Fight Layoffs. Their programmatic statement, "Program Proposal for the UAW Convention," calls for a union hiring hall to eliminate all forms of discrimination instead of various preferential schemes, for nationalization of the auto and oil industries under workers control, and the formation of a labor party to fight for a workers government. It is precisely on this basis that a nationwide opposition must be formed in the UAW to break the repressive hold of the Woodcock regime on the union. It is to be hoped that these candidates will extend and deepen their commitment to this program, so that a permanently organized struggle may be conducted in the Local, going beyond the present elections. ■

Continued from page 7

...Lip Strike

"I have the feeling that our fight has affected many thousands in France. It will be talked about for a long time. It is a precedent that, well, one can never duplicate" (*Le Monde*, 31 January)!

This is the same Piaget that the ex-Ligue was so excited about only a few months ago. As often happens with the ex-Ligue its blatant appetites only reveal its never-ending opportunism. Just exactly what does the Lip struggle signify for the ex-Ligue? Lip, says *Rouge*, is "workers who say no to the capitalist logic!" (Supplement to *Rouge* No. 240).

With all respect to the Lip workers, who put up a good fight considering they were criminally crippled by rotten leadership, the ex-Ligue's view of them is grossly inflated. Every trade unionist who ever resisted a pay cut or unsafe working condition is saying "no to the capitalist logic." This does not make of him some sort of "unconscious communist" to be enthused over as a "new [ready-made] vanguard"; no more than tailing after the Lip workers can substitute for the building of a conscious revolutionary vanguard party in France.

Rouge concludes its mass-distribution supplement in glowing enthusiasm:

> "Lip in the end means: the workers don't need the bosses to make the factories run.
> "And if tomorrow, faced with rising prices, with unemployment, the workers say: we are all Lips, if the next time there are strikes they decide to run the factories without the bosses, then socialism will be within reach."

Presto! The "new vanguard" will have done it all without the impatient centrists of the ex-Ligue Communiste's having had to trouble themselves with leading the struggle to form anything so old hat as an "old" (Leninist) vanguard.

The CP-dominated CGT, for its part, declared that "every prolongation of the conflict can only jeopardize what has been acquired" (*Le Monde*, 17 January 1974) and, while heaping disgust and epithets of class collaboration on the CFDT, accepted the agreements, contented to play "see there, I told you so!"

While the CGT pot is calling the CFDT kettle black, the ex-Ligue screams that Lip is not finished, LO that the workers have shown us the way and the OCI is still wondering why there was not unity.

When the negotiators finally reached a settlement, the OCI printed a front-page cartoon of a smiling Piaget ushering the new boss through the front door of Lip, while behind Piaget stands a smug Bishop Lallier. The entire centerfold prominently displayed a searing polemic against the "Christian" CFDT. The CFDT, says the OCI, is an organization whose "function is to create divisions in the ranks of the working class," which "must be unmasked for what it is, an agent of the bourgeoisie in the working-class movement" (*Informations Ouvrières*, 6-13 February 1974).

This is, of course, all very true. But it is equally true of every reformist-led trade union—the CGT, CGC, FO, etc.—as well as of the Communist Party itself. It is significant to note that throughout the OCI's entire nine-month coverage of the Lip affair, not once did it specifically attack the role of the reformist CP misleadership! This endorsement by omission of the Stalinist bureaucrats is a consistent weakness in *Informations Ouvrières* and seems to be a keystone of the so-called "strategic united front." The attentive reader of the OCI press must suspect that, fearful of confronting the French working class with the necessity to break from the CP tradition, the OCI prefers to pander to the notion that the reformist leaderships will one day unite in firm defense of the working class.

From this we can conclude only one of two things. Either the OCI is deliberately capitulating to the present level of working-class consciousness and consciously advocating the building of reformist "unity"; or the OCI honestly believes the Pabloist perspective that the ranks in fact can expect to push their reformist leadership leftward into revolutionary action. In the words of *IO*:

> "If it is true that it is up to the leaders to realize unity, it is equally true that it depends on the workers and militants that the leaders realize unity."
> —*Ibid.*

What must be forcefully pointed out to the working class is that class unity around a revolutionary program only happens under the hegemony of a revolutionary party and that any other kind of unity is false and fleeting.

Where the reformists leave open the illusion that working-class interests can be served under capitalism, the centrist OCI leaves open the illusion that working-class interests can be advanced under reformist leadership. Both are ways of holding back the struggle of building a conscious revolutionary vanguard.

As is illustrated by the Lip strike, what is common to all the French nominally Trotskyist groups is a lack of hard programmatic intervention in the class struggle. The willingness to fight to build this leadership is in fact the acid test for any group aspiring to build a revolutionary party in France. ■

[1] Most of the Lip workers are organized in the CFDT. French unions are not divided up by industry but instead are grouped by political tendency across industry lines. Thus the CGT, the CFDT and the CGC all had representation at Lip.

FORUM:

LESSONS OF CHILE

Speaker: JAN NORDEN
Editor, Workers Vanguard

- BUFFALO/APRIL 12/8 p.m.
  State University of New York
  Norton Union, Room 233
- TORONTO/APRIL 13/8 p.m.
  University of Toronto
  Hart House, So. Sitting Rm.

Corrections

The article "Canada's New Democratic Party: Right-Wing Social Democracy" in *WV* No. 41, 29 March stated that the League for Socialist Action (LSA) had been recently reduced to the status of sympathizing section of the "United Secretariat." However, while the Revolutionary Marxist Group was recognized as a sympathizing organization of the USec, the LSA remains the official section. The same article refers to the Dowson group leaving the LSA in late 1973; in reality they formally resigned in February 1974.

Continued from page 12

Witchhunt at Mahwah

plant freely, abusing their privileges as officers, to campaign in the plant.

The Reilly group lost no time taking advantage of this "opportunity." The third leaflet to appear was signed by them (incumbents had also been seen passing out the second "UAP" leaflet) and it claimed that the leadership, in the space of a couple of days, had run its own little check on the "facts" and discovered, much to its "shock" and "disbelief," that the charges were indeed "true"! How convenient! Just in case any member didn't draw the right conclusion, however, the Reilly group cast aside even the "UAP"'s bet-hedging apology to Resnick and told the members not to vote for *anyone* on either opposition slate in view of the "facts" that had come to light:

> "KROGER, DIAMOND, RICHARDSON and others of their kind do not care about their jobs, or the union, or this Country. Their objective is to infiltrate our society and disrupt anything and everything.... Stay away from the entire slates they run on. Remember, they are our *enemies*!"

Red-baiting smear tactics are nothing new for the Reilly group, which has systematically attempted to discredit not only its opponents, but all militants, with such smears. Caring nothing for defense of the membership's rights against the Company, Reilly's gang simply allows those who express opposition to Company practices to be labeled "reds" and fired. Reilly actively suppressed movement for a strike over such firings and excessive heat in the plant last summer, smearing the militants as reds and then allowing grievances to lapse to the point where he claimed he could do nothing about the fired vice-president of the union (not to mention hundreds of others fired or disciplined). The rapidity of his endorsement of the "UAP" charges raises serious questions as to Reilly's direct connections not only with this "group,"

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but with the Company itself.

The Company is directly implicated because, according to an MSC press release, the "UAP" leaflets were typed on the *same typewriter* used by Company Labor Relations handouts! This has reportedly been verified by document analysis experts, and charges of Company conspiracy to interfere in the union elections have been filed with the NLRB by the MSC.

Response to red-baiting attacks such as these is an important test for any opposition. The MSC has conducted a forthright response, denouncing the attacks as pro-Company attempts to divide the workers and defending its program in a number of leaflets. The MSC has openly asserted that it is, indeed, the enemy of the companies and their government, and the opponent of all those who collaborate with them from high positions in the labor movement:

> "Lisa Diamond and the other members of the Militant Solidarity Committee of Local 906 have spoken out against Ford Motor Company and the corrupt U.S. Government. We oppose the government of the Kennedys and Nixons—the government responsible for the mass murder of millions of American soldiers and Vietnamese workers and peasants in the bloody war in Southeast Asia. Yes, we call for an end to this government, and call for a new kind of government, of, by and for the working people. 'Democracy' in America means democracy for the rich and powerful—and tyranny for the workers, oppression for the blacks, starvation for the poor. We in the Militant Solidarity Committee are fighting for a different kind of 'democracy'—the right of working people to control the factories which they have paid for with their sweat and labor, the right of the workers to run their own government."

The leaflet went on to point out that "Ford Motor is afraid of the ideas of the Militant Solidarity Committee because they know that our program is a challenge to their absolute power." The response of the MSC, besides debunking as lies and slanders such nonsense as Diamond's supposed "training," presumably as a "foreign agent," during a two-and-one-half-month visit to cut cane in Cuba, has been a defense of its militant program. Having defended everything that it stood for from the beginning, the MSC is rightfully indignant: it never had anything to "hide" (unlike the cowardly "Patriots"). The membership has reportedly been generally sympathetic to the victims of the slanders and received MSC leaflets enthusiastically. Unlike the 1950's there is today no mass anti-communist sentiment to aid right-wing bureaucrats to drive militants underground or out of the unions entirely.

The UAC, on the other hand, rejected a class-struggle program in favor of bureaucratic careerism, and therefore its most militant supporters and victims of "UAP" slanders are at a loss for a response to the red-baiting. The UAC refused to join the MSC in a denunciation of the attacks and petition campaign (although individual UAC supporters were willing to sign a petition), and its only direct response to the red-baiting has been a leaflet signed only by Kroger which simply denies the charges as false. It is the UAC's reformist trade unionism which prevents a more militant or programmatic response: any attempt by Kroger, for instance, to explain the role of the U.S. Army in Vietnam would embarrass her "ally" Resnick, who is seeking office only in order to play the same class-collaborationist role as Reilly.

Such a non-response, coupled, probably, with the usual court charges against the union as well as the Company (since the UAC has no principled objection to the tactic of suing the union), will simply tend to reinforce instead of debunk the charges of "outsiders" in the union and thus encourage the anti-communists, whoever they may be. The MSC alone is attempting to turn the tables on the slanderers through a vigorous political struggle aimed at winning the membership to its program, while pointing out that the only "outsiders" who have been seeking to interfere in the elections are the Company, and possibly the "UAP." ■

Continued from page 1

...Pentagon War Arsenal

do with the interests of the working masses or the defense of the Soviet Union. Nonetheless, Moscow has felt compelled to defend Kissinger's latest mission, labeling reports that the negotiations had flopped a sabotage of détente. *Pravda* as quoted by *The New York Times* said:

> "What are the sources of 'pessimism' of the *New York Times* and *The Washington Post*, as well as some other papers?
> "Are we not witness to disguised sabotage of the development of the Soviet-American dialogue?"
> —*New York Times*, 5 April

While the Brezhnev crowd is beguiled with Kissinger's sweet song of détente, Nixon has begun an altogether more earnest dialogue with his bourgeois masters, assuring them that "détente" will not take place at the expense of U.S. hegemony in nuclear weaponry. This hegemony is extremely important to the U.S. bourgeoisie. Every single president from Truman through Kennedy to Nixon has indicated he would not hesitate to launch a global nuclear war if the Soviet Union or China were to seriously upset the current status quo. Nuclear blackmail has always been the trump card of the American bourgeoisie.

Nixon and Jackson

Thus Nixon has joined hands with Senator Henry Jackson, the Kremlin's favorite anti-détente whipping boy, in pushing for accelerated development of the Trident missile-firing submarine. At the same time Nixon's new budget calls for pushing ahead with the deployment of new Navy and Air Force fighters, the F-14 and F-15, and for a $500 million commitment to develop the B-1, a new long-range bomber to replace the obsolete B-52 (ultimately 244 B-1s are to be built at a cost of over $11 billion).

Other new weapons systems Nixon desires, to be used as "bargaining chips" for SALT II, include a new cruise missile, new maneuverable MIRV warheads and a high-speed, highly maneuverable missile submarine to supplement the Trident. Nixon and his new Secretary of Defense, James Schlesinger, also want a more "flexible" nuclear strategy, by which they mean chiefly the ability to re-target U.S. missiles on short notice (20 minutes as opposed to the 36 hours currently required) so that they can engage in "limited" nuclear war, presumably to counter a Soviet thrust into Western Europe.

The Bankruptcy of "Peaceful Coexistence"

It is in the face of this deep and united hostility of all sections of the U.S. bourgeoisie to the Soviet Union that the Kremlin bureaucrats go about prattling their "peaceful coexistence" line and counterposing the angel Nixon to satanic representatives of the "military-industrial complex" such as Henry Jackson. Instead of a program of proletarian internationalism and class struggle they offer up a series of diplomatic maneuvers with the bourgeoisie that neither guarantee the security of the Soviet Union nor advance the interests of the world proletariat.

Not one whit better are the Chinese Stalinists led by Mao Tse-Tung, who oppose U.S.-USSR "détente" and want to keep NATO strong so as to prevent the shift of Russian troops to the Sino-Soviet border area. The Soviets have responded by trying to work out a three-way deal for massive American and Japanese investment in Siberian gas and oil, which they intend as a prelude to a Soviet-Japanese bloc against China. Never has the bankruptcy of the Stalinist theory of "socialism in one country" been so starkly revealed!

Aside from SALT II the current pet projects of the Soviet bureaucrats are the NATO-Warsaw Pact conference on troop reductions in central Europe being held in Vienna and the projected European Security Conference to be held in Geneva. Both of these conferences, like the negotiations on SALT II, are completely bogged down and promise to lead exactly nowhere.

The European Security Conference, if and when it comes off, can hardly be more than a latter-day Yalta, validating the territorial settlements of World War II (e.g., the Oder-Neisse line). That is to say, it will simply be a scrap of paper which sanctifies the present status quo.

U.S. Troops in Europe

The NATO-Warsaw Pact discussions, however, do have an interesting component—the relation of the U.S. bourgeoisie to its capitalist allies in Europe. Aside from détente, another casualty of the October War was NATO. Reflecting the view that their interests are increasingly counterposed to the Americans', the bulk of the NATO governments did not fall into step behind Washington's pro-Israel policies. Aside from Portugal, which is heavily dependent on the U.S. for arms for its colonial wars in Africa, *no* NATO member permitted the U.S. to ship or transship U.S. military supplies to Israel. For its part, the U.S. did not bother to consult with its allies when it placed all U.S. troops, including those under NATO command, on alert status in response to alleged Russian moves to send troops to Egypt. Since last October there has been constant bickering between the Americans and their European allies on everything from the Near East "peace settlement" to the Arab oil embargo.

Currently there are about 300,000 American troops stationed in Europe, the main force of 190,000 being located in West Germany. While NATO has upwards of 750,000 troops, it faces over 850,000 troops of the Warsaw Pact who enjoy a superiority in tactical aircraft (4,300 to 1,890) and in tanks (19,000 to 6,500). Barring anything short of a minor border skirmish, the Warsaw Pact forces could overrun most of Western Europe in short order in a conventional war. The 300,000 U.S. troops are thus essentially hostages, both the Soviets and the NATO commanders being well aware that the U.S. would early on bring tactical nuclear weapons into play to protect them.

The bourgeoisies of the NATO countries in Europe are not particularly happy at the prospect of their countries' becoming a tactical nuclear battlefield between the Soviet Union and the U.S. On the other hand they are as deeply hostile to the Russian degenerated workers state as their American counterparts and none of them at present sees any alternative to the American nuclear umbrella. Nixon, as much as he may fulminate about withdrawing U.S. troops from Europe unless the Common Market gives American capitalism a better deal, is forced to maintain a substantial number of U.S. troops in Europe. Reinforcement for an American role in Europe comes from, of all places, the French Gaullists, who want a continued American presence in Germany as a hedge against West German military preponderance in Western Europe. And the Soviet Union, although it would like to see some troop reduction take place, does not want it to occur so precipitously that West Germans feel compelled to qualitatively expand their army.

As was mentioned above the proletariat has no interest in these hypocritical dealings and horse tradings. They do not add one bit to the security of the Soviet Union or the other deformed workers states. On the contrary, the Stalinists themselves fall under the spell of their own preachments on "peaceful coexistence." They politically disarm the proletariat, building up illusions in the supposed pacifistic nature of the capitalist states. If they were truly interested in defending the conquests of the October Revolution, the Kremlin rulers would listen less to the latter-day Metternich, Henry Kissinger, and remember the Cuban missile crisis and the Vietnam War, both of them initiated by the "peace-loving," "progressive" Kennedy—this is the true face of U.S. imperialism.

Nixon's political stock is at an all-time low. The preconditions for sharp class conflicts are more real in the U.S. today than at any time since World War II. In Europe the situation is even more acute than in the U.S. and the bourgeoisie is even more disorganized. Yet the Russian and Chinese bureaucrats simply maneuver with this or that bourgeois politician or at best seek to funnel the rising line of class struggle into a popular-front formation to pressure some capitalist country to adopt a more "pro-Soviet" or "pro-Chinese" foreign policy. The strategy of peaceful coexistence—common to Stalin, Mao, Castro, Khrushchev/Brezhnev and Ho Chi Minh—is class collaboration on an international scale. ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

UPI

Hundreds of Ford workers demonstrate outside UAW Solidarity House in Detroit last November protesting the sellout contract.

Ferment in the UAW:

Committee to Fight Layoffs at Fremont GM

OAKLAND, Calif.—The General Motors Fremont plant, which makes the large Monte Carlos and Buick Regals, has recently laid off the entire second shift of passenger car production, including workers with up to six years in seniority. Only a year ago, these same workers were working up to ten hours a day, six days a week. Those laid off include all the women in the plant, as well as a large proportion of minorities and young Vietnam veterans.

The Brotherhood Caucus, an amalgam of ex-officers and careerists with a veneer of New Left rhetoric, rode into office in the Fremont UAW Local 1364 in June 1973 on the basis of an ostensibly militant stance in opposition to the incumbent Unity Team, which openly backed Woodcock's sellouts. The Brotherhood's cheering section on the ostensibly revolutionary left included the Maoist October League and Revolutionary Union. (Since then the cheering has died down, and the RU no longer supports the Brotherhood at all.) Like all fake militants who get elected on the pledge of financial reform and "membership control of the union," the Brotherhood Caucus has discovered now that it is in office it has no further need of its earlier promises. This is vividly demonstrated by the Brotherhood's total inability to provide a strategy to fight the current massive wave of layoffs in auto.

Laying Off the International

A resolution passed by the Local in February opposed preferential layoffs for any group, called the government a "tool of big business" and demanded an "industry-wide strike, linked up internationally, for shorter hours with full cost-of-living pay, to make jobs for all" (see *WV* No. 39, 1 March 1974). Subsequently a Committee to Fight Layoffs was set up to implement the resolution, but the Local bureaucrats have reportedly been dragging their feet on contacting other locals. At a recent UAW Sub-Council meeting in Texas attended by Local 1364 leaders, pressure was reportedly applied to "lay off the International." Amidst rumors about the UAW rejoining the AFL-CIO at the next convention in June, the Local bureaucracy is now attempting to quash even the most muted opposition or hint of criticism of the Woodcock regime.

Instead of pushing the position on layoffs passed by Local 1364 to other locals as instructed by the membership, the officials are pushing the International's "program" on layoffs onto the membership as instructed by the UAW bureaucracy. One week prior to the big layoff, Local President Vernon Diaz mailed a copy of Woodcock's line to all members; it called for quotas on imports of foreign cars and federal programs for this and that—in other words, total reliance on the capitalist government to solve the problem and an attack on all foreign auto workers besides. (Woodcock had earlier opposed trade quotas, but under pressure his true position is revealed.) That same week, one group of supposedly left-wing supporters of the Brotherhood Caucus issued a leaflet which *opposed* import quotas but failed to outline a strategy to fight layoffs. These people placed themselves in the right wing (of the Brotherhood) when they earlier called for inverse seniority in layoffs and opposed the resolution for an industry-wide strike. Diaz and shop chairman Earlie Mays have apparently become increasingly unappreciative of this group's continuing effort to provide the Brotherhood with a veneer of radical verbiage.

At a press conference on the layoffs Diaz and Mays verbally denounced the layoffs, lambasting the Company for not switching to smaller cars—another favorite ploy of International bureaucrats for getting themselves off the hook. When questioned by a *WV* reporter on the progress on carrying out the February strikes against layoffs resolution, Mays evaded the question but when pressed admitted that a committee was meeting on the question.

Meanwhile a group from another ad

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Witchhunt at Mahwah

APRIL 5—The upcoming union elections at the Mahwah, New Jersey, Ford plant (UAW Local 906) are witnessing a revival of the kind of vicious, red-baiting smear attacks on opposition candidates that were used by witchhunters in the 1950's to drive militants out of the labor movement. A mysterious group with no open supporters in the union, access to Company typewriters and voluminous sources of "background information" on its victims has been issuing slanderous leaflets over the signature "United American Patriots" in recent weeks. The attacks coincide with Company victimization of oppositionists and acts of favoritism toward the incumbent officers.

Whether the "United American Patriots" is the Company itself or a secret, right-wing, pro-Company hate group is immaterial. The actions of this group pose an undisguised, direct threat to the unions and the entire working class. As Nixon's endless tangle of Watergate conspiracies and anti-labor favors to big business is unraveled for public inspection, this group—also afraid of exposure to the light of day—hurls McCarthyite labels of "communism" from its darkened corner, thereby directly defending Nixon and all big business, not to mention Mahwah Ford itself and its helpers in the Local, the incumbent leadership of Joseph Reilly et al.

There are two opposition slates running in the elections, the United Action Caucus, with a ticket headed by a former president of the Local, Aaron Resnick, and a smaller "Militant Solidarity Committee," running a slate of three candidates for convention and sub-council delegateships, Lisa Diamond, Ron Painter and Richie Bradley. (For information on the platforms of Reilly, the UAC and MSC see *WV* No. 41, 29 March.) Claiming to draw on official government information on "subversives," the so-called "UAP" struck at Diamond first. According to Mahwah workers interviewed by *WV*, stacks of leaflets mysteriously appeared by the time clock and on Company bulletin boards in the plant. The leaflet included the following:

> "Did you know that *LISA DIAMOND* was a member of the Venceremos Brigade? The word Venceremos is the Spanish translation of Mussolini, used in World War II, which means 'TO KILL AMERICAN SOLDIERS'! *LISA DIAMOND* went to Cuba in the late 1960's at the age of 20, and was educated and trained by Soviet, Cuban and Viet Cong Communists on how to disrupt and overthrow the United States Government. . . . Her mission—*TO HAVE COMMUNISM DESTROY DEMOCRACY AND THE AMERICAN SPIRIT.*"

(An MSC leaflet pointed out that this was an insult to all Italian and Spanish-speaking workers since "Venceremos" means "we will win"!)

Barely leaving time for the Local members to decide what they thought the "American Spirit" meant these days (eagerness to endure gas lines, endless inflation and racism, all the while living happily on a rapidly shrinking unemployment check?), the "Patriots" came out with their second leaflet, which also appeared under mysterious circumstances. It began by apologizing in advance to Aaron Resnick in case he might want to disown his supporter in the UAC, Kitty Kroger, the next victim. Kroger was denounced as an SDS member who had worked in Germany during the Vietnam war trying to "subvert" the U.S. Army. It called Kroger the "Tokyo Rose of West Berlin." Finally, it concluded with a strong insinuation that Sandy Richardson, another UAC supporter, was a member of the October League, a Maoist group.

One day later, Kroger was "bumped" to night shift and given one of the hardest jobs in the plant by management. Diamond had earlier been threatened with disciplinary action; MSC candidate Painter was disciplined and UAC supporter Gregory Tucker was suspended for campaigning in the plant. Supporters of the incumbent Reilly slate, meanwhile, have been allowed to roam the

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Impeachment Is Not Enough!

WORKERS VANGUARD 25¢

No. 43 26 April 1974

Richard Milhous Nixon is a crook, a liar and a mass murderer. He is also president of the United States. The liberals would like to convict Nixon for destroying the "dignity" of the presidency. However, his peculiar qualities are by no means unheard of among the recent commanders-in-chief of U.S. imperialism. Democrat Lyndon Johnson was hardly a knight in shining armor. Of course, there is a difference: Nixon went too far, and he got caught.

For the bourgeoisie "too far" means using the same methods of illegal surveillance and sabotage against rival bourgeois politicians which were heretofore reserved for communists, blacks and unionists. The Democrats resented having their Watergate party headquarters treated as if it were the Russian embassy. Another factor causing resentment was the concentration of power in the hands of an arrogant clique of officials whose main qualifications were personal loyalty to Nixon and whose operational practices more closely resemble the Mafia than any impartial administration of the law.

For more than a year, the ruling class has been of two minds on the question of impeachment. On the one hand, most would like to be rid of a chief executive who has discredited the entire Republican Party, the "Washington establishment" and the U.S. government. On the other hand, a drawn-out trial of the president in full view of the public would even further weaken an already badly discredited regime.

By last fall a sizeable part of both the Democratic and Republican leaderships had become inclined toward impeachment or a forced resignation. The "Saturday Night Massacre," in which Nixon dumped Special Watergate Prosecutor Cox, Attorney General Richardson and Attorney General designate Ruckelshaus, was a key factor. Subsequent revelations of the absence of key White House tapes reconfirmed this inclination.

Nixon, however, had resolved to brazen out the affair with a publicity campaign labeled "Operation Candor" designed to mobilize down-home conservatives against the liberals. Since bourgeois politicians respect nothing so highly as success, many drew back from an immediate impeachment drive in order to wait and see if Nixon could pull it off. But a concatenation of findings by legal bodies punched so many holes in White House arguments that "Operation Candor" was quickly abandoned. At present Nixon appears to have given up on staving off impeachment, and is instead trying to delay it and maneuver for position.

The response of the labor movement and various ostensibly socialist groups to the Watergate affair has been highly indicative. The top AFL-CIO leadership, which in the 1972 elections adopted an attitude of pro-Nixon "neutrality," jumped on the impeachment bandwagon in order to extricate itself from the embrace of the sinking administration. The fact that the AFL-CIO has actually put some effort into the impeachment drive is an indication of how worried George Meany is that the union rank and file will remember how he (as well as Woodcock and Fitzsimmons) sat on the government boards implementing Nixon's wage-freezing policies. For Meany/Woodcock/Fitzsimmons support for impeachment is a way of cleaning up their images. What do they care that Vice President Ford is just as reactionary and strongly anti-labor as his boss?

Among the ostensibly revolutionary parties, the pro-Moscow and pro-Peking Stalinists content themselves to tail after Meany. The Communist Party tries to give its support for impeachment the aura of 100 percent Americanism with lengthy references to the Constitution and the "Federalist Papers." The Maoist Revolutionary Union on the other hand tries to give impeachment a "popular" twist with its slogan "throw the bum out." Neither offers a concrete alternative to continued Republican and Democratic rule.

The ex-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party has recently taken up again the call for a labor party (after years of calling for a black party and a Chicano party) and even mentions this demand in some of its Watergate articles. But the SWP's main focus is on a court suit against the government, demanding that the government cease its disruption and harassment activities. A court suit can be a useful secondary means of eliciting information and exposing the hypocrisy of the ruling class and systematic government provocation against all left groups. But to pose the SWP "socialist court suit" as the alternative to Watergate only demonstrates once again these reformists' inability to go beyond bourgeois democracy and pose the need for proletarian revolution.

The SWP apparently feels, like the CP and RU, that impeachment is the answer. In an interview on Watergate earlier this year, SWP national chairman emeritus James P. Cannon remarked about an earlier issue of *Workers Vanguard:*

"A. Do you know what they say on the headline? 'Impeachment is not enough!' (Laughs.)

ACTUALIDAD ESPAÑOLA

"Q. *He has to be hanged by the thumbs, or something?"*

—*Intercontinental Press,* 19 January

Apparently for the SWP, impeachment *is* enough and the swearing-in of Gerald Ford will solve the problems of U.S. workers!

The Spartacist League has pointed out that the labor movement must support a move by the bourgeoisie to impeach Nixon; but in order to get rid of the phony energy crisis engineered by the oil companies and the government; the wage-freezing policies of the Democrats, Republicans and labor bureaucracy; imperialist wars launched by Kennedy, Johnson and Nixon; government disruption of labor and socialist groups going back farther than the Haymarket Affair of 1886—in short, the real crimes of Nixon *and his class,* it is necessary to raise a program which leads to the inescapable conclusion that the workers must take power in their own hands. The workers movement must demand new elections in order to put forward a labor candidate counterposed to the program and candidates of the capitalist Democratic and Republican parties, as a step to the formation of a workers party based on the unions. If the bourgeoisie refuses, labor must be prepared to undertake a political general strike to enforce this demand. Dump the Meanys, Woodcocks and Millers—Forward to a workers government! ■

Behind AFL-CIO Anti-Nixon Drive—

Meany Pushes Jackson, Wallace

/2

Behind AFL-CIO Anti-Nixon Drive–

Meany Pushes Jackson, Wallace

No doubt hoping to erase from the memories of U.S. workers the embarrassing fact that it has been one of the key backers of the Nixon administration, George Meany's AFL-CIO machine has taken to the hustings proclaiming its resolve to defeat the top Watergate criminal and perpetrator of runaway inflation. In a special election in a solidly Republican Michigan district, seen by all as a test of whether Nixon's endorsement is truly the kiss of death for any GOP candidate (it was), the campaign of the victorious Democrat Traxler was largely run by local union officials.

By this February the AFL-CIO had already collected more campaign funds than it spent during the entire presidential election year of 1972, some $5 million, and was going into high gear to raise still more money (*Wall Street Journal*, 10 April). Meany appears to be intent on achieving the great goal of a "veto-proof" (two-thirds Democratic) Congress, as a step toward electing his man Henry (the Senator from Boeing) Jackson as president in 1976.

Meany is not doling out union political funds to just any Democrat, but is very concerned that the "veto-proof" Congress reflect his brand of rigidly anti-communist Cold War liberalism. (A good example of this selectivity is the current primary battle in Ohio for the Democratic senatorial nomination between Kennedy liberal ex-astronaut John Glenn and the more conservative AFL-CIO-backed Howard Metzenbaum.) The McGovern disaster put Meany in a strong position to influence the Democratic Party, while the Watergate scandal gave him the opportunity to use that influence.

Meany's machine is working hard and paying much to reorganize the faction-ridden Democrats along right-center lines, running broadly from George Wallace on the right to Ted Kennedy on the left. Since the Democratic Party is a capitalist party, rather than a reformist workers party, the nation's union chief cannot be party boss no matter how anti-strike, anti-communist and jingoist he is. But at present Meany is undeniably enjoying a certain success as Democratic kingmaker and campaign broker.

Rats Leave the Sinking Nixon Ship

The exhausting Vietnam war produced a major split in the U.S. ruling class which extended into the labor bureaucracy. For the Democratic Party, with a constituency including labor, middle-class liberals and blacks, the intense conflict over the war was far more disruptive than for the Republican Party. (This was the main reason for Nixon's election victories in 1968 and 1972.) The polarization over the war issue culminated in the hapless McGovern candidacy, which the pro-war Democrats (and there was no more blood-thirsty hawk than Meany) effectively sabotaged.

The official AFL-CIO pro-Nixon "neutrality" had a dual purpose. First, Meany truly preferred Nixon to McGovern. Secondly, he figured the inevitable ignominious defeat at the polls would strengthen his role in the internal life of the Democratic Party—and he was right.

Immediately after November 1972, the Meany forces in the Democratic Party, headed by Al Barkan, successfully pushed through a purge of the McGovern "New Politics" people. A long article in the *Washington Post* (2 September 1973) commented:

> "Barkan, on the other hand, interpreted his mandate from Meany to require that the 'Campus Camelots', the advocates of abortion and pot and the 'radical blacks', be driven from their places of power."

The Watergate scandal was an unexpected and powerful reinforcement for Meany's strategy. It gave the Democratic Party exceptional electoral possibilities at a time when the petty-bourgeois left-liberal wing of the party was discredited and being systematically rubbed out. But Watergate was by no stretch of the imagination a cause of Meany's "disillusionment" in Nixon. Only a political imbecile could believe that the man who encouraged construction workers to attack antiwar demonstrators was incensed over the "plumbers" breaking into the office of Daniel Ellsberg's psychotherapist.

In fact Meany's wholehearted support for the Nixon-Agnew hard line on antiwar dissent was probably a factor in emboldening the President to extend his personal police state apparatus into new and broader areas of political life. Meany has worked closely with the FBI and CIA over the years and believes in no-holds-barred tactics when dealing with opponents, especially "pinkos." Nixon's Watergate antics pale in comparison to the "dirty tricks" dispensed by Meany's American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD) in the process of sabotaging left-wing unions around the world. Moreover, Meany doesn't really care whether Nixon is impeached or not since he rightly figures the administration is thoroughly discredited anyway.

The AFL-CIO *call* for impeachment, on the other hand, was useful in trying to polish up Meany's image, tarnished by almost overt support for Nixon and participation in the government's anti-labor wage-price controls programs. No less obscenely hypocritical than Meany's new-found concern for civil liberties is his attempt to unload the entire burden of responsibility for inflation and falling real wages on Nixon.

NEW YORK TIMES

Senator Henry Jackson

An unsuspecting reader ignorant of the true facts would assume that the AFL-CIO Executive Committee statement condemning the government "stabilization" program meant that the labor tops had opposed Nixon's policies all along:

> "Thirty months of the Nixon Administration's so-called stabilization program have proven its complete and utter failure.... The controls program has been unfair, unjust and inequitable from its very beginning in August 15, 1971. Workers' wages, alone, have been held down. Profits, interest rates and prices have sky-rocketed."
> —*American Federationist*, March 1974

Reading the union bureaucracy's current anti-Nixon propaganda, one

U.S. NEWS & WORLD REPORT

George Meany

would never suspect that Meany was calling on Nixon to impose state wage-price controls long before 1971; that the union bureaucracy not only supported the 1971 wage freeze and every phase since, but became part of the government's policing apparatus to boot; and that since 1973, when Nixon dropped any pretense at holding down prices, Meany and his collegues I.W. (No-Strike) Abel and Leonard (Smash-Wildcats) Woodcock, have done everything in their power, including launching physical attacks on union militants, to push wage-cut contracts down the workers' throats.

Meany's United Front Embraces Wallace

Meany's intense efforts to drive the McGovern forces out of the Democratic Party leadership are matched by his desires to bring the Wallace forces in. By combining an appeal to white fears of racial violence with populist demagogy blaming liberal-dominated "big government" for inflation, taxes and all other evils, George Wallace has developed an unstable and unorganized, but nonetheless considerable, constituency among traditionally Democratic white workers and lower-middle-class elements.

The Wallace movement is a serious obstacle to re-establishing the Democrats' national electoral dominance. So Meany is attempting to line Wallace up behind Jackson in 1976 by bringing him into the Democratic leadership spectrum. Last fall the Meany forces helped elect Mickey Griffin, a Wallace man, to the Democratic National Committee despite strong liberal opposition. Since then Meany has made it crystal clear that he regards Wallace as a legitimate power in the Democratic Party, whose views must be taken into account.

There is a substantial negative basis for a Wallace-Meany tie-up. Both hate reds, hippies and Harvard professors. The Wallace and Meany forces worked effectively together to get rid of the quotas for blacks, women, etc., for the state delegations to the 1976 Democratic National Convention. Meany doesn't like black militants any more than Wallace does. However, since blacks are an important part of the AFL-CIO membership and Democratic Party constituency, Meany (in contrast to Wallace) must at least make hypocritical gestures toward supporting blacks' rights and interests.

On what basis and for how long the openly racist Wallace and the head of the U.S. labor movement can collaborate is unclear. (One indication: Wallace-run Alabama is a largely non-union state with low wages and an anti-union "right-to-work" law on the books.) What is clear is that the Wallace-Meany "consensus" is directed against black and other racial minorities and can only intensify within the working class the racial hostility which is such a powerful prop to American capitalism.

A Pillar of Cold-War Anti-Communism

Meany's anti-communism is legendary and is solidly rooted in reactionary social values. He was so physically repelled by the gay and women's liberationists at the 1972 Democratic Convention that he simply walked out. No doubt he risks a heart attack whenever he thinks of the American flag's being desecrated. And his personal clique which runs the AFL-CIO is no less rabid. Meany's main foreign policy advisor, Jay Lovestone, is an ex-Communist Party leader who was so treacherous even Stalin couldn't trust him. Since he was jilted by Stalin and expelled from the CP in 1929, Lovestone has waged a personal vendetta against the Kremlin bureaucracy.

While Meany is crude, sometimes irrational and tends to overestimate the strength of American imperialism, his basic anti-Soviet policy reflects the interests of the bureaucracy as a whole, and that is the source of his strength. To be sure, sharp conflicts occur within the union bureaucracy over concrete issues (e.g., the Vietnam war), just as they do within the ruling class itself. But all wings of the U.S. labor bureaucracy are committed to the interests of "their" imperialism, and that is why Meany's sometime liberal rivals—the late Walter Reuther, or Jerry Wurf of AFSCME and Leonard Woodcock of the UAW today—cannot defeat him or even seriously undermine his authority. To overthrow the Meanyite AFL-CIO bureaucracy the liberals would have to mobilize the ranks, whom they could not be certain of controlling and whose interests and political impulses go well beyond the narrow differences Wurf-Woodcock sometimes have with Meany.

Meany represents, in the grossest form, the central political axis of the labor bureaucracy in this epoch—social patriotism. This is the policy of mobilizing the labor movement on behalf of the imperialist efforts of one's own capitalist class, expecting to gain at the expense of other peoples and to win concessions from a grateful bourgeoisie. The semi-social-democratic Woodcock machine of the UAW, often contrasted to the arch-reactionary Meany, recently presented its own display of social patriotism. Reversing a long-standing policy against economic protectionism, it is now campaigning for quotas on foreign car imports—saying, in effect, that employment for its own members should be at the expense of foreign auto workers.

At the point where Nixon switched his foreign policies from "victory" in Vietnam to détente with Peking and Moscow, Meany broke with the Administration's foreign policy and wholeheartedly embraced Henry Jackson's pure-and-simple sabre-rattling mili-

tarism. Because the Vietnam fiasco generated a broad sentiment for an end to constant confrontations with the "Sino-Soviet Bloc," Meany and the die-hard cold warriors were forced for a period to snipe at the détente from the sidelines. But by skillfully exploiting the issues of Jewish emigration from the USSR and Soviet dissidents, Meany-Jackson won back a certain liberal support for anti-Russian policies. They won support from militarist factions by denouncing the SALT I agreement as leading to a repeat of John F. Kennedy's famous "missile gap" (which, as subsequent reports revealed, never existed) during the late 1950's. Even after a worldwide nuclear alert during the October Arab-Israel War and the currently booming Pentagon budget, Meany is still attacking the Nixon administration for being "soft on communism":

> "I pray every night that Henry Kissinger won't give the Russians the Washington Monument—he's given them every God damn thing else."
>
> —*New York Times*, 2 April

With the current recession Meany and Jackson can happily combine the call to arms against "totalitarian Russia" with a pitch to end unemployment by producing more planes and missiles. In short, Meany is making a concerted effort to place the government in the hands of the most aggressively militaristic wing of the U.S. ruling class, supported by the forces of domestic social reaction such as Wallace.

The Day of Reckoning

The popular loathing for Richard Nixon, a completely despicable human being in addition to being a reactionary politician, has given Meany's labor-Democratic Party coalition a breather. However, the present and past atrocities perpetrated by the chiefs of the U.S. labor movement will not be forgotten in the current wave of anti-Nixon solidarity. Black workers will not soon forget that the head of the AFL-CIO personally escorted the U.S.' most prominent racist politician into the leading circles of the Democratic Party. And trade-union rank and filers are well aware that it was Meany-Abel-Woodcock who forced them into wage-cutting contracts, despite having verbally opposed Nixon's manifestly anti-labor wage controls.

American workers have nothing to gain from Meany's "veto-proof" Congress in terms of ending inflation or satisfying their needs. Their demands can only be met through militant class struggle on the picket lines, in the streets and in the factories. And since this battle cannot be won by simply demanding higher wages—it is necessary to provide a *political* alternative to the wage-cutting Democratic and Republican parties of big capital—it is the job of revolutionary socialists to take the struggle from its present primitive level to that of a conscious fight to replace the rule of profit by a workers government which would expropriate the capitalist class and dismantle the bourgeois state. Only in this manner, which as a first step involves replacing the present union bureaucracy with a class-struggle leadership of the labor movement, can we ensure that George Meany and his ilk will pay for their crimes against workers throughout the world. ■

RCY RADIO PROGRAM:

"Young Spartacus: A Marxist Commentary"

WHPK, 88.3 FM
(southside Chicago radio station)
Thursdays 6:30 p.m.
CHICAGO

RESIGNATION STATEMENT:

"SWP Is No Place to Be a Communist"

April 8, 1974

SWP
Berkeley, Ca.

Dear Comrade Powers,

This letter tenders my resignation from the SWP [Socialist Workers Party]. For a period of ten years I have been a supporter or member of the YSA [Young Socialist Alliance] and the SWP. I am leaving the SWP because in the last three years it has become clear to me that the SWP is most decidedly un-Marxist, anti-Leninist and non-Trotskyist. For me this appreciation of the SWP (and other parties affiliated with the "United" Secretariat) began when as a member of the Proletarian Orientation Tendency [P.O.T.] I saw the virulent anti-working-class sentiment of the SWP majority—a sentiment so typical of the American petty-bourgeoisie and lumpen-proletariat. The SWP gives the dilettantism, venality and philistinism of the student based petty-bourgeoisie a "Marxist" cover and a Social-Democratic rhetoric; but covers and rhetoric have never changed the fundamental essence of *any* political phenomena. They only disguise it and thereby render it still more treacherous.

The 1971 SWP convention was a howling caricature of a Leninist convention. Every bureaucratic maneuver, short of physical violence, was used to deprive the legitimate political rights of both the P.O.T. and the C.T. [Communist Tendency]. Once that circus was over the SWP borrowed a page from Stalin's notebook and flooded the Oakland/Berkeley SWP branch and YSA local with a small army of mindless hand-raising hacks who pushed the pro-P.O.T. leadership of the YSA out of the way and replaced them at the helm. This is what Stalin did in order to crush the Zinovievist Opposition's stronghold in Leningrad. Then, borrowing yet still another page from Stalin's greasy notebook, the age limit for SWP members in the YSA was lowered so as to remove more opposition leaders who managed to hang on. This was precisely the way Stalin removed the Trotskyist leadership of the Socialist Youth Corps (the youth group of the Chinese Communist Party) during his betrayal of the 1925-1927 Chinese Revolution.

These and subsequent unprincipled organizational maneuvers whose name are legion, while foul and disgusting in their own right are merely the superficial manifestations of the political decay of the SWP. For some ten years the SWP blocked with capitalist politicians in the anti-war movement. In order not to "allenate" these treasured allies, the SWP's line in the anti-war movement was not to defend Vietnam because it was a workers' state. Instead the SWP called for withdrawal of U.S. troops using pacifist and liberal rationale; for example, arguing that the U.S. armaments money could be better spent by improving conditions in the U.S. In addition, the nationalist call of "Self-Determination for Vietnam!" was raised by itself. The problem with this is that both the Stalinists in the North and the U.S. puppets in the South are themselves genuine Vietnamese. Thus during the entire anti-war movement the SWP never raised the call for political revolution in the North, nor for an extension of the revolution in the South. Pity the frail and self-defeating parameters of reformism!!

While falling into the pit of "classless" nationalism in Vietnam, the SWP plunged headlong, consciously and actively into the twin mires of Black and Chicano nationalism. The most ludicrous element in these feckless ventures was the SWP's conception of the territorial solution for the blacks and Chicanos. For blacks, the SWP simply (if that is the correct word) called for *self-determination on a non-territorial basis*, i.e. a federated string of "independent" black ghettoes from coast to coast. While Stalin modestly confined his aims to building "socialism in a single country," the SWP sought to build black capitalism in various parts of scattered cities. In the case of the Chicanos, the SWP lent credence to and actively agitated for the idea of an "independent" Atzlan, whose boundaries no one knows or guesses with any proximity. Setting up the "independent" state of Atzlan would of course mean expelling the majority of population in that area which would mean the forceful displacement of the white, black, and Indian working-classes, in addition to the seizure of land from Mexico. The above are only *some* of the ludicrous elements of the anti-Marxist approach of the SWP on the national question. The most serious was to equate Lenin's call for self-determination for oppressed nationalities with the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois nationalist ideologies, which begin by calling for an independent nation-state and end by calling for and actively suppressing working-class struggles, as in Bangladesh. Lenin sometimes called for self-determination, but he never supported nationalism.

Like self-determination vs. nationalism, like women's liberation vs. feminism. Revisionism and reformism are never confined to one question or one slogan. Feminism like nationalism begins by calling for "independence" and ends by actively working against proletarian struggles. It is for this reason that the Third Congress of the Comintern in 1921 passed a thesis on the question of women which stated in part "The Third Congress of the Comintern confirms the basic proposition of revolutionary Marxism, i.e., that there is no 'specific woman question' and no 'specific women's movement,' and, that every sort of alliance of working women with bourgeois feminism . . . leads to the undermining of the forces of the proletariat, delaying thereby the triumph of the social revolution and the advent of Communism, and thus also postponing the great hour of women's ultimate liberation. Communism will be achieved not by 'united efforts of all women of different classes' but by the united struggle of all the exploited."

The SWP turns its haunches toward the revolutionary period of the Comintern, and its face toward bourgeois politicians and petty-bourgeois political scoundrels. Pity the poor Comintern! It only had theoreticians like Lenin, Trotsky, Bukharin, and Radek who hated feminism. The SWP is graced with the likes of Lund, Waters, Stone and Reed who think that feminism and Marxism are not only compatible, but are necessary for each other!

These are only some of the reasons why I feel that the SWP is decayed beyond hope. I broke formally from its politics in my two contributions for the last two conventions. The documents of the R.I.T. [Revolutionary Internationalist Tendency] which was framed up and expelled from the SWP, [and] which I am in solidarity with, point the way back to Trotskyism. I leave the SWP with no regrets other than the fact that the mis-education that the SWP has given me, as well as others, simply stood in the way of my seeing the decay, wretchedness, and total bankruptcy of this party earlier.

For nearly a year now I have been sympathetic to and a supporter of the Spartacist League. The guffaws and the derision of the fake Trotskyists of the SWP when the name of SL is mentioned merely affirm in my mind the general correctness of its views. In this light, it is interesting to note that the big bogey of the SWP is so-called "sectarianism and ultra-leftism." The SWP rarely, indeed if ever, expresses its fear of becoming reformist or opportunist. If both are evils of the Marxist movement, and they indeed are, why does the SWP only aim its fire on one danger? It is because the SWP is reformist and opportunist, and in fact what it generally considered "sectarianism and ultra-leftism" are the twin consciences of revolution which haunt it. This too explains the omission and falsification of a true and complete history of the SWP. To cite one example; the current pacifist interpretation of the 1939 anti-fascist rally at Madison Square Garden in N.Y. City. The real and correct nature of that demonstration can be found in the then organ of the American Trotskyists, *The Socialist Appeal* in the issues of February 28, 1939 and April 28, 1939. A revolutionary party is proud of its history, and a party proud of its history does not falsify or misplace the pages of its history!

With the Spartacist League, I have followed the debate within the barely-United Secretariat. The contributions to the discussion testified grimly to the general confusion, and worse, utter revisionism of these ostensible Trotskyists, some of whom with two and three decades in the movement should know better. But gray hairs don't make a revolutionist. The I.T. [Internationalist Tendency of the SWP, supporters of the European majority of the USec] reflects this condition by its inability and unwillingness to characterize the SWP as reformist or even centrist. With its kaleidoscopic heterogeneity, the I.T. reveals further confusion and unprincipledness with its practice of *triple* recruiting, i.e., join one of the cliques of the I.T. to change the I.T. which is in opposition to the SWP.

The time is over-ripe for the rebirth of Trotskyism. If like all revolutionary movements it must start with a handful of revolutionists, then so be it! With Lenin, we can inscribe on our banner, "Better Fewer, But Better!" The SWP is no place to be a communist!!

Forward to the Rebirth of the
F[ourth] I[nternational]!!!,

A.G.

P.S. For all of those mindless hand-raising hacks who voted for Gerry Clark's expulsion on the wild and disproven charge that he was at the Spartacist League summer camp, let me offer the following for your delectation. Comrade Clark was not there. I can say that with the utmost assurance because I was there. And, might I add, the Spartacist League's theoretical abilities stand in such shining and stark contrast to those abysmal anti-historical non-sequiturs which in the SWP pass for "theory," that my attendance at the SL summer camp removed any doubts from my mind of which organization represents the future of Trotskyism and which represents betrayal of working-class struggles.

cc: SL

RCY/Socialist Forum Debate

DE LEONISM vs. LENINISM

The Strategy for Socialist Revolution

The Party, the Trade Unions and the Nature of Socialist Society

Friday, 26 April
Washington Square Methodist Church
135 West 4th Street

New York

French Elections:

Not Mitterrand, But A Workers Government!

OCI Embraces Popular Front

PARIS—The sudden death of President Georges Pompidou on April 2 has given French popular frontism a new lease on life. The forces which make up the "Union of the Left"—the Communist Party, Socialist Party and bourgeois Left Radicals—together polled 42 percent of the vote in the March 1973 legislative elections. In the presidential elections coming up on May 5 and 19 (the latter being a runoff in case no candidate receives an absolute majority on the first round) they stand to increase their share of the ballots due to a sharpening of the class struggle in the intervening months. But whether it increases its vote totals or even wins the election, success for the popular front in no way means a victory for the working class.

Of course, the bourgeoisie does not as a normal matter of course call on workers parties to administer the affairs of the capitalist state—even when the workers parties are as crassly reformist as the French CP and SP, and even if they are committed to a class-collaborationist coalition with bourgeois parties. One of the main preconditions for the formation of a popular front and its coming to power is the political bankruptcy of the traditional capitalist ruling parties.

This is the case in France today. Gaullism is a form of bonapartist rule in which the forms of parliamentarianism are maintained but effectively limited by the power of a strong executive, in order to negate the influence of the two fifths of the electorate which votes Socialist and Communist. DeGaulle was able to raise himself above the influence of the various parties as a result of a powerful personality, close ties with the military and general agreement within the bourgeoisie that he was the only alternative to governmental chaos (as under the Fourth Republic) or bringing the CP into the regime. Pompidou was able to continue, in a weakened form, the Gaullist tradition of a strong state, largely through wily maneuvering.

But while M. Jacques Chaban-Delmas enjoys a certain popularity with the UDR (Union for the Defense of the Republic, the Gaullist party) and sections of the petty bourgeoisie, he is hardly a powerful authoritarian figure in the tradition of the late General. In fact, he was for some time a Radical Socialist and a minister in the governments of Mendès-France and Mollet during the 1950's. As prime minister between 1969 and 1971, he gradually lost effective control of the cabinet and had to resign in the wake of several government scandals.

Moreover, the French bourgeoisie is not of one mind these days. Increased pressure due to its worsening position internationally has led to significant divisions in the French ruling class. In the wake of Pompidou's death, the leaders of various competing interest groups have been viciously elbowing each other for room at the top of the heap of Gaullist candidates. Thus Chaban-Delmas and Giscard d'Estaing represent differing views on European integration, relations with the U.S. and the possibility of coalition with the center forces in France. To this splintering of the Gaullists now is added the candidacy of the arch-conservative Royer, who has in the past led a campaign against abortion and introduced a bill re-legalizing factory apprenticeship at the age of 14 in place of schooling.

In any case, were legislative elections to be held now, the UDR and its allies could at best achieve only a razor-thin majority of the vote. (Of course, the undemocratic districting might still ensure them a substantial majority of seats.) In brief, the election of Chaban-Delmas or Giscard d'Estaing would not represent a victory for Gaullism, but rather a return to the weak governments of the Fourth Republic.

Upsurge in Lobor Struggles

A second precondition to the formation of a popular front and its elevation to power is increasing labor unrest which threatens to break through the limits of capitalism. This, too, is present in France today. Since the drawn-out and immensely popular strike at the Lip watch factory last year, French strikes have been increasingly marked by the formation of rank-and-file strike committees uniting militants of the different labor federations, occupations of factories and agitation for demands such as a sliding scale of wages (full cost-of-living), to be determined by union, not government, figures. There has also been a minor strike wave, with a continuing walkout by coal miners in Lorraine and local strikes among shipyard workers at St. Nazaire, auto workers at Le Mans and electronics workers in Moselle *(Manchester Guardian Weekly*, 13 April).

Furthermore, the labor unrest has extended into areas which in the past have not been significantly alfected by strikes. The walkout by bank clerks in Paris (in which the various ostensibly Trotskyist groups have all been active) has spread to a large number of banks (causing considerable financial disruption in the process); striking workers have rejected a partial capitulation by the banks and are sticking to their original demands. In addition, the workers at the stock exchange have struck, forcing the Paris bourse to close down.

These strikes are taking place in a situation in which the French government has been unable or unwilling to halt runaway inflation—12 percent in 1973 and expected to be well over that figure this year—but also unable to entirely pass the burden onto the backs of the working class. While the strike settlements and deals made by the union bureaucrats have been far short of what might have been achieved under revolutionary leadership, they have not been crushing defeats that would dampen militancy; nor have they meant a significant loss of purchasing power (in contrast to the U.S., where real wages fell

L'EXPRESS

François Mitterrand

L'EXPRESS

Valéry Giscard d'Estaing

L'EXPRESS

Jacques Chaban-Delmas

Union marchers protest inflation in Paris last December.

WV PHOTO

by more than 4 percent last year). On the contrary, the obvious disarray of the French bourgeoisie (like its English, German and Italian neighbors) has only spurred on labor militancy.

Mitterrand: a Right-Wing French Allende

On the left, Francois Mitterrand is the single candidate of the left parties. While he is the first secretary of the Socialist Party, he is also the standard bearer of the popular-front Union of the Left and its "Common Program." This program not only promises to maintain the bourgeois state, but even the present anti-democratic Gaullist constitution! Under it, nationalizations would be restricted to approximately 40 companies, mostly banks and insurance companies, *with* compensation naturally.

Moreover, it contains an explicitly anti-communist clause, which was used by the first popular-front government in the late 1930's to repress the Trotskyists. It reads: "Movements which use armed violence or which call for its use will be forbidden in conformity with legislation established in 1936." Although ostensibly directed against the fascists, this clause guarantees that in an armed confrontation with the bourgeois police and army, it is the capitalists who will have all the guns.

As we wrote at the time of the legislative elections last year:

> "The 'Common Program of Government' is a gloved hand extended to the bourgeoisie by the main workers' party, the CP; it is a *bourgeois* program of reforms which preserve the essential framework of capitalism. Tomorrow the gloved hand will become the mailed fist of repression as the CP uses the bourgeois state apparatus to smash striking workers who thought the 'Popular Union' would be *their* government."
>
> —"New Pop Frontism in France," *WV* No. 17, March 1973

Mitterrand occasionally makes a formal bow in the direction of socialism. Speaking before a special congress of his party on April 8, he remarked: "We will not put the word socialism in our pocket. Socialism is synonymous with liberty." He realfirmed the Common Program but also defined his own five-point electoral platform: "freer men, a fairer society, a stronger currency, a more fraternal people and a greater French presence" (*Le Monde*, 10 April). Putting his commitment to the maintenance of capitalism even more bluntly, Mitterrand stated in an interview with C.L. Sulzberger of the *New York Times* (17 April), "I am not a Marxist.... I certainly wouldn't betray NATO."

For its part, the Communist Party was quick to offer its own assurances of "responsible" behavior. Georges Marchais, general secretary of the CP, went on the state radio to announce that "The Communist Party formulates no unreasonable demands. It represents a force without which it is not possible to realize the necessary transformations but it does not thereby have pretentions to a hegemonic role" (*Le Monde*, 12 April). And to show *its* good faith, the CP-controlled CGT labor federation hastened to cancel the traditional May Day demonstration for fear that the "ultra-left" might use the occasion to disturb the "social peace" just before the elections.

Hard on the heels of the Chilean defeat, the bureaucratic leaders of the French proletariat are preparing to run the same course. Handcuffed by his bourgeois allies as well as by his own deep-dyed reformism, Allende was only able to infuriate the bourgeoisie and could not expropriate it as a class. His vacillation paved the way for the victory of a brutally reactionary bonapartist counterrevolutionary military dictatorship. Told to rely on the "democratic traditions" of the military, the masses were left unarmed (both physically and politically) in the face of the September coup. The class treason of the Chilean CP and SP led directly to the slaughter of thousands of workers and left militants.

Allende's version of the popular front was, relatively speaking, a rather left-wing one. True, it was "born from the struggle of the masses" as its fake-Trotskyist apologists are fond of pointing out (so are all popular fronts). Yet the popular front is not an expression of that struggle but rather a last-ditch attempt by the bourgeoisie to stave off revolution—by drawing the mass reformist workers parties into the administration of the capitalist regime at a time when the capitalist parties can no longer maintain order alone. Its task is to deflect the working class from the struggle for power.

Not all popular fronts end in bloody coups such as marked the end of the Allende regime. The more insipid French popular fronts of 1936-38 and 1946-48 were replaced through a simple process of ministerial reshuffling. This would likely be the end of a Union of the Left government as well. But it nevertheless marks a significant defeat for the working class. As soon as the 1936 popular-front government came to power it broke the massive general strike; and its demise led straight to the fascist Vichy regime. Likewise, the collapse of the post-war popular front led to a ten-year period of governmental instability and ultimately to the 1958 Gaullist coup. To call for a vote for Mitterrand is to prepare a repeat of this history of betrayal.

Mitterrand and Marchais want to close their eyes to reality. Immediately after the Chilean coup, Marchais went on radio to announce that "Chile is not France" (*France Soir*, 13 September 1973). Now Mitterrand takes to the air waves to declare that there is no danger of a right-wing coup d'état if he is elected president because, unlike the Chilean army which "everybody" thought was democratic but wasn't, the French army "truly is" democratic (12 April ORTF transmission). The French left refuses to recognize the lessons of history ("it was different then," they claim), thereby preparing the working class for an insidious trap.

Fake Trotskyists Tail Pop Front

A number of "far-left" organizations, including the supporters of *Rouge* (newspaper of the ex-Ligue Communiste, which recently announced its reconstitution as the Revolutionary Communist Front, FCR, at a meeting on April 10), "Revolution!", Pour le Communisme, Alliance Marxiste Revolutionnaire and the Maoist La Cause du Peuple are panting pitifully after the sellout left bureaucrat from Lip, Charles Piaget, in the hope of convincing him to become the "single candidate" of the far left, just as Mitterrand is the single candidate of the "traditional left."

Piaget is a typical example of the "militant" trade-union bureaucrat who can lead struggles, but in the end capitulates to the employers (see "Lessons of the Lip Strike," *WV* No. 42, 12 April 1974). Piaget himself has declared that he is not a Marxist and he belongs to explicitly Catholic organizations within the Catholic-oriented CFDT labor federation. But the "far left" is not having much success getting Piaget to run: his own party, the PSU (United Socialist Party), has refused to allow him to run since it is now busy traipsing after Mitterrand and the Union of the Left.

The Revolutionary Communist Front (ex-Ligue, ex-"supporters of *Rouge*") has announced that if Piaget does not run it would instead put forward Alain Krivine on the first round and support Mitterrand on the second. The FCR explains away its support for class collaboration by claiming that the Union of the Left is not *really* a popular front, because the Communist Party has "hegemony" and the Left Radicals are an insignificant force.

These fake Trotskyists throw out *class* analysis of the popular front, a coalition of workers parties with the direct representatives of sections of the bourgeoisie, and appeal instead to the mystical "dynamic." If the majority of the bourgeoisie were trying to impose the Union of the Left in order to dampen the class struggle, the UL *would* be a popular front, they concede; but since the rank and file are trying to impose it against the will of the bourgeoisie, it merits support. (Of course this means that the Spanish and French popular fronts in the 1930's were not popular fronts either.)

Thus the "Revolutionary" "Communist" Front openly asserts that the illusions of the workers, not Marxist analysis, determine its political line. Krivine, speaking at the Mutualité on 10 April, characterized the FCR position as saying to the workers, "we prefer Piaget, but on the second round, if you want to vote for Mitterrand, we'll vote with you." At the same time, Krivine concedes that if the Union of the Left candidate is elected, "the power will remain in the hands of the bourgeoisie."

The OCI: "Not Just a Stupidity, but a Crime"

The last time around, the Organisation Communiste Internationaliste (OCI), another ostensibly Trotskyist group in France, ran several candidates against the Union of the Left on the first round, while voting elsewhere and on the second round only for the CP and SP candidates. It sharply criticized the Ligue Communiste (now FCR) for voting for all the candidates of the Union of the Left (on the second round); this was, the OCI said, capitulation to the popular front.

The OCI is now supporting Mitterrand on the first round. This is simultaneously a qualitative *betrayal of Trotskyism* and a logical extension of its earlier policy. What attitude should revolutionaries take if the single candidate of the popular front is a member of one of the workers parties? "Vote for him," says the OCI—and thus all opposition to class collaboration becomes purely formal. In practice the OCI is lined up alongside the Stalinists and social democrats and together with the left bourgeoisie.

The OCI presents its election position in a front-page editorial headlined: "For a Government of Workers Parties, We Must: Sweep the UDR [Gaullists] from Power; Win All Demands, Assure the Victory of the First Secretary of the Socialist Party, F. Mitterrand." The headline by itself is a whole program. The statement by the OCI continues:

> "We say: Mitterrand, supported by the CP, is the candidate of the Union of the Left, of the Common Program, of the five 'urgent' measures proposed to the government by the parties of the Union of the Left. We have no reason to support the Common Program or to weaken our criticism of the Union of the Left. But we have even less reason to aid Chaban, Giscard or Messmer.... We have always made a distinction between workers' organizations (CP and SP) and bourgeois parties.... We call for votes for Mitterrand, first secretary of the Socialist Party."
>
> —*Informations Ouvrières*, 10-18 April

Thus the OCI calls for a vote for Mitterrand, "first secretary of the Socialist Party," while nimbly avoiding calling for a vote for Mitterrand, "candidate of the Union of the Left"—as if the two could be magically separated. In fact, they cannot be separated, either in reality or in the minds of the working class. Standing on his own, Mitterrand could be correctly described as the OCI itself described him in 1967, a "bourgeois parliamentary combinationist" (*La Vérité* No. 536, February-March 1967). Running simply as a candidate of the Socialist Party he must be treated as the representative of a reformist workers party, that is, a party which is simultaneously bourgeois and proletarian. But as candidate of the Union of the Left, a bourgeois popular front, this contradiction is suppressed in favor of the dominant bourgeois element. To pretend otherwise only serves to build dangerous illusions among the workers.

The OCI editorial concludes with

continued on page 10

New Jersey Ford Elections:

Red-Baiting Falls Flat

Militant Slate Gets 10%

The incumbent slate headed by Joseph Reilly and Bernie Jackson swept into office for another two years in elections at UAW Local 906 (the Ford assembly plant at Mahwah, New Jersey). Reilly's "Brotherhood of 906" topped its chief rival, the United Action Committee, by a better than two-to-one vote, dumping UAC supporters out of two top-officer positions and many committeemen posts. This included Dave Gardner, the vice president and top UAC vote-getter, whose firing by the Company last summer made him the focal point of an abortive wildcat strike.

However, a significant portion of the opposition vote went to three young militants who considered the UAC opportunist and ran on an explicit class-struggle program. Their demands included nationwide strikes against layoffs, expropriation of the oil and auto industries, a general strike to oust Nixon and force new elections and for a workers party based on the trade unions. The three, Lisa Diamond, Richie Bradley and Ron Painter, organized the Militant Solidarity Committee and ran for convention and sub-council delegateships.

Despite the fact that none of them had ever run for office previously, they averaged ten percent in an unusually heavy (80 percent) voter turnout. Equally significant, the MSC candidates received between one third and one half the number of votes as the leading UAC candidates for the post. Diamond and Bradley received 467 and 341 votes respectively for convention delegate (compared to 925 for Aaron Resnick, the top UAC contender and former president of Local 906); Painter received 239 votes for sub-council delegate.

Company Involvement in Smear Campaign Exposed

The most sensational issue of the many-faceted campaign was the exposure by the Militant Solidarity Committee of direct collusion by Ford's Labor Relations Department in a vicious red-baiting campaign aimed at discrediting the opposition slates. Leaflets signed "United American Patriots"—a group with no openly acknowledged members in the union—had mysteriously appeared on Company bulletin boards during the campaign, slandering opposition candidates and supporters.

Lisa Diamond of the MSC was accused of being "trained by Soviet, Cuban and Viet Cong Communists on how to disrupt and overthrow the United States Government." Kitty Kroger, a supporter of the UAC, was accused in another leaflet of having tried to subvert the U.S. Army in Germany during the Vietnam war and labeled the "Tokyo Rose of West Berlin"; Sandy Richardson, another UAC candidate who later was elected alternate committeeman, was implicitly accused of membership in the October League, a Maoist group.

BERGAN COUNTY RECORD

Left, Joseph Reilly. Right, Dave Gardner.

The Militant Solidarity Committee exposed Ford's collusion by proving that in addition to appearing on Company bulletin boards and next to time clocks, the "UAP" leaflets had been produced on the *same typewriter* used for Labor Relations information sheets. An MSC leaflet issued just prior to the voting demonstrated this dramatically by reproducing a sample Company handout next to one of the smear sheets, and including blowups of key letters indicating similar deformations in the type face (see the reproduction of a section of the MSC leaflet on page 9).

The similar type was verified as coming from the same machine by a professional document analysis firm. The MSC also immediately filed an NLRB suit against the Company for interference in a union election. This revelation was a serious embarrassment for Reilly and Co., since incumbent officers had been seen passing out the smear sheets!

The UAC was undoubtedly hurt by the Reilly group's well-practiced expertise at slander and red-baiting. In addition to the "Patriots" leaflets, the members were greeted by a mass of leaflets distributed throughout the plant, including many signed and unsigned slander sheets supporting the incumbents. One of these showed a cartoon of noted oppositionists gathering at the home of the recording secretary, a UAC supporter, to listen to surreptitious tape recordings of executive board meetings! No one ever offered any proof to substantiate this charge of impropriety.

Oppositionists Respond

The UAC, however, was certainly vulnerable to charges of bureaucratism since it in no way separated itself from run-of-the-mill business unionism. Despite demagogically including a few "radical" planks in the UAC platform, its officer and former-officer supporters (including an ex-Local president) behaved no differently

continued on page 9

Elections in Chicago UAW Harvester Local

CHICAGO, April 19—More than any other U.S. union the United Auto Workers has the responsibility to provide leadership for a working-class response to the second Nixon recession and the phony "energy crisis." Sharper hit than any other section of the industrial workforce by the wave of layoffs, auto workers are currently at center stage of the domestic class struggle. This situation sharply poses the question of what kind of leadership the UAW must have not only to defend its membership, but to point the way forward. With a convention coming up in June the UAW provides an opportunity for militant opposition groups to put forward their programs in elections for convention delegate.

In Local 6, representing International Harvester's Melrose Park plant outside of Chicago, thirty-five candidates on five separate slates are running for eight convention delegate seats. The Local has a militant tradition as well as sharp internal political divisions. In the last Local elections Norman Roth, a supporter of "Labor for Peace" and the Communist Party-backed "Trade Unionists for Action and Democracy" (TUAD), defeated Dick Egan, the red-baiting, racist incumbent, with whose ex-supporters he now shares the Local leadership.

The right wing has now regrouped under the anti-communist shop chairman Bob Stack, leaving Egan out in the cold. While Stack's "Defense Coalition" red-baits Roth, Egan eagerly splits the right-wing vote by denouncing Stack's slate as "opportunist" and "vigilantes." This might leave a clear field for the opportunist Roth and his Solidarity Caucus were it not for his left-wing competition!

Stalinist Brand of Labor Reformism

Typical of the type of trade-union reformism the Stalinists support, Roth is the perfect liberal. He opposed the Vietnam war, favors impeachment of Nixon and eulogizes Martin Luther King in his column in the Local 6 paper. Roth has also come out for opening the

WV PHOTO

Tractors waiting in shipping lot of Melrose Park International Harvester plant.

books of the corporations, an end to wage controls and an end to labor participation on Nixon's wage-controls boards. He presents nice-sounding lists of reform demands to the Local in the guise of general program and writes articles in *Labor Today* (the TUAD newspaper) advising militants on how to deal with bureaucratism in their union meetings.

But at the same time, Roth stays fully within the bounds outlined for him as a member of the tightly monitored Woodcock bureaucracy. How are UAW members to express their outrage over wage controls, for instance? Not through strike action. Roth suggests they write their congressmen! Furthermore, he calls for "genuine" price and profit controls ("like there were during World War II," says Roth—has he forgotten the fraud of war-time controls, in which inflation soared ahead of frozen wages?).

Roth soft pedals his differences with Woodcock, as over the last contract, by restricting opposition to a few verbal gestures and presenting the International position as a *fait accompli*. Woodcock's latest atrocity, "dealing" with layoffs through pleas for government handouts and quota limitations on imports, is characterized by Roth as "a start."

Most importantly, Roth's agreement with the CP's "anti-monopoly coalition" (otherwise known as supporting "lesser-evil" Democrats) keeps him in the same capitalist political ball park as Woodcock. Once this political "principle" of picking and choosing among capitalist politicians is established, differences on trade-union policy necessarily become minor differences of emphasis—how much and when to apply "pressure" for crumbs from the ruling class. Roth, with an eye on ensuring his bureaucratic future, has already announced his intention to endorse Woodcock's re-election at the convention!

Fake-Left Syndicalists

A contradictory grouping to the left of Roth's Solidarity Caucus, but existing in a symbiotic relationship with it, is

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Protest Labor Department Snooping

LATE FLASH (Chicago, April 21)—It was announced today at the monthly meeting of UAW Local 6, Melrose Park International Harvester, that an agent of the U.S. Labor Department has recently demanded *all* records of the Local. After being turned down by the executive board, the government agent then obtained a court subpoena for these documents. The purpose of the subpoena and the government's snooping was not revealed at the meeting. (However, there are rumors of pressure coming from the International to clamp down on the "radical" positions taken by the Local in recent months.)

As a result of the revelations of government prying into the affairs of the union, the Militant Action Slate reportedly presented the following resolution which was passed at the meeting:

"A) To condemn the government interference into the internal affairs of our Local Union and,

"B) To commit our Local to work to repeal the Labor-Management Reporting Act and all other laws which enable the government to interfere in the internal affairs of our union."

Rather than relying on the courts and lawyers, a national effort must be launched to inform the UAW membership and mobilize it to fight this ominous government attack. As a necessary first step it is the obligation of the Local 6 leadership to fully inform its own ranks of the threat posed by this Labor Department action.

Pleading Ignorance...

RMG Cops Out of Toronto Debate

TORONTO—On April 13 a public meeting was held at the University of Toronto by supporters of the international Spartacist tendency on the question of the Trotskyist program vs. Pabloist revisionism. The meeting had originally been organized as a debate between the Spartacist League and the Revolutionary Marxist Group (RMG), but, in an unprecedent display of political cowardice, the Political Committee of the RMG backed out of the debate in a letter dated April 5. The RMG's attempted cancellation followed hard on the heels of a lengthy political confrontation between RMG and SL supporters in Vancouver at the end of March.

The RMG had agreed to the Toronto debate nearly a month in advance, on the subject of the RMG's choice: the central programmatic questions facing the international movement. Yet the April 5 letter stated: "We feel it was an error to agree to such a debate in the form proposed.... Debates on the level of abstracts have little meaning if not linked to practice. To accept such a debate was our mistake but it is also very much one that the SL recurrently makes."

In a display of consummate hypocrisy, the letter noted: "We are sure that the debates with the SL and the RMG will continue in public forums and it would be hoped increasingly in common areas of intervention." In fact, the RMG leadership has sought at all costs to seal off its supporters from any contact with the SL in "public forums" or "common areas of intervention."

In February the RMG leadership went so far as to cancel its co-sponsorship of an SL-initiated demonstration in Toronto in support of striking British miners. This cowardly step made it crystal clear that any internationalist responsibility that the RMG might feel toward the British class struggle was far outweighed by the need to avoid contact between RMG supporters and the SL. And after seeking to pull out of the scheduled debate, the RMG then put its members under discipline not to attend either the debate itself or the SL public meeting on Chile.

The rationale offered by the RMG, that the "SL is not yet firmly established in Canada and is only beginning to express itself on questions of concern to the Canadian left," is a blatant example of nationalist parochialism. Those who accept the RMG at its word would have to conclude that issues such as the international Trotskyist movement, the British miners' strike and the Chilean coup are not supposed to be "questions of concern to the Canadian left."

Seizing on every possible justification for backing out of the debate, the RMG letter retreated into simple know-nothingism: "...comrades of the RMG are just now beginning to receive copies of texts that have been out of print or not available outside the FI [the RMG is here referring to the so-called "United Secretariat of the Fourth International," the revisionist rotten bloc led by Ernest Mandel which has little in common either organizationally or politically with Trotsky's Fourth International]. We have, after all, been an FI group for less than two months and these things take some time normalizing. To guarantee the fullest possible generalization of the knowledge of RMG comrades of such experiences as Ceylon, the 1953 split, the 1963 reunification, Pablo, etc., we are sure that you would agree that the norm should be that all comrades in the RMG and Red Circles should have access to all possible documentation—not only that of the SL."

Certainly, comrades of the RMG, we of the SL are only too glad to agree with you that it would be desirable if RMG members read the basic documents of the international organization with which they are supposed to be in solidarity. We think it strange however that these documents, which have been analyzed in the pages of *WV* for the benefit of our readers, do not seem to be available to your members. Being "an FI group" seems to convey rather dubious advantages.

In fact, the organizational ineptness of the RMG as coyly portrayed in its letter really strains the imagination: "A small revolutionary group never quite catches up with its organizational needs—especially one as new as the RMG." So young and yet so cynical! The barrage of justifications adduced for the RMG's pull-out leaves one wondering why this organization does not simply give up and go home—not simply from the scheduled SL debate, but from politics in general.

Following the RMG's desperate attempt to withdraw from the debate, the SL distributed a leaflet, "What Is the RMG Afraid Of," which announced that the SL, at least, would show up to debate and that any RMGers with the courage to defend their organization's politics would be given equal presentation time; RMG speakers from the floor could have twice the speaking time of anyone else!

Accordingly, the meeting was held, with only a few members of the RMG daring to show their faces but with ample attendance by the RMG's periphery from the Red Circles. The presentation was given by a leading member of the Spartacist League of Australia and New Zealand on behalf of the international Spartacist tendency. She explained that the historical roots of the United Secretariat/RMG method lie in the development in the early 1950's of a liquidationist revisionist current within the Trotskyist movement, exemplified by Michel Pablo.

Characterizing Pabloism as "the theoretical justification for a non-revolutionary impulse based on giving up a perspective for the construction of a proletarian vanguard in advanced or colonial countries," she concentrated on three key areas exposing the liquidationist essence of Pabloism: "entrism *sui generis*," which meant the dissolution of the Trotskyist nuclei into the mass Stalinist and social-democratic parties, with the perspective of pressuring the reformist leaderships to the left; the theory that the "epicenter" of world revolution had shifted to the colonial world, a rationalization for tailing "progressive nationalists" like Ben Bella in Algeria and for hailing the Yugoslav, Chinese and Cuban leaderships as having established healthy workers states without the intervention of the class-conscious proletariat led by a Trotskyist vanguard party; and the current theory of the "new mass vanguard," a disparate layer of militant young workers and others which, according to Mandel, possesses the "ability to intervene in the class struggle in its own right, to take political initiatives here and there, to take leadership of the mass workers' struggles...."

The discussion period included debate on the Lip strike, which the United Secretariat upholds as "exemplary"; Cuba, about which an RMGer remarked that "one could debate" whether or not it was a deformed workers state, but "we can all agree" that what it lacks is institutions of workers democracy; press policy and the need for a polemical press which can intervene in all aspects of social struggle; and the rotten bloc nature of the United Secretariat. But the high point came later in the day with the reading by an RMG member at the Chile forum of his resignation from the RMG in solidarity with the authentic Trotskyism of the international Spartacist tendency. ■

RMG Discovers Dimitrov

The Revolutionary Marxist Group (RMG) of Canada apparently knows so little of Trotskyism that without turning a hair it has embraced the infamous "theoretical" heritage of Stalinism. Over the apparently trivial issue of academic ultra-rightist apologists at the University of Toronto, the RMG has come out for a revamped version of the infamous "united front against fascism" propounded by Dimitrov, as a mouthpiece for Stalin, at the Seventh Congress of the Comintern in 1935.

To be sure, the RMG does not acknowledge its debt to Dimitrov in its statement, a long letter to the University student newspaper (*The Varsity*, 4 March 1974). But the parallelism of the argument is clear. After presenting a generally correct analysis of fascism as the last resort of the capitalist class to physically smash the mass organizations of the working class, the letter at last gets to the crux of the matter:

> "Concretely, for the present, we propose the setting up of *a coordinating committee of all antifascist forces* to do the following: 1) *conduct political propaganda* to educate about the importance of the question, its present and future implications, to absorb the lessons of past tragedy and *to prepare to combat the future threat of fascism*." [our emphasis]

The letter also proposes the united defense of left meetings and "active opposition to the dissemination of fascist ideas."

Now what can this possibly mean? What kind of animal is "a coordinating committee of all antifascist forces" which can "conduct political propaganda" and "prepare to combat the future threat of fascism"?

Lenin and Trotsky were vigorous opponents of the idea of "pure democracy." They tirelessly explained that behind the forms of bourgeois democracy stands *the state*, whose function is to defend bourgeois property against the working class either by parliamentary rule backed by the repressive state apparatus or, if necessary, through the mobilization of fascist gangs to physically smash the mass organizations of the working class. Thus the fight against fascism cannot be separated from the fight for *proletarian state power*. Over and over again Trotsky insisted that the choice was socialist revolution or fascist barbarism: no alliances with "democratic" imperialism, no "People's Front" against fascism, but the independent mobilization of the proletariat for the conquest of power.

"But," the RMG will reply, "what are we to do in the meantime? We cannot immediately organize the working class to take power. We recognized in our letter that 'in the longer term it is the working class, acting independently of the state, which will decide if fascism is defeated in the historical sense'." So the RMG recognizes the need for proletarian independence "in the longer term" while calling immediately for... what? For a classless committee of "all antifascist forces" to "conduct political propaganda" and "prepare to combat the future threat of fascism."

Just what kind of political propaganda can such a classless committee conduct except classless liberal propaganda which can only retard the development of *class* consciousness among the proletariat? How can a classless grouping "absorb the lessons of past tragedy" when the lesson of past tragedy is precisely the need to fight for working-class independence even from the "progressive," "anti-fascist" sections of the bourgeoisie?

No, comrades of the RMG, we cannot look to committees of "all antifascist forces" to draw the real lessons of the triumph of fascism in Germany, to *tell the truth* to the working people. Nor, apparently, can we look to the RMG. ■

Militant Rejects Pabloism

Political Committee,
Revolutionary Marxist Group (RMG):

I hereby resign from the RMG. For some time I have characterized the leadership of the RMG and its "Fourth International" as centrist. Those of us who broke from the reformism of the LSA to the RMG and positions of the European Majority of the "United" Secretariat left unexamined the methodological and historical roots of the LSA's reformism. I have come to understand that what I have seen as the reformist errors of the LSA and the centrist errors of the RMG are deeply rooted in the Pabloist revisionism of the hopelessly divided "United" Secretariat.

Pabloism continues to be characterized by the search for a substitute for the class-conscious proletariat to make the socialist revolution and the consequent failure to maintain an independent Trotskyist vanguard party. Capitulation to insurrectionary, nationalist, petty-bourgeois guerillaism, adaptation to non-proletarian "vanguards" whether of the "new mass" or student or now "broad vanguard" type, liquidates the irreplaceable role of the proletariat and its Trotskyist leadership.

To be a Leninist one must proceed as Trotsky did in the formation of the Fourth International, that is from the objective historical needs of the international proletariat *programmatically expressed*, not from the given mentality of the class at a given moment. The Fourth International then does not exist organizationally despite the claims and posturing of those representing the forms of its degeneration and rotten-bloc limitations. It must be reborn as the democratic-centralist world party of socialism on a firm programmatic basis.

The task of building an authentic Trotskyist party in Canada and the world cannot be postponed. Having achieved fundamental programmatic agreement with the political positions of the Spartacist League/US I intend to work in sympathy with the international Spartacist tendency. In doing so I stand on all the basic documents of the SL/US and urge all others in the RMG who seek to find the way from centrism to authentic Trotskyism to look to the Spartacist League.

Peter M.

Chile Today

Mistakes of the MIR

Prospects for Revolution

Speaker: Judith Sinclair
SL Central Committee

Friday, 3 May
Embassy Auditorium
9th Street and Grand Avenue
7:30 p.m. — $1.00 donation

LOS ANGELES

Demos Defend Chilean Militants

SAN FRANCISCO—In the face of the Chilean military government's recent move to begin mass trials and renewed executions of political prisoners, more than 100 people joined a protest picket and rally on April 10 in front of the Chilean consulate here. Sponsored by the Committee to Defend the Endangered Chilean Militants (initiated by the Spartacist League), they called for the release of all political prisoners held by the junta, focusing in particular on leaders of various socialist organizations, including Bautista Van Schouwen and Alejandro Romero of the MIR (Revolutionary Left Movement), Luis Vitale of the PSR (Revolutionary Socialist Party, section of the United Secretariat), and Luis Corvalán of the Communist Party.

Endorsements for the demonstration were received from several radical, socialist and labor organizations, as well as a number of union officials and prominent left liberals. Among the endorsers were: Acción Demócrata; AFSCME Local 1695; Bob Arnold; Dave Aroner, Northern Regional Director, Social Services Union Local 535, SEIU; Paul Chown, United Electrical Workers (UE) Local 1412, International representative; Class Struggle League; Emergency Committee to Defend Democracy in Chile; Charles Garry, lawyer for the Black Panther Party; Harry Ibsen, President, Communications Workers of America (CWA) Local 9415; International Socialists; Professor Richard Lichtman; Militant Action Caucus of the CWA; New America Movement; Bob Rayby, Recording Secretary, Amalgamated Transit Union Div. 192; Al Richmond, former Communist Party leader; *Socialist Revolution*; Socialists for Independent Politics; Spartist League/Revolutionary Communist Youth; Tim Twomey, Secretary-Treasurer, Hospital Workers Union Local 250; Lloyd Vandever, Secretary-Treasurer, UE Local 1412; Northern California chapter, Vietnam Veterans Against the War; and Waterfront and Warehouse Workers for Justice in Chile.

In accordance with the norms for a genuine united front, the Committee made no attempt to impose a common political line on participants beyond the stated purpose of defense of the endangered militants and invited all groups and individuals to bring their own signs and literature. The SL/RCY raised the additional slogan of "No Deals to Sacrifice the Far-Left Militants in Order to Save the Chief Traitors of the Popular Front."

While demanding the release of all prisoners of the junta, including the "constitutionalist officers" who opposed the coup and 53 of whom are now being tried by a military tribunal, revolutionists must place special emphasis on the cases of militants of groups like the MIR which stood to the left of the popular-front Unidad Popular coalition. In addition to having been virtually ignored by the U.S. left until a series of demonstrations initiated by the Spartacist League brought their case to the attention of the public, MIR prisoners were further threatened by the possibility of a deal between the Russian bureaucracy and the Chilean junta, whereby the junta would release several prominent UP leaders (including CP-head Corvalán) but *not* the MIR militants.

Speaking at the rally a San Francisco longshoreman reported the resolution passed by ILWU Local 10 last November which calls for boycotting "all goods and cargo to and from Chile until such a time that the junta or government in Chile restores full rights to the trade unions, their membership and leaders. . . ." He noted that since implementation on the resolution was left to the International leadership, nothing had been done. (The SL set up a picket line in front of a Chile-bound ship in the Bay Area last month, and sympathetic ILWU dockers halted work until a business agent arrived on the scene and ordered them back. However, while a call for a total embargo of goods to and from Chile was a correct and necessary step in the immediate aftermath of the coup, today it cannot substantially aid efforts to overthrow the junta. Instead, a more selective boycott tactic should be used, such as halting all military goods bound for Chile.)

A speaker from the Militant Action Caucus of the CWA noted that Local 9415 president Ibsen had endorsed the demonstration on paper, but in the union meeting he had ruled out of order a MAC motion demanding that the CWA break all ties with the AFL/CIO's American Institute for Free Labor Development. The AIFLD is at this moment helping the reactionary junta to set up company unions. Moves by militants in union locals across the country to demand an end to support of the scab AIFLD operation are a useful and concrete means of expressing opposition to the counterrevolutionary military dictatorship and solidarity with embattled Chilean unionists.

The speaker for the Spartacist League noted the absence from the demonstration of the Communist Party, which prefers to rely on the Kremlin to work out a deal with the junta rather than mobilizing support for a united defense of all prisoners of the military butchers. Also noticeably absent were the Socialist Workers Party and the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA) which it leads. The SWP and USLA apparently fear that defense of the MIR, which stood to the left of the UP coalition, would alienate them from their liberal and Stalinist friends. (The latter, however, are now refusing to support SWP co-thinker Vitale.)

The speaker noted that after years of denouncing the SL as "sectarian" for refusing to enter the SWP's popular-front antiwar coalition (NPAC), these fake Trotskyists seem to be having considerable difficulty explaining (even to their own membership) why it could not endorse a simple and urgent defense demonstration. Ironically, one of the reasons this issue was causing problems for the SWP was the broad labor support for a defense campaign focused on labor/socialist leaders (in contrast to the USLA campaign concentrating on intellectuals who might be sympathetic to bourgeois liberals in the U.S.). So the SWP must either participate in real united-front defense committees initiated by the "sectarian" SL (something it seems determined to avoid) or find itself isolated. ■

Demonstration in Vienna, Austria on April 4, sponsored by the Committee to Support the Chilean Resistance. The OBL (Austrian Bolshevik-Leninists) marched in a block with signs proclaiming: "For the victory of Proletarian Revolution," "Freedom for Romero and Van Schauwen and for All Political Prisoners," "Down with the Military Junta, For Proletarian Revolution in Chile."

OBL PHOTO

WV PHOTO

CWA militants protest union support to the AIFLD, Meany's scab operation that is currently aiding the Chilean junta to set up company unions.

WV PHOTO

Demonstrators at San Francisco rally to defend endagered Chilean militants.

For *Proletarian* Revolution in Chile!

The article "Chile After the Coup," in *WV* No. 42, 12 April 1974, includes the following sentence: "The task of the hour is to begin the political preparation for a workers and peasants revolution, not some kind of 'people's revolution' to restore bourgeois democracy!" While the phrase "workers and peasants revolution" was intended as an extension of the call for a "workers and peasants government," the extension would logically imply the formation (as the result of the revolution) of a "workers and peasants state," a concept which is completely anti-Marxist. It is possible to have a workers and peasants government of a workers state; in fact, this existed in the early months of the Russian Revolution when the Bolsheviks governed in coalition with the Left Social Revolutionaries. But a "workers and peasants state" implies a stage intermediate between the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and the dictatorship of the proletariat, with a new property form which is neither capitalist nor collectivist.

The confusion results from the fact that the phrase "workers government" and "workers and peasants government" is also used as a transitional formulation for the dictatorship of the proletariat. But the use of a formulation for pedagogical purposes must not be allowed to introduce fatal confusion on the crucial question of the class character of the revolution. The correct perspective for Chile is a *proletarian* revolution in which the working class leads the peasantry in overthrowing capitalism.

Support *Workers Vanguard!*

Subscription Rate Increase

Effective May 1 the annual domestic subscription rate for the biweekly *Workers Vanguard* goes to $5.00 per year, up from the present $3.00. To assure immediate mail circulation of the paper, we have for some months mailed it at the First Class rate of 16 cents a copy instead of at the much slower Third Class rate, costing only about 6 cents a copy. The post office has now raised our cost for First Class mailing to 20 cents a copy (i.e., $4.80 per year).

At the same time, we have now begun to prepare for the publication of a WEEKLY *Workers Vanguard*. This will involve considerable expense in new equipment and the like.

We do not lightly project this increased frequency. Our anticipation for the next period is one of sharply increased class struggles. This consideration, taken together with the Spartacist League's strongly enhanced role within the labor movement, demands increased frequency in our press as a necessary means to give added impact to the role of the revolutionary Marxists. The working people *need* the paper that *Workers Vanguard* is.

To strengthen our financial situation in preparation for the WEEKLY we are compelled to increase our present subscription price to one more usual for a paper of our size and frequency. Moreover, to augment our general circulation and financial basis we are shortly undertaking a sustained increase in the single copy sales of *Workers Vanguard* across North America.

Postal regulations are such that once we have the WEEKLY, rapid mail circulation is much less expensive. In the meantime we cannot guarantee that so long as we remain a biweekly, we will be able to maintain our mailing at the fast, expensive First Class rate. But short of surrendering our progress toward the WEEKLY, we will.

The Editorial Board

Continued from page 6

New Jersey Ford...

than any other aspiring office seekers. Its formal program included a call for a shorter workweek at no loss in pay and union control of hiring, in addition to the usual vague list of pious promises (fight layoffs, end discrimination, union democracy, etc.), but these points were quickly forgotten in the scramble for offices. UAC leaflets tended to consist of a welter of sheets supporting various individuals on the slate, but the UAC made *no joint response* whatsoever to the red-baiting.

The MSC, in contrast, fought to expose the red-baiting as a pro-Company tactic which was being used by the incumbent bureaucrats to promote their candidacy by attempting to obscure the real issues. A statement issued by the Reilly slate had explicitly endorsed the witchhunt charges of the "UAP": "They are true! KROGER, DIAMOND, RICHARDSON and others of their kind do not care about their jobs, or their union, or this Country. ...Remember, they are our *enemies*!" The leaflet went on to tell members not to vote for *anyone* on either opposition slate because of this. In its leaflet exposing the smear sheets' origins, the MSC responded:

> "We in the Militant Solidarity Committee *are* enemies... of the profit-hungry Ford Motor Company. We are enemies of the corrupt anti-labor Nixon Government and Big Business politicians. That is why we are seen as enemies by those UAW leaders, like Woodcock and Reilly, who have sold out the membership ... we fight for a program of united and determined *class struggle* against the might of the corporations."

Foreign Workers and Layoffs

The MSC received particularly heavy support from the large French-speaking Haitian minority in the plant. Haitian immigrants to the U.S. are currently the victims of government deportation efforts, and MSC candidates were the only ones to raise demands against the deportations, for full citizenship rights for all foreign workers, union literature in French and Spanish, etc. The MSC also stood out as the only slate to distribute French and Spanish translations of all its leaflets.

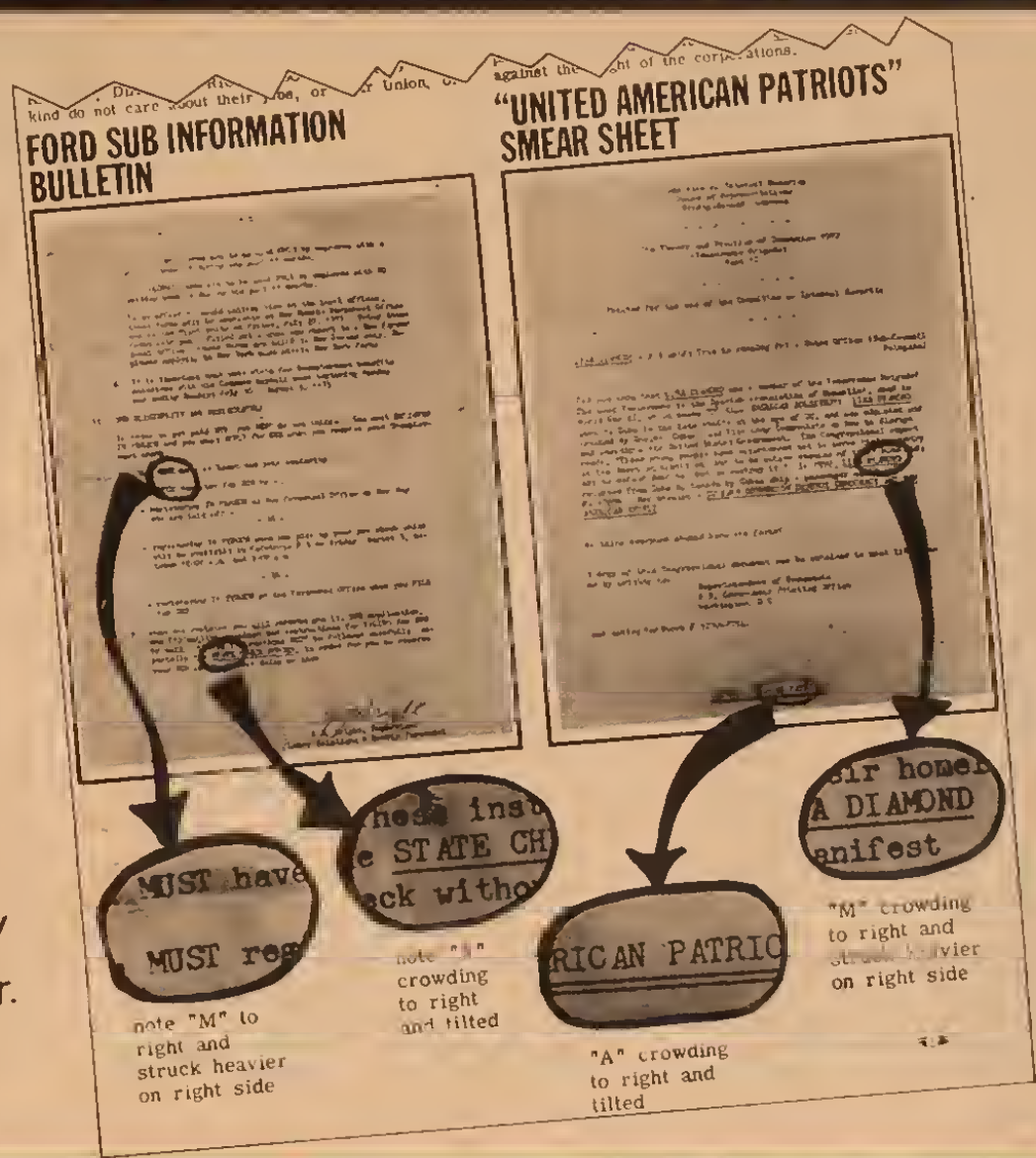
Despite the heavy flood of red-baiting and slander in the campaign, reports indicate that it was the unemployment situation which clearly determined the outcome of the vote. In the face of repeated layoffs and the "energy crisis," the 1950's-style McCarthyism of the "UAP" was unable to swing large numbers of votes or mobilize even the smallest amount of open hostility against its victims.

Reilly, however, was able to pass off as a victory for his administration the fact that the Company had announced during the campaign its intention to change the plant over to small cars with a promise of full employment (and overtime) to commence after the elections. This announcement, which was timed perfectly for Reilly, followed months of uncertainty, partial layoffs and temporary plant closures during the "energy crisis" drop in auto sales. The announcement meant that another Ford plant in Kansas City would not be changed over to small cars, with the result that workers there would suffer, but such facts mean nothing to Reilly or the UAW tops in Detroit.

The essence of parochial trade unionist misleadership such as Reilly's or the UAC's is that each group of workers should attempt to get whatever the capitalist system can afford to give them (but no more than this) even at the expense of other workers. Thus when Reilly "negotiated" the Company's changeover announcement, he appeared to be doing a "good job." The UAC immediately became irrelevant, since its entire program was simply an unsubstantiated claim that it could do a better job: using methods no different than Reilly's, it could somehow get "more." The vote for the MSC, on the other hand, was a vote to change the methods and the nature of the "job."

Since the election, it is rumored that of the UAC's five successful candidates (all committeemen or alternate committeemen), three are already disassociating themselves from the "Committee" with which they ran. The UAC, in any event, immediately ceased to exist once the voting was over, except for the usual "struggle" in the courts, which will no doubt include suits against the union. (Kroger issued a leaflet threatening a libel suit against the union leadership.) The MSC rejects taking the union to court as an unprincipled maneuver which brings the bosses' state into the workers movement.

For a group based solely on individual desire for office, electoral failure is always fatal. MSC spokesmen, on the other hand, are unperturbed by their failure to win any offices and declare their intention to consolidate their election campaign—which they consider to be a victory for their program—into a permanent, on-going caucus as soon as possible. However, in the long run, victory can only be achieved by extending such caucuses to other locals and building a class-struggle opposition throughout the UAW, a goal to which militants such as those of the MSC must dedicate themselves. ■



Militant Action Committee leaflet exposé: Smear attacks were typed on Company typewriter.

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Bi-weekly of the Spartacist League

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French Elections...

formulations which come astonishingly close to an explicit "stages" theory of revolution:

> "The leaders of the CP, the leaders of the SP, Mitterrand, proclaim the politics of the Common Program. But, in the present situation, Mitterrand's election is a necessary stage on the road of the struggle against capitalism and the bourgeois state. This fact must be recognized: the victory of Mitterrand opens the period of the liquidation of Gaullism and the institutions which Gaullism imposed on the bourgeois state....
>
> "... With the defeat of Chaban, Giscard, Messmer, etc., the liquidation of the bonapartist system whose downfall is on the agenda is, without any doubt whatsoever, the first condition for advancing on the road of the struggle for a new government, a true 'popular government'...."
>
> —*Informations Ouvrières*, 10-18 April

This story is not new. Quite clearly the OCI is saying that even though the Union of the Left is a popular front, the Gaullist UDR is nevertheless the "primary" enemy. So—vote for the popular front! How many erstwhile Bolshevik organizations have sunk into the reformist swamp while singing this tune? The OCI's position on the current French elections is not a question of abstract theory, but a very concrete betrayal of the working class. It could well mark a decisive turn toward absorption into the mainstream of French labor radicalism: from the contradictions of centrism to a formal right-centrism—a figleaf for simple reformist appetites.

General Charles DeGaulle, Algiers, June 1958. Failure of post-war popular front led to chaos of Fourth Republic and Gaullist coup of 1958.

Trotsky and "Unity"

The new election line of the OCI represents a locking-on to the reformist element which is always inherent in centrism, although in a confused and contradictory way. In its propaganda the OCI has continually downplayed the struggle for the vanguard party and the Trotskyist *program* as the condition for real unity of the proletariat around its historic class interests. The OCI has instead elevated the "united front" into a strategy rather than a tactic, dissolving the revolutionary program into a spurious "unity" around the reformist bureaucratic misleadership of the class.

As Leon Trotsky so often pointed out, it is at the most acute points in the class struggle that the need for the independent revolutionary vanguard and its program is most pressing. This was Trotsky's position when he led the French Bolshevik-Leninists out of the SFIO in response to the signing of the Laval-Stalin pact, when Stalin suddenly "understood" the need of the French bourgeoisie for "national defense" (consequently ordering the CP to vote for the defense budget). At that time Trotsky wrote:

> *"No matter how much the centrists babble about the 'masses' they always orient themselves to the reformist apparatus.* Repeating this or that revolutionary slogan, Marceau Pivert subordinates it to the abstract principle of 'organic unity' which in action turns out to be unity with the patriots against the revolutionists. At a moment when the life-or-death question for the revolutionary masses is to shatter the resistance of the united social-patriotic apparatuses, *the left centrists consider the 'unity' of these apparatuses as the absolute good, which stands above the interests of revolutionary struggle....*
>
> "Yet Pivert clutches at Zyromsky, who clutches at Blum, who in turn together with Thorez clutches at Herriot, who clutches at Laval.... The condition for the victory of the proletariat is the *liquidation of the present leadership. The slogan of 'unity' becomes under these conditions not only a stupidity but a crime.* No unity with the agents of French imperialism and of the League of Nations."
>
> —"For Committees of Action, Not the Peoples Front," translated from Pierre Broué, editor, *Le mouvement communiste en France* [our emphasis]

In an effort to answer objections from its own militants, the OCI is fond of citing Trotsky's agitation for a united front in October 1934, by which he specifically meant a CP-SP (Blum-Cachin) government. But Trotsky counterposed this to a popular front including the bourgeois Radical Party, which the CP had already begun wooing. And at that time the French Bolshevik-Leninists were *inside* the Socialist Party. In other words, Trotsky's call was for a *class* united front with a revolutionary pole! Trotsky never meant the call for a united front to be a gimmick to glue together two reformist apparatuses at the top.

For Lenin's Communist International the united front was a tactic to allow the vanguard organization to intervene with its revolutionary program in order to *split* the working-class base from its reformist leadership under the pressure of the class struggle. But from ignoring this crucial element of the united front the OCI has now gone over to embrace its opposite: the popular front.

Critical Support to the LO Candidate—No Support to Mitterrand!

Alone among the ostensibly Trotskyist organizations in France, Lutte Ouvrière is fielding its own candidate in the first round in opposition to Mitterrand and the "draft Piaget" movement:

> "The support of revolutionary organizations for Piaget's candidacy could signify only one thing: that the revolutionary movement is hitching up at the tail of the PSU at the very moment when the latter is tailing after the Union of the Left."
>
> —*Lutte Ouvrière*, 9-15 April

LO's declaration, however, makes no mention of the popular front, merely citing the need for the "voice of revolutionary workers [to] be heard in these elections," thus leaving the door open for support to Mitterrand on the second round. (In 1973, LO like the OCI called for support to CP and SP candidates, though not those of the Left Radicals, on the second round; on the first round it ran over one hundred candidates, advising workers to "vote as far left as possible," thus implying support for CP or SP candidates in areas where it and other "far-left" organizations did not present candidates.)

SYGMA

Mitterrand election posters in Paris.

Moreover, LO's rationale for its candidate (Arlette Laguiller) is a typical example of its conception of a "family of revolutionaries" which was expressed after the May-June events of 1968, when it proposed that all groups to the left of the CP produce a single common newspaper. In a letter to *Rouge* and *Revolution!* LO states:

> "The revolutionary far left would no doubt exhibit a great deal of irresponsibility by presenting several candidates during these presidential elections."
>
> —*Lutte Ouvrière*, 9-15 April

So, instead, the revolutionary program representing the interests of the working class and embodied uniquely in the Bolshevik vanguard party, must be sacrificed in order to put forward "unitary" candidates of the far left.

Why not, then, have unitary candidates of the left, like Mitterrand? Do the comrades of LO not realize that the candidacy of Laguiller could be accused by the reformists of dividing the workers' votes and in a very close race might even make the difference between victory and defeat for the Union of the Left? While the LO candidacy attempts to draw a class line in a primitive way, its arguments are ultimately liquidationist. Furthermore, LO will no doubt capitulate and call for votes for Mitterrand on the second round.

Trotskyism vs. the Popular Front

In the last elections (March 1973) the Spartacist League gave extremely critical support to the OCI and LO candidates as embodying a contradiction: on the one hand counterposition to the popular front, but on the other, refusal to recognize that all of the Union of the Left candidates, including those of the reformist workers parties, represented the popular front. In this election we again call for highly critical support to the candidacy of LO's Laguiller as the only vehicle, albeit a flawed and partial one, for working-class protest against the reformists' class treason. We do not call for any support to the FCR's candidate Krivine, since its campaign is in no way directed against the Union of the Left but is, rather, a publicity stunt.

The only revolutionary policy toward a popular front is to refuse it even the most critical support. Would French "Trotskyists" have had their militants vote for Allende as he led the Chilean working class to the slaughter? Like the Bolshevik Party addressing the Mensheviks and Social Revolutionaries, we must demand of the reformist workers parties that they break from the bourgeoisie and take power into their own hands. And above all, we must unceasingly struggle for the revolutionary program embodied in the Trotskyist party.

Neither LO nor any of the other ostensibly Trotskyist organizations in France has yet said forthrightly what must urgently be said to the workers: Mitterrand is the candidate of the popular front! A Union of the Left government is not a workers government; it is not a "step forward" compared to the direct rule of the bourgeois parties and can only be a holding action while the bourgeoisie revamps its more direct agents and agencies. "Popular fronts on the one hand, fascism on the other, are the last political resources of Imperialism in its struggle against the proletarian revolution" (Trotsky, *The Transitional Program*). No support to popular fronts! Forward to the rebirth of the Fourth International! ■

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...SLA

cluded), the brutality of prison life, the hypocritical rhetoric about "rehabilitation," the violation of the basic civil rights of prisoners and ex-convicts. But to move from this elemental personal realization to become a legitimate ally of the revolutionary proletariat requires the ability to transcend personalism in favor of a broader social vision, to reject criminal methods of struggle and the victimization of innocent people, to operate openly as part of a collective social movement based not on elements outside social life but on the working class and its historically progressive task: the construction of a new social order.

Role of Lumpen

The *Chronicle* series on the SLA notes that after creating this group Defreeze was able to make contact with various semi-political people who wanted to help prisoners. From the beginning, then—and from all we can tell, up to the present—the SLA was formed and dominated by a man with at best nothing but a bitter *personal* hatred for society and no particular loyalties to *any* class—i.e., a *lumpen* element. Marx did not mince words in commenting on the revolutionary value of such elements:

> "The 'dangerous class,' the social scum, that passively rotting mass thrown off by the lowest layers of old society, may, here and there, be swept into the movement by a proletarian revolution; its conditions of life, however, prepare it far more for the part of a bribed tool of reactionary intrigue."
>
> —*Communist Manifesto*

> "The *lumpenproletariat*, this scum of depraved elements from all classes, with headquarters in the big cities, is the worst of all the possible allies. This rabble is absolutely venal and absolutely brazen. If the French workers, in every revolution, inscribed on the houses: *Mort aux voleurs!* Death to thieves! and even shot some, they did it not out of reverence for property, but because they rightly considered it necessary above all to get rid of that gang."
>
> —Preface to *The Peasant War in Germany*

The practice of the SLA has verified this analysis of the group as a lumpen-dominated formation bent on personal vengeance against society—the kind of group which could just as easily turn its guns against the bourgeoisie, the working class, or anybody who happens to cross it. Of course, there have been similar degenerate elements in the Black Panthers or Venceremos. The tremendous damage they can cause is indicated by the murder of an innocent BPP member, Alex Rackley, at the orders of the sadist George Sams in New Haven in 1970. But in the Panther organization top political leadership was held by a small petty-bourgeois dictatorship—Seale, Newton, Hilliard, Cleaver—who imposed their line with military discipline. In the SLA it is the lumpen in command. This is not a political organization of the left—it is a cultist grouping using semi-political rhetoric to justify irrational outbursts of violence. Its first self-proclaimed act was the murder of an obscure black school superintendent, Marcus Foster—a rather bizarre target for a serious terrorist organization in a deeply racist country. Then came the kidnapping of Randolph Hearst's daughter.

A Strange List of Targets

Apparently selected as a symbol of the bourgeoisie, Patricia Hearst had expressed some liberal sympathies (she was quoted as criticizing the reactionary Hearst press as being "irrelevant") and was living quietly in Berkeley with a boyfriend. But even if she had been living in a mansion, Patty Hearst had committed no particular crimes against the working people.

Marxists do not believe in biological guilt. Our program is to expropriate the capitalists, not to carry on a blood feud against them "unto the fourth generation." Populist resentment of the rich as individuals does not in itself constitute political leftism; it is equally a justification of right-wing radical rhetoric and even of fascist demagogy. It should not be forgotten that the deranged "Manson family" purposely selected rich people as the target of its senseless murder campaign and that some of its adherents later made use of leftist phraseology in the attempt to elicit sympathy.

Recently the SLA has issued a list of three people to be "shot on sight"—three rather unimportant people whose only common link is that they all were once personally associated with SLA members: Colton Westbrook, a black linguistics instructor at UC-Berkeley and former sponsor of the Black Cultural Association at Vacaville; Chris Thompson, a self-proclaimed black "capitalist" who once dated Nancy Ling Perry, alleged SLA leader, and who once lived at the SLA's Chabot Road house; and Robyn Steiner, who traveled around the country with Russell Little until they both settled in Berkeley in 1972 (*Chronicle*, 27 March).

Thompson has attempted to contact the SLA to clear himself of "crimes" and has suggested a "jury" of Ron Dellums, Bobby Seale, Angela Davis and several other black leaders. In the second week of April attorney Vincent Hallinan (well known for defending many liberal and radical activists, and one of the trustees for the $4 million Hearst fund to be released when Patty Hearst is freed) stated that he had received phoned threats from the SLA saying that he would be shotgunned in the streets. The alleged SLA "hit list" reveals the unstable *personalist* character of the organization. (The Weathermen, despite their misguided strategy, consistently aimed at institutions of the capitalist state and deliberately tried not to harm innocent bystanders.)

Most recently the news media have published photos allegedly showing the SLA involved in a San Francisco bank robbery in which two passers-by were wantonly shot at and wounded. And a radio report of April 17 states that the SLA has now added Black Panther leader Huey Newton to its list of those to be shot on sight.

Against those who assert that the SLA is part of the left, we reply that it is no such thing. Anarchist or New Left organizations such as the U.S. Weathermen, or petty-bourgeois left nationalist groups such as the IRA and sections of the Palestinian resistance movement, despite counter-productive and sometimes wholly indefensible terrorist acts, represent a deformed expression of the aspirations of the oppressed masses. The SLA "hit list" shows that this unstable, irrational and personalist formation is quite capable of turning its guns against anyone who awakens its ire. The SLA as such does not merit solidarity and defense by the working class and its allies.

(On the other hand, socialists must oppose frame-ups, even against common criminals, for any infringements of bourgeois democracy will inevitably be directed against the revolutionaries in the long run. Thus it does not appear that the police have at present sufficient evidence to convict Romero and Little, the two SLA members being held for the murder of Foster. This will not, however, stop them from trying to railroad through a guilty sentence as soon as concern for Patty Hearst's safety dies down. The labor movement must sharply oppose such kangaroo-court proceedings.)

The ruling class is already trying to use the irrational violence of the SLA as an excuse for witchhunts against leftist or even liberal opponents. Already there are indications of a sharp shift on the part of bourgeois "law-enforcement" agencies, reflected in the vow of the usually liberal-faced Mayor Alioto to drive out the SLA within six months. Perhaps emboldened by the liberals' revulsion against the SLA, Oakland police raided a Black Panther house on April 16 and arrested 14 people. As the bourgeois press shrilly screams about an alleged campaign of wanton murder of whites (the "Zebra killings") a law-and-order campaign with sharp racial overtones is being whipped up. Any attempt by the bourgeoisie to use the SLA as a launching pad for an assault on civil liberties must be vigorously opposed by the entire working class. ■

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REVOLUTIONARY LITERATURE

Continued from page 6

...Harvester

the Workers Voice Committee, a syndicalist formation which has spawned the Workers Slate for the elections. The bulk of the WVC's activity consists in enthusiastic support for the day-to-day struggles of the workers. This enthusing is interrupted from time to time, however, by the need to take positions on broader issues. Thus during last year's Local elections, the WVC announced, "We are not running a slate. We think that the development of *struggle by the workers* on the shop floor is the key to solving our problems" (*Workers Voice*, Vol. IV, No. 5 [1973]). Its leaders Mike Goldfield and Roger Stromberg issued a leaflet, however, which gave very obvious backhanded support to Roth.

In the present contest, the Workers Slate raises slogans which the WVC has never raised in the course of its work, including demands for a shorter workweek at no loss in pay and a labor party. The Slate leadership, however, puts out leaflets which don't mention these demands. Furthermore, despite the inclinations of some of its more left-wing supporters, the WS fails to actually call for a break with the Democratic Party. The labor party demand is thus an empty abstraction. Reuther and Mazey were long-time supporters of such abstractions.

The WS also says nothing about government intervention in the labor movement and the use of courts against unions. The WVC has in the past supported suing the unions in the capitalist courts over unfair labor practices—a "tactic" which in this period of massive government intervention into the unions poses the threat of the final strangulation of the unions as independent workers' organizations.

The "leftism" of the Workers Slate reflects only episodic desires on the part of a thinly-disguised reformist leadership around Goldfield to distinguish itself from the CP-supported bureaucratic reformism of Roth. At bottom they are the same. The WS is a contradictory swamp which cannot last long.

Militants Launch Class-Struggle Slate

In contrast to this sorry opportunist spectacle, a Militant Action Slate of three candidates, Judson Jones, Marc Freedman and Chuck Marino, is running on the basis of a program calling for a reorientation of the labor movement toward a perspective of class struggle rather than class-collaborationist reformism.

The Militant Action Slate is a more recent grouping, composed of several individuals who have been attempting to raise class-struggle demands in Local 6. One of the militants who helped form MAS put forward a motion last fall in the Local calling for reinstatement of fired wildcat strikers in Detroit. More recently, it was one of the MAS candidates who introduced a motion calling for financial support to British miners and "hot-cargoing" of scab goods going to Britain during the British miners' strike. Seeing no harm in adding this demand to his verbal stockpile, Roth supported the motion, and it passed. Naturally, Roth did nothing concrete to implement it.

These militants were not satisfied with the hypocritical verbal militancy of Roth's Solidarity Caucus and the syndicalist Workers Voice Committee and sought to go further. The program of MAS specifically calls for a break with the Democratic Party, as well as calling for a labor party based on the trade unions. Unlike Roth or the WS, MAS calls for specific action instead of platitudes to deal with layoffs—a nationwide strike which would shut down all of auto (including plants the employers want to keep running) in order to reverse layoffs, through a shorter workweek at no loss in pay.

MAS also calls for impeachment, but without relying on Congress or Gerald Ford as do Roth, Woodcock and the CP. Instead, it calls for labor strikes to force new elections and "the running of a militant labor candidate for president to oppose the candidates of business." MAS also calls for ending discrimination through union control of hiring on a first-come, first-served basis with no preferential treatment for any group. It calls for international workers' solidarity, international strikes against international corporations and strike action against imperialist wars. The MAS program is clearly aimed at the very basis of the capitalist economic system; MAS urges auto workers to break with reformism by struggling for their demands without regard to the ability of capitalism to survive. MAS calls for the expropriation of industry under workers control and for a workers government "which can defeat the corporations once and for all."

Prospects for victory in the election look best for Stack's "Defense Coalition," with its majority support of the Shop Committee, its incumbent position and straight pro-Woodcock line. This is all the more reason *not* to place any faith in fake lefts like the Solidarity Caucus or Workers Slate: their reformist illusions and false promises only feed Stack's anti-communist business unionist fires.

The Spartacist League calls for support to the Militant Action Slate which, if it continues past the election, is bound to set an example for militants throughout the Chicago area and UAW nationally. Given its solid programmatic foundation, with the proper steadfastness in building and recruiting a base in the plant, the militants grouped together in the MAS can hope to participate fully in the construction of an alternate pole of class-struggle leadership in the labor movement. They can rest assured, however, that this is only the beginning of a difficult road, and the real content of their program and leadership must be tested in action before they can hope to win the support of the majority of the workers. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

The Bloody Antics of the SLA

OAKLAND—The flamboyant and irrational activities of the "Symbionese Liberation Army" (SLA), played up by sensationalist coverage in the mass media, have become the focus of hot debates throughout the country, in factories, on campuses and in the left press. Young workers disenchanted with American "democracy" and who see little immediate opportunity for active struggles against the injustices of U.S. society are asking one another whether the SLA is really fighting on their behalf. Avowedly "Marxist" groups are acutely uncomfortable with the issue; the political bandits of the Workers League, for example, have flip-flopped from labeling the SLA a figment of the cops' sinister imagination to heralding Patty Hearst's "conversion" as an expression of the legitimate rebellion of oppressed youth.

The most significant and ominous result of the SLA's bizarre activities, however, is certainly to push the climate of bourgeois opinion to the right: to facilitate the current racist harassment of young black men in San Francisco as part of the supposed investigation of the so-called "Zebra killings" (see article on this page) and to lend credence to the reactionaries' allegations that the left movement, to which the SLA is supposed to belong, is criminal, irrational and dangerous.

Speculation is rife over the fate of Patty Hearst: Was she really involved in the April 15 bank hold-up? Was the entire kidnapping a fraud? Has she been "brainwashed"? Is she dead? But whatever the situation of Miss Hearst, the essential character of the SLA itself is clear: the SLA is an irrational and cultist expression of lumpen-proletarian rage having nothing in common with the struggle of the working class for socialism.

Program is Not Just Words on Paper

What is known of the SLA's history shows the group to be essentially a formation dominated by lumpen elements, with the peculiar quality of pseudo-Marxist rhetoric added by some of its members who were apparently peripherally involved with the Berkeley radical milieu. The group appears to be an amalgam of former black convicts and guilt-ridden white radicals, with the former predominating under the leadership of one "Cinque" (alias Donald Defreeze, according to the police).

The attitude of Marxists toward particular formations is determined by a combination of considerations: explicit program, historical origins, social composition and practice. None of these factors in isolation can serve as a useful guide. To take an extreme example, considering solely the written program of the German National Socialist Workers (Nazi) Party in the 1920's, one might be misled into thinking it to be a misguided "anti-capitalist" group since the program called for a number of radical "socialist" measures. There was even a pseudo-"left" wing of the Nazi party led by Gregor Strasser, who attempted to carry out some of these radical measures, such as expropriation of the big banks through a 1930 Reichstag bill. (Strasser's career was predictably cut short by Hitler, who quashed the Reichstag bill and saw to Strasser's murder in 1934.) Paper program by itself, without knowledge of the living movement from which it springs, is useless as a guide. In terms of written program, the SLA's main document of goals (printed in the *San Francisco Chronicle* of 13 February) is strikingly vague and filled with radical and semi-mystical rhetoric (such as "no one can own or sell the air, the sky, the water, the trees, the birds, the sun...") rather than specific political demands.

Criminals and the Left

More telling are the origins and composition of the SLA. It is not an accident that virtually the entire left knows next to nothing about the origins of the SLA and particularly of its principal leader, "Cinque." (By way of contrast, the origins of the terrorist Weathermen as a political tendency in SDS, and the years of prior leftist activism on the part of its leading individuals, were well known to the entire left.) From all available information, Cinque had never had a political history, but rather has only a long police record of mundane crimes. His statement to the judge after sentencing in his 1970 trial for robbery/assault reveals a bitterness about American "justice," but nothing more:

> "Defreeze later made a lengthy speech saying the trial had made him disillusioned about the American judicial system. 'I honestly believed in our courts and our states. I really honestly did. I had been such a fool.'"
> —*San Francisco Chronicle*, 11 April

Disillusionment with the institutions of "democracy" may in some cases provide the first step toward social radicalization, but by itself it is far from sufficient to constitute a political leader. Every prisoner who has experienced the American system of "justice" can be justifiably bitter about the frame-ups (the guilty along with the innocent railroaded into jail by perjuring cops, corrupt judges and unrepresentative juries from which ex-convicts are ex-

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Patricia Hearst posing in front of SLA cobra symbol. TIME

Indiscriminately Stopping Blacks...

Racist Police Sweep in San Francisco

SAN FRANCISCO, April 20—In response to a wave of wanton murders here that has claimed 12 lives so far (code-named "Zebra murders" by the local police), San Francisco mayor Joseph Alioto has unleashed an unprecedented "stop-and-search" attack against the entire population of young black males in the city. Alioto, who is running for governor of California this year against Reagan (and therefore wants to show he is a tough "law-and-order" man), justifies this blatantly unconstitutional and utterly useless police dragnet with the argument that "extraordinary situations like this call for extraordinary measures."

While the bourgeois media drum up a campaign of crime hysteria, the police sweep has already involved arbitrary searches of hundreds of young black men. "We are not going to stop white people," said S.F. Police Chief Donald Scott. "We are going to stop black people. We are not going to stop fat black people. We are going to stop slender black people" (*Oakland Tribune*, 18 April). The cop on the beat appears to be somewhat less "discriminating," however; one was quoted on the KQED news (18 April) as replying to a protesting black man, "all you n-----s look alike."

The racial hysteria being generated by this scare campaign is very real. Moreover, it is certainly related to the inability of the police to make any headway on the murders or on the Hearst kidnapping case. But as a means of catching the murderer(s) it is positively stupid. To be more precise, it is stupid and hysterical and, in present-day U.S. society, therefore necessarily racist.

There is no precise description of the perpetrators of the shootings; two teenage boys who were critically wounded gave contradictory descriptions of the same man. Police are reportedly stopping any "stocky-to-slender black man, 20 to 30 years old" (*New York Times*, 19 April). To find what? The only possible incriminating evidence would be if one of the three .32 calibre pistols involved were actually found on the suspect's person! Clearly, this sweep is solely an attempt to convince the voters that Alioto is "doing something," and it has no useful purpose whatever.

Already the local petty-bourgeois liberal community is up in arms over the dragnet, with the ACLU trying to stop it by a court suit and influential black liberals such as Reverend Cecil Williams denouncing it as a "police state" measure. Carlton Goodlett, a respectable black publisher, has denounced the searches as "America's first pass system, which resembles South Africa," referring to the slips of paper given to blacks who have already been searched and released. Even the Officers for Justice, a black police association, has opposed the measures as "ineffective."

The labor movement must be vividly aware that the sweeping aside of bourgeois democratic rights represented by this blatantly racist and senseless police dragnet is a direct threat to labor. If this incident is let pass without a squeak of protest, it will not be long before it is the unions which are experiencing the mailed fist of willful police attacks. The necessary step is for union and black organizations in the Bay Area to call a mass meeting to demand the immediate repeal of Alioto's arbitrary "stop-and-search" order.

We are not about to propose more effective anti-crime measures to the bourgeois state, which is incapable of eradicating the crimes it engenders on such a massive scale. All the various "reforms" proposed by fake left groups (such as police review boards, community patrols, community control of the police) ultimately come down to involving the left in administering the bourgeoisie's laws. The task is not to reform this rotten and corrupt system, but to smash it and replace it with a workers state! A system in which the working people control and participate in the entire state administration will provide effective protection against crime and will have no need of justly hated storm-trooper elite police units and such arbitrary procedures as this outrageous "stop blacks" edict. Labor must take immediate action to halt this pointless and racist harassment campaign! ■

WORKERS VANGUARD 25¢

No. 44 10 May 1974

Portuguese Military Stages "Democratic" Coup

Oppose Spínola and the Military!

No Popular-Front Illusions!

For a Workers Government!

MAY 6—"Portuguese Army Seizes Control and Proclaims Democratic Goal" read the headline of the *New York Times* following the coup in Lisbon on April 25. An editorial in the same edition praised "idealistic Portuguese Army officers, determined to restore democracy at home and peace to the African territories." Subsequent dispatches report thousands of joyous civilians showering carnations on soldiers, and on May Day Communist Party militants marched with a placard announcing, "the country is free thanks to the armed forces."

For almost two weeks now a false calm has enveloped the country. After 45 years of civilian dictatorship under Oliveira Salazar and his successors, Prime Minister Marcelo Caetano and President Américo Tomás, the mass of the population is unsure what to make of its unaccustomed "freedom." The "Junta of National Salvation" under General Antônio Sebastião Ribeiro de Spínola is reluctant to move against

DER SPIEGEL

General Antônio de Spínola

the left until the initial popular euphoria dies down. However, the decorated "hero" of Portugal's African wars refuses to hold elections for another 12 months and is known to favor a Gaullist-style "limited democracy" with himself as the strong president. After a demonstration by some 1,000 leftists (including Maoists and "Trotskyists") which demanded "freedom to the colonies" and "power to the workers," Spínola warned that he would use force to suppress "anarchy."

The task of revolutionary Marxists in this dangerous situation is to warn the working masses to beware of the "democratic" generals and to organize the working class to take power in its own name. But the Communist Party, which was the strongest underground force during the Salazarist regime, calls instead for "a firm alliance between the people's forces and the democratically-minded military." Following its line of a Popular Front with the "progressive" bourgeoisie, the CP supports the "creation of a provisional government that would represent all the democratic and liberal political forces and trends" (*Daily World*, 30 April).

Bourgeoisie Backs the Coup

The Stalinists claim to be strongly rooted in the "Movement of the Armed Forces," the officers' group which organized the coup. But a few tens of captains and colonels, no matter how strategically placed, could not have brought about the swift and almost bloodless overthrow of the Salazarist regime by themselves. The coup had wide support from the top levels of the military and key sections of the bourgeoisie. In the end, only the hated political police (the PIDE), the Republican National Guard and a small core of "ultras" around President Tomás made any attempt at resistance.

The press has portrayed Spínola as a "liberal" because of his recent book, *Portugal and the Future*, which stated that the seemingly endless war in Africa could not be won by military means alone. Pointing out that the battle to defeat guerrilla "liberation" forces in Mozambique, Angola and Guinea-Bissau had brought the country to the verge of financial ruin, he called for a Lusitano-African "commonwealth" modeled on the bogus "French Union" established after World War II. However, he firmly opposes independence for the colonies.

The publication of this book was far from being an act of individual rebelliousness by the "number one soldier of Portugal." It was approved by his own superior, Chief of Staff Costa Gomes, and Defense Minister Silva Cunha; moreover, it was passed by the normally strict censor, indicating approval by Prime Minister Caetano

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MANCHETE

Rebel tanks during April 25 coup in Lisbon.

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Militant Slate in Chicago Harvester Elections

The elections for convention delegate at UAW Local 6, representing International Harvester's Melrose Park plant on the west side of Chicago, were a test for would-be militant oppositionists. The struggle leading up to the June convention in Los Angeles represents a good opportunity to begin building a class-struggle opposition to the sellout Woodcock bureaucracy. But such a leadership will not be built with pious rhetoric. It will take mobilization of the ranks around a concrete, working-class program to stop the offensive of the auto companies and their bureaucratic servants in Solidarity House.

In Local 6, the right wing took the offensive against left groups in a local with a long, militant and democratic tradition (it was one of the few locals not to succumb to the Reuther/McCarthy witchhunt of reds in the 1950's). The so-called "Defense Coalition" was explicitly organized by Shop Chairman Bob Stack to "defend the union" against "propaganda passers at plant gates" who were characterized as seeking to "subvert our union in order to advance the group's philosophy of world anarchy." During the election, the Company proclaimed a new policy of wanting to see all leaflets before they are distributed at the gates on Company property, and the "Defense Coalition" majority on the Shop Committee immediately endorsed the ruling! Stack was top vote-getter, with 838 out of about 1,400 voting.

The first target of this red-baiting campaign was Local President Norman Roth. Roth is a staff writer for the liberal *Labor Today*, monthly paper of Trade Unionists for Action and Democracy (TUAD), a pan-union group supported by the Communist Party. A verbal leftist, Roth was critical of the last contract, opposes the wage freeze (while calling for a "better" one!), opposes discrimination and in general provides a left cover for the leadership, in which he is a minority of one.

The March *Labor Today* quotes Roth, at the founding meeting of a new national auto caucus, the Auto Workers Action Caucus (AWAC) as saying,

> "We got [stuck with the contract] because within our union, although there were individual outcries in locals across the country, *there was no cohesive national rank and file voice within this union!*" [emphasis in original]

AWAC, supported by TUAD, is presumably to be this voice. But where were TUAD supporters during the upheaval in Detroit over the last contract? A Communist Party shop paper, *Dodge Worker*, called for *enforcing* the Woodcock terms (*Daily World*, 27 November 1973). And Bill Scott, another leader of AWAC and committeeman in Local 664, Tarrytown, New York, gave the GM contract "critical support" (*Daily World*, 5 December 1973)! This treachery is a reflection of the class-collaborationism of the Communist Party, which sees Woodcock as an ally against more conservative bureaucrats and Nixon. Roth is fully in accord with this liberal pro-capitalist strategy, in which the election of Democratic mayors such as Coleman Young of Detroit is passed off as a victory for the workers.

WV PHOTO

Plant shift change at Melrose Park International Harvester plant.

Despite his call for "cohesive" leadership, Roth relies on personal popularity to win votes. He failed to mention AWAC at all during the campaign. Though he came in second in the election with 787 votes, it is his TUAD-style opportunism and class collaborationism which weaken the left and feed right-wing anti-communism. If gains are allegedly to be had by subordinating the political struggle to liberal allies in the Democratic Party, then Stack, Woodcock, etc., are in a better position, with their bigger machines and *lack* of CP support, to obtain them.

Another target of the Stack forces was the Workers Slate, a syndicalist grouping which started out with a list of demands including "the forming of a labor party." The WS, however, thinks the shop-floor struggle is everything and politics nothing; its fixation on issues such as getting rid of the plant doctor causes it to try to avoid sharp (i.e., unpopular) political conclusions such as the need to break definitively with all support to Democrats as the basis for building a labor party. As a result, despite the importance of this issue to distinguish a genuine class-struggle position from TUAD-backed reformism, the Workers Slate simply dropped all mention of its demand for a labor party during the campaign.

Only a small, new grouping, the Militant Action Slate, put forward a program capable of laying the foundation for a real alternative to Woodcock/Stack. The three MAS candidates, Chuck Marino, Marc Freedman and Judson Jones, called for nationwide strikes against layoffs, concrete international solidarity (a labor boycott of coal to Britain during the miners' strike), ending discrimination through union control of hiring and a shorter workweek, an immediate break with the two capitalist parties and a workers party to fight for a workers government. The three got 50 to 100 votes each, or about four to seven percent of the vote—a good result considering that it was their first campaign and the turnout was small and mainly older workers.

Roth's reaction in an election leaflet to the MAS was indicative:

> "The 'militant action' candidates can't do us any good at the convention either. They're too busy fighting Woodcock and confusing the membership as to who is the enemy. If you disagree with them, they consider you to be the enemy too. The real enemy, the corporations, couldn't think of a better way to divide the membership."

But the membership *is* divided, and will remain so as long as no alternatives are put forward to unite the membership in conscious class struggle. This means replacing Woodcock and his entire bureaucracy and strategy of betrayal, not accommodating to the bureaucracy in the name of fake "unity." If the good beginning of the Militant Action Slate is consolidated into a caucus aiming its sights high, at the creation of a class-struggle opposition throughout the UAW, it will displace the likes of Roth and the Workers Slate and become the only force capable of successfully challenging the right-wing business unionists for leadership.■

Court Bans Delegate Elections in Fremont UAW

OAKLAND, May 6—The convention delegate elections in UAW Local 1364, Fremont, California, provide a good example of why the Spartacist League opposes going to court to settle disputes within the labor movement. Local 1364 is the only UAW local to have gone on record for a nationwide strike for a shorter workweek at no loss in pay to fight the layoffs plaguing the auto industry (see *WV* No. 39, 1 March 1974). Yet because of the bureaucratic ambitions of an ex-official, the Local delegate elections may be invalidated by a court. This interference in union affairs by the bosses' state may deprive the membership of any representation at the upcoming UAW convention in Los Angeles in June and thereby also hinder bringing Local 1364's call for a nationwide strike against layoffs to auto workers in other locals around the country.

This would be doubly unfortunate, since the Local is one of just a handful in the UAW in which there was an opportunity to vote for delegates with a class-struggle program. Two of the candidates for convention delegate from Fremont GM called, among other things, for going beyond Woodcock's pro-impeachment position. They called for a complete break with the two capitalist parties and for a workers party based on the trade unions. At *WV* press time, a court injunction was still preventing the counting of the ballots from the election.

The ex-official, former shop chairman John Herrera, now a "Unity Team" candidate for delegate, obtained an injunction barring the election the night before the voting was to begin. His grounds were that the Local was failing to implement a 1973 membership vote requiring the use of voting machines or outside observers at all general elections. According to another candidate, the cost of the measure would have been $30,000.

Subpoenas were issued, and there were rumors of cops closing the polls the following morning. The Brotherhood Caucus—opponents of the Unity Team and presently the leadership of the Local—decided to go ahead with the election anyway, since any delay would have gone past the union deadline for voting (thereby depriving the Brotherhood's slate from possibly getting elected).

Candidates Darlene Fujino and Joan Putnam of the Committee for a Militant UAW (CMUAW)—the authors of the February resolution for strikes against layoffs and the class-struggle position on impeachment—told *WV* later that they considered it vital to show maximum solidarity with the Local leadership in this defiance of court interference in the internal affairs of the union. However, they continue to have differences with the program of the Brotherhood and have no confidence in its ultimate determination to defend the union and its membership against the class enemy.

The CMUAW was the only group in the union to appear the next morning with a leaflet informing the membership of what had happened and urging members to vote as early in the day as possible in case of any attempt to stop the voting. The news in their leaflet reportedly came as a surprise even to some of the Local officials! Many workers responded to their call. (No cops showed up and the voting was held, but the Brotherhood is now honoring an order not to count the ballots in the hope of quashing the attack in court.)

The present dispute is a continuation of a long history of infantile bureaucratic in-fighting between the Brotherhood and Unity cliques. Recently there was an old-fashioned barroom brawl between top leaders of the caucuses. There are no real political differences between the two, despite the Brotherhood's early "people power" rhetoric and its continuing residue of left-wing support in the plant.

Ironically, it was the Brotherhood itself, before it got into office, which sponsored the 1973 motion requiring voting machines or observers. Fujino

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Needed: A Class-Struggle Leadership!

Canadian Postal Strike Sellout

MAY 3—A powerful cross-Canada postal workers' strike was sold out at the bargaining table last week by a union leadership more concerned about reaching a "gentlemen's agreement" with management than representing its own members.

Starting off as a wildcat in Montreal on April 8, the strike spread to Toronto a week later and at the high point tied up mails coast-to-coast for six days before the union brass "settled" the dispute on April 26 by agreeing to submit all basic issues to mediation. Involved in the walkout were 18,000 members of the Canadian Union of Postal Workers (CUPW), mainly inside workers (clerks, mail handlers), and some 12,000 members of the Letter Carriers Union of Canada (LCUC).

At issue was whether postal workers would be forced to suffer pay cuts, worsened working conditions, layoffs and victimizations in the interest of implementing government plans to automate the Canadian mails. The walkout was touched off by the suspension of 20 militants in Montreal, who were disciplined for wearing T-shirts bearing the slogan "Boycott the Postal Code."

The Montreal strikers demanded that mail coders under the new automated system receive the same wages as the sorters they replace. This key demand was unanimously endorsed by the Shop Steward Body of the Toronto local of the CUPW. But in their announcement of a national postal strike the top union leaders (grouped together in the Council of Postal Unions) watered this down to a vague call for "immediate resolution of the coder issue." Finally, even this stand was abandoned as the labor bureaucracy capitulated to Postmaster-General André Ouellet's refusal to negotiate until the strike was called off.

Automation Threatens Postal Workers

The automation of the Canadian Post Office, begun in 1971, is based on the introduction of an alphanumeric code system which, by a series of letters and numbers, defines each region, city and block in the country. These codes are to be read by giant mail-sorting machines which will replace several thousand clerks and helpers. In Toronto alone, according to management figures, there will be a net job loss of more than 400 workers. Moreover, the wage rates for coders (POL-1) are up to 70 cents per hour lower than for sorters (POL-4).

CUPW leaders admit accepting the mechanization scheme when it was first proposed in 1970-71, but now say that postal workers will fight it unless they are guaranteed a portion of the benefits accruing from the increased efficiency. Until their hand was forced by the Montreal local, union tops were relying on a "Manpower Committee" (provided for in the current contract) to negotiate the introduction of automated processes. However, this committee never met until the middle of the strike! When the Post Office introduced automatic mail sorters at Ottawa and Winnipeg, hiring coders at the substantially lower POL-1 wage rate, CUPW leaders did nothing.

"We Try Harder"

The key to victory in the postal workers' struggle, as throughout the labor movement today, is the fight for a revolutionary leadership to replace the present union bureaucracy, the agents of capital in the ranks of the workers. Several groups claiming to offer such an alternative were active in and around the Canadian postal strike, giving militants a chance to measure the reality of their "leadership" against the objective needs of the workers in this important class battle.

One of the main groups active around the postal strike in Toronto was the Revolutionary Marxist Group (RMG) which sympathizes with the European majority of the fake-Trotskyist "United Secretariat" led by Ernest Mandel. The RMG in its press raised the demand of a shorter workweek with no loss in pay before the strike. It also called for full cost-of-living adjustment of wages, a single job classification at the highest level, veto power by the workers over technological changes, a single postal union and several other demands (*Old Mole*, March 1974).

The RMG noted that "militancy . . . is not enough by itself" and saw that "victory . . . cannot be won within the limits of the strategy of the present leadership." But what it called for was essentially a more militant version of the same old trade unionism. Nowhere does it raise political demands, as if the postal workers' struggles were solely economic; apparently a new leadership of the unions would not have to counterpose class-struggle policies to the procapitalist line of the New Democratic Party which claims to speak for Canadian labor; apparently the struggle for a workers government is likewise irrelevant. Moreover, the RMG fails to mention the need for a programmatic caucus to organize the fight for a class-struggle leadership in the unions. How more militant policies are to win the support of the ranks is left totally unclear, perhaps even to RMGers themselves.

One Line in the Old Mole, Another in the Strike

In any case, these are nothing more than fine words for the delight of the readers of the *Old Mole*. When it comes to a real struggle situation, where there are opportunities for wheeling and dealing and selling out one's program, the RMG suddenly drops its strategic demands. In five different leaflets issued during the strike, it entirely forgot to mention the call for a sliding scale of hours which in March it had claimed was the center of the struggle against layoffs due to automation.

In a leaflet "For a Fighting Strategy to Build the Strike," the most political tract issued by these fake-Trotskyists during the course of the strike, the RMG limited itself to a number of tactical suggestions (in themselves quite appropriate) for stiffening the strike (mass picketing, national strike, written guarantee to lift suspensions, reclassify all coders to POL-4, elected strike committees, etc.).

Comrades of the RMG, the fundamental issue of the postal strike was the response to management plans for massive automation. Any "revolutionary" leadership which failed to present a program to fight against the consequences of this attack on the workers was by this fact alone preparing for a defeat in the next contract negotiations and giving Ouellet a free hand to introduce whatever he wants, whenever he wants. Even had the strike *won* the four demands, it would not have settled the question of automation, who benefits from it and who pays the cost.

What would such a program include? The RMG is enthusiastic about the struggle for workers control and has reported that Ottawa workers using the new machinery complain of nervous strain; but it failed to raise the demand for a union safety committee with power to control the line speed and stop processing. The RMG has called for an end to victimizations of union militants and discrimination against part-timers, but it fails to raise the demand for a union hiring hall which would take such questions out of the hands of management altogether. The demands of reclassification at the highest wage level and a shorter workweek with no loss in pay (raised by the RMG in March, then forgotten in April) were key to fighting Ouellet's wage-cutting layoff schemes. Therefore, it was *essential* that they be raised during the April strike. But the RMG failed to do so.

TORONTO GLOBE AND MAIL

Postal workers picket in front of Toronto post office.

TORONTO STAR

Officials seal mail boxes during Canadian postal strike.

Selling Out Cheap

The RMG's waffling during the course of the dispute dramatically revealed its underlying method: miserable economist tailism. Thus, after calling for an elected strike committee as a means of countering the present misleadership, it hails the decision of the Vancouver CUPW local to establish "a strike committee composed of the shop stewards and the executive"—i.e., a strike committee responsible only to itself ("Vancouver Sets the Example," 22 April RMG leaflet). The RMG enthuses:

> "It is precisely these initiatives that demonstrate to the government that postal workers understand the full scope of the problems they face, that they are prepared to fight for their demands and that they know how to fight for them."

If the workers understand the full scope of the problem, know how to and can fight for their demands... then why doesn't the RMG just pack up its bags and go home? Apparently in the course of a cross-Canada strike which began as a wildcat, was patently illegal under capitalist law, etc., revolutionary leadership was unnecessary? But then it seems the workers were sold out only a few days later...!

Another equally revealing example of this tailism was the call for a national day of action against "essential service legislation" (laws prohibiting strikes by "public sector" workers). The RMG had indicated the danger of such a back-to-work strike-breaking law, such as the one which broke the Canada-wide rail strike last summer (see *WV* No. 28, 14 September 1973), pointing out the implications of a motion adopted by Parliament to use "any and all means" to end the "illegal" strike (a motion voted for also by the NDP members of Commons). But just prior to a mass meeting of the Toronto CUPW local on April 21, union militants supported by the RMG suddenly dropped their demand for a national action against the threat of strike-breaking legislation simply in order to effect a bloc with a group of syndicalists.

Clearly such a group, which abandons its own programmatic demands, separates politics from trade-union struggle and will sell out anything for the sake of a temporary bloc, cannot lead the postal workers forward to victory. Most likely they will not be leading even themselves for very long. Such confusion and capitulation in their main area of trade-union concentration can only be an indication of serious disorientation. Militants in the RMG who seriously wish to carry forward the struggle for the Trotskyist Transitional Program clearly must break with the fundamental eclecticism, tailism and capitulatory workerism which characterize this group's practical politics. As for "theoretical issues" (such as the role of the Transitional Program in trade-union struggles), the RMG still refuses to debate the Spartacist League. It is not hard to see why. ■

Hot-Cargo Scab Produce!

Showdown for the UFW

In the early months of 1974 George Meany has outdone himself, surpassing even his own record for shameless betrayal, in his back-stabbing of the United Farm Workers Union (UFW). On February 22 he announced from a Miami Beach hotel that the meagre financial lifeline extended to this sinking union was being cut off by the AFL-CIO. "There is no more money where that came from," he said, referring to the $1.6 million which the AFL-CIO had contributed to the UFW last May. This money was used as a strike fund during last summer's bloody fight to regain the contracts stolen by the International Brotherhood of Teamsters (IBT) in California's grape fields. The farm workers are now left ill-prepared (in more ways than one) for this year's strike battles, already under way in the Coachella Valley, which will determine whether or not the UFW is to survive as a trade-union organization.

WV PHOTO

Cesar Chavez

TED STRESHINSKY

The AFL-CIO support to Cesar Chavez' grape and lettuce boycott has been very qualified on the part of Meany as a result of a massive Teamster pressure campaign, as well as opposition to the boycott from some AFL-CIO unions (particularly the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Retail Clerks) who consider the supermarket boycott a threat to their members' jobs. In a disgusting public display of treason against their class brothers and sisters, the leadership of these two unions paid thousands of dollars for full-page ads in Ohio and Michigan metropolitan dailies to denounce the Farm Workers' boycott as "offensive," "ineffective" and anti-union (see *Detroit News* ad reprinted on page 5). These reputedly "progressive" unions could have, but did not, refuse to handle scab lettuce and grapes. They could have joined the picket lines, announcing they would not return to work until their employers took scab produce off the shelves. They chose to stab the UFW in the back instead.

Meany now claims that the AFL-CIO does not support picketing against *supermarkets* carrying scab products, but does support picketing the scab products themselves. This is just one more bogus "compromise" on the long road of AFL-CIO deals with the growers and the Teamsters. Though his racist comments about Chicanos rival those of Teamster officials, Meany is no doubt just as eager to receive the farm workers' dues as is the IBT. But he will not use the considerable muscle of the AFL-CIO (cannery, longshore, maritime, railroad, grocery store workers—all of whom could effectively "hot-cargo" Teamster and non-union produce), and he does not want to pour money into a "losing cause."

IBT head Fitzsimmons, Nixon's most loyal trade-union supporter, has prostituted the Teamsters' Union to the agribusiness bosses and spit on the ethics of trade unionism and working-class solidarity, scandalizing Meany himself (according to his hypocritical verbiage):

> "The Teamsters' union-busting drive would be absolutely disgraceful under any circumstances. But for the nation's largest union to seek to destroy this small struggling union, representing some of the most exploited workers in the nation, is intolerable."

However, Meany's failure to provide any more than token assistance to the farm workers has aided the Teamster/grower/government alliance, battling to destroy the UFW ever since the union's inception.

Impotent Boycotts

Chavez initiated the current boycott following the UFW's rout in the fields last summer. The strike was called off after several months of brutalization of UFW supporters at the hands of hired Teamster goons, growers and sheriffs' deputies, culminating in the murder of two farm workers—victims of Chavez' turn-the-other-cheek pacifism as much as of their assassins. Chavez ended the strike when the Department of Justice failed to provide protection for the UFW picketers—a demand that would be funny if it weren't so treacherous.

It is typical but pathetic that the lessons of the long and bloody struggle to organize agricultural workers in the U.S., not to mention the totality of labor history, could have passed Chavez by completely. Even the most conservative business unionists occasionally see the need to protect picket lines from violent attack. But not Chavez—his answer is prayers and vigils. The government—through its courts, agencies and commissions for the "protection" of farm labor, legislative apparatus and armed "law-enforcement" institutions—has unequivocally demonstrated time and again whose interests it exists to serve: the capitalist state serves the *capitalists*, including the growers! Strikers' picket lines must be defended by the labor movement itself!

So instead, Cesar Chavez liquidated the strike in order to prevent violence (!), despite the fact that the strike is the workers' most effective weapon for struggle against the employers, called for a "glorious boycott" and dispersed the farm workers to the supermarkets in the nation's major cities to conduct it, mouthing words of confidence that this boycott campaign would receive even more support than previous ones.

UFW Contract Gains

A five-year boycott and strike struggle resulted in the UFW's securing its first grape-grower contracts in 1970. With this victory California's mostly Chicano agricultural workers for the first time caught a glimpse of the road that could lead out of perennial miserable "stoop-labor" degradation and exploitation, enforced by the growers with every tactic in the hooks, from lobbying the government to institute and maintain the bracero program to vigilante attacks against those who would seek to organize. Farm workers have always been specifically exempted from minimum wage laws and legally required union recognition elections.

UFW contracts provided real gains for the farm workers, not only in wages and working conditions but also in the form of the union hiring hall, where workers were dispatched to available jobs on an equitable basis. This eliminated the hated labor contractor system whereby wretched social parasites in the service of the growers hand-picked work gangs, pocketing a percentage of each worker's wages—as well as whatever else could be cheated, hustled and coerced from largely defenseless victims.

Just how genuinely successful was the UFW's 1970 "great boycott victory" can be seen by how quickly and easily these gains were reversed. Having been defeated by the UFW in representation elections when the UFW secured its contracts, the Teamsters' union reappeared in the company of the growers as UFW contracts expired three years later. Without winning a single representation election and without a single union meeting (and consequently without a membership vote on the contracts), the Teamsters now legally "represent" thousands of farm workers simply because the growers signed a piece of paper, getting rid of the UFW hiring hall at a stroke of a pen. This is not a jurisdictional dispute, as IBT officials like to claim. It is outright union-busting. The UFW, for its part, failed to regain these contracts in last summer's strikes because Cesar Chavez steadfastly refuses to utilize the methods and weapons of working-class struggle.

A History of Betrayals

Organizing agricultural workers is not an easy task. Unlimited grower violence and a desperately poor, isolated, largely foreign labor force (with little real economic power) have combined to undo all previous efforts. Only a militant struggle utilizing the strength of the organized labor movement in transportation and distribution could have overcome these obstacles. But the pro-capitalist bureaucracy which sits atop the unions, sucking out millions in dues while disciplining the workers in the interests of the bosses,

Famous Last Words: Chavez on the Boycott

> "It's like quicksand. It's irreversible. Once it gets going, it creates a life of its own. It reaches a point where nothing can stop it. It's like trying to fight the wind."

Though Cesar Chavez sees the boycott as a mystical experience, the present boycott of grapes, lettuce and Gallo wine is in serious trouble faced with the Teamsters' all-out war to smash the UFW.

IBT chief and Nixon crony Frank Fitzsimmons has hired expensive public relations firms to obscure the issues and promote an image of Teamsters as legitimate rivals in a "jurisdictional dispute" with the UFW. "Support for Cesar Chavez is not a question of boycotting non-union products," claims Fitzsimmons. "It is a boycott of Teamster union products. It is a question of dictatorial moves on the part of George Meany to decide for himself to which union workers will belong."

The power and resources of the two-million-member Teamsters, the nation's largest union, dwarf those of the tiny UFW. The IBT now claims to represent 50,000 farm workers through 308 contracts, while UFW membership has dwindled to less than 10,000 and a small handful of contracts. Furthermore, the size and strategic strength of the Teamsters allow them to exert strong-arm pressure on AFL-CIO unions. International Teamster representative Charles O'Brien points out that scores of unions plead almost weekly with Teamster members to recognize their picket lines.

In California's fields the IBT has allocated a minimum of $100,000 a month to its campaign against the UFW—this time not simply to rip off its contracts, but to bamboozle support from farm workers with a renovated image of the cheapest veneer, making use of highly paid stooges of Latin American origin. As part of their image-refurbishing campaign the Teamsters have adopted the name "Agricultural Workers' Organizing Committee," the same as the old AFL-CIO union.

The threat this campaign represents to the existence of the UFW is serious; now is the time for hard and realistic evaluation and preparation for this summer's strike battles, not dream-world fantasizing.

has consistently refused to undertake such a united class struggle.

The key to the companies' success in keeping down wages and preventing unionization has been to have a pool of labor which for legal, social, language and other reasons could not freely move about to seek the highest wages. At various times growers have used Chinese, Japanese, Arabs, Indians, Mexicans, Filipinos, as well as Italian prisoners of war, "Oakies," volunteer students and housewives, prison labor and American Indians. More recently California's Governor Reagan has coerced welfare recipients into the service of that state's largest business.

Mexico proved the most advantageous source of labor for the growers, and "bracero" programs (importing contract workers who are not free to change jobs) were instituted during both world wars in "the interests of patriotism." Even at the height of the Depression, with its phenomenal unemployment and the thousands of displaced small farmers of the "Dust Bowl" who were forced to seek work as migrant laborers, the growers claimed that the nation's food supply was endangered unless braceros were imported.

In the face of grower/government might, and with small immediate remuneration to be expected from a task so monumental, the few efforts by the established labor federations to organize agricultural workers were half-hearted and doomed to failure by the very nature of their approach. Thus the Agricultural Workers' Organizing Committee (AWOC), a mostly Filipino union which merged with Chavez' National Farm Workers' Association in 1966 to form the UFWOC (predecessor of the UFW), essentially organized not the ranks of farm workers, but the labor contractors, who collected dues and served as the union's link to its members. This practice hardly impressed the workers with the union's concern for their welfare. This is also a Teamsters' practice today.

Pacifism and Religion

Chavez' failure has been of another sort. Though tirelessly organizing directly among the farm-worker ranks, Chavez has never broken from his middle-class conceptions. He was a protegée of serve-the-people priests like Father McDonnell, and the Church has been a key pillar of support, holding a favored position in the eyes of Chavez because:

> "All the Mexicans are Catholic. And the Church is the one group that isn't expecting anything from us. They're not doing any politicking among us. All the other groups, the unions, the civil-rights groups, they all want something in return for their support."

Chavez' concern has been to keep the movement palatable to bourgeois politicians and "public opinion" through such "moral" allies. For the same reason, he has always engaged in the reactionary practice of excluding those who would "taint" his movement with political radicalism. Chavez sees leftists as not only a threat to his leadership, but as elements which would offend the bourgeois liberal establishment.

Instead he courts the support of liberals such as the late Senator Robert Kennedy. Kennedy made a dramatic visit to the farm-worker picket lines in 1966, which brought a spate of newspaper publicity and respectability to the embattled union. Despite his supposed distaste for "politicking," Chavez returned the favor by ordering platoons of farm workers into the East Los Angeles barrios to round up votes for Kennedy in the 1968 primary. An even more grotesque example of Chavez' reliance on liberal public opinion was his pathetic pilgrimage of penance for the farm workers' sins (!) in the spring of 1966. Arriving in Sacramento on Easter Sunday, Chavez meekly pleaded his cause to Democratic Governor Brown. That spring the first important contracts were secured by the Farm Workers—first with Schenley, then DiGiorgio and Pirelli-Minetti.

August 1967 saw the beginning of the "great grape boycott," originally against Giumarra, but by the end of the year subsequently extended to all California table-grape growers when Giumarra was initially able to undermine the boycott by using 105 different labels. The growers finally came to the bargaining table in the summer of 1969. Though negotiations were deadlocked for months over the companies' refusal to submit to union standards for the use of pesticides which endanger the health of farm workers, contracts were eventually signed in 1970.

Fasting or Working-Class Struggle

As the long struggle has worn on there has been an erosion of the faith in non-violence insisted upon by the religious mystic Chavez. In February 1968 he responded to the slashing of tires, burning of packing crates and roughing up of scabs by union members with a penitential fast to redirect the movement back onto the course of non-violence. Many among even his most loyal supporters were embarrassed by the circus-like vulgarity of the spectacle. For 23 days, the faithful maintained a vigil for Chavez in tents pitched outside, equating the fast to the Second Coming. Old women crawled on their knees from the highway to his quarters, as union aides pandered to the media that flocked to Delano.

The effort wasted on fasts, vigils and penance may endear Chavez to the Kennedy family, but the time would have better been spent organizing a united, militant working-class struggle capable of winning victory by relying on labor's own forces. This, however, is precisely what Chavez (and the Kennedys) do *not* want:

> "We don't want to model ourselves on the industrial unions. That would be bad. We want to get involved in politics, in voter registration, not just contract negotiation.... We have to find some cross between being a movement and being a union."

Chavez is correct to recognize the limitations of business unionism. However, it is a revolutionary movement with a program for working-class victory—not reformist class-collaboration, religious obscurantism and nationalist "la raza" rhetoric—which is required.

Though it is certainly superficially different from run-of-the-mill Meany-ite unionism, Chavez' "movement"-style tactics are qualitatively no better (except when compared with Fitzsimmons' current union-busting operation in the California fields). Chavez is not in a position to live in luxury off the sweat of the ranks of farm workers in the manner of Fitzsimmons ($125,000 per year salary plus unlimited expense account), but the UFW bureaucracy is like any other in the role it plays as the carrier of bourgeois ideology in the workers movement. The UFW leadership is a loyal agent of the bourgeoisie entrusted to confine the workers' struggles to the framework of capitalism.

Following the basic Marxist tenet that revolutionists have an obligation to speak the truth, regardless of its popularity, the Spartacist League has consistently warned that Chavez' policies will lead to the destruction of the UFW. During last summer's strikes, various fake-left organizations opportunistically and uncritically tailed Chavez (the Revolutionary Union even going so far as to proffer its services to UFW leaders as goons to exclude the SL/RCY). However, at the same time many among the UFW ranks enthusiastically agreed with the SL call for militant defense of the picket lines and for mobilization of the labor movement in support of the farm workers, including a statewide general strike. There is increasing discontent with the pacifism and no-win strategies of the UFW leadership.

Hot-Cargo Scab Produce!

A particular example of Chavez' defeatist tactics is the powerless consumer boycott campaign. Refusal to handle scab products by the major unions, on the other hand, would effectively keep scab products from being sold and consumed; but a consumer boycott is useful only as a supplement to strike and hot-cargoing action and is not a substitute for it. Labor's greatest strength lies in its ability to control production, not in its moral appeal to the consciences of millions of dispersed individual consumers.

Likewise, the UFW leadership has not attempted a serious campaign to enlist the support of rank-and-file Teamsters against the union-busting policies of their sellout leadership. Many opportunities to gain rank-and-file Teamster support have been ignored. For example, last July Teamster truck drivers struck in the Salinas area, cutting off vegetable deliveries for weeks and causing the State Board of Agriculture to urge Nixon to intervene.

Again, toward the end of July the distinct possibility of a general strike emerged when 65,000 Teamster-organized cannery workers, many of them Chicanos, struck upon expiration of their contract. In fact, one of the issues in this strike was the attempt of the Teamster bureaucrats to introduce a clause into the contract which would have allowed the union to refuse to handle UFW-picked produce.

Chavez should have attempted to utilize these opportunities, together with a militant farm workers' strike, to push for a statewide general strike in support of the UFW and against government interference in the labor movement. Instead of waging such campaigns for support Chavez indicates his inability to distinguish friends from enemies and encourages further government intervention in the trade-union movment by suing the Teamsters in the same courts which have been used by the growers against the UFW

continued on page 10

EL MALCRIADO

Teamsters guard growers' property in Coachella Valley.

Meat Cutters' Union Ad in Detroit News—

Stabbing the UFW in the Back...

It's Time for Some Straight Talk about that Picketing at Wrigley and Other Union Supermarkets

We, members of the AFL-CIO, find UFW picketing offensive and ineffective.

We urge the United Farm Workers to Stop it NOW!

We Appeal to Consumers, as always, to shop in Union Supermarkets.

Picketing has focused on Wrigley Supermarkets lately, but the target keeps changing. United Farm Workers boycott signs have appeared at A&P, Farmer Jack, Great Scott and Chatham. All these stores are selling table grapes today. And all these stores are 100 percent union.

Our AFL-CIO members benefit from years of organizing and bargaining. Our unions were helped along the way by other unions just as we have been helping those who try to organize to better their way of life. That included the United Farm Workers.

The AFL-CIO contributed millions of dollars to the Farm Workers' cause. That money came from the dues of AFL-CIO members . . . including the 30,000 who work in this area's supermarkets.

But we are tired of seeing our own union brothers and sisters harassed by UFW pickets. Many of those UFW pickets never belonged to a union or have any understanding of unionism.

The AFL-CIO Executive Council recently voted to cut off financial support of the UFW. George Meany, president of the AFL-CIO, told Cesar Chavez last week that the AFL-CIO will not support secondary boycotts like the UFW is trying to get going against union supermarkets in Detroit.

We see no decent purpose in picketing that would turn customers away from union stores. In some cases UFW pickets have actually told housewives to do their shopping at non-union stores.

We appeal to consumers to continue shopping in union supermarkets.

We are proud to work in union supermarkets helping customers who have learned that union members honor their contracts and live up to their responsibilities to the public.

WRIGLEY SUPERMARKETS ARE 100% UNION!

SO ARE... A&P, Kroger, Farmer Jack, Chatham, Great Scott and Other AFL-CIO Served Supermarkets.

SHOP IN UNION SUPERMARKETS

AMALGAMATED MEAT CUTTERS UNION 539, AFL-CIO

Thomas Szymanski, President

Samuel C. Leone, Secretary-Treasurer

Massive Strikes Rock Franco's Sp

"The day the lid is removed from the pot... the great problems of Spain—national, religious, social, administrative—will reappear intact; they will be revived without ever having died."

—José María Peman, in ABC, *19 May 1972*

This is how the favorite author and poet of the monarchy and Franco evaluates the future of Spain after thirty-three years of bonapartist military dictatorship. The Spanish bourgeoisie is increasingly dividing into two camps in search of solutions to problems which cannot be solved under capitalism. One sector accepts the present regime, which has yielded such magnificent profits, and prefers a nominal transfer of the powers of the Franco dictatorship to the monarchy (Juan Carlos) with minimal changes in the governmental system. The other main sector prefers a liberalization of the regime and perhaps even a "pact" with the workers parties and the formation of a democratic republic—of course with as little democracy as possible. But both camps are mortally alraid of a repetition of the experience of the 1930's, when a combative proletariat almost overthrew the capitalist system. Stalin and the Communist Party saved the bourgeoisie then, but could the Stalinists do it again?

The increasing pressure of the class struggle and force of the proletariat are once again a threat. However, Spanish society today is quite different from that of 1931. The working class is not organized in powerful anarchist and socialist-led trade unions as in the 1920's; nor is there a powerful reformist workers party to play the treacherous role assumed by the Socialist Party in the early 1930's.

Today the CP, the largest workers party in Spain, controls only a small part of the proletariat and lacks the rigid bureaucratic apparatus in the unions which gives the Italian and French CP's their power; the SP is no better off. Through numerous strikes, demonstrations, etc., the workers movement has repeatedly overflowed the narrow collaborationist framework which the reformists have tried to impose upon it.

ACTUALIDAD ESPAÑOLA

Aftermath of bomb explosion which killed Spanish Prime Minister Carrero Blanco in December.

An Approaching Pre-Revolutionary Situation

Although the political and economic conditions of Portugal are by no means the same as in Spain (the former has been economically depressed for decades, the latter has undergone massive industrialization since 1950), the recent military coup in Lisbon will certainly reinforce those forces in the bourgeoisie who look toward a liberalized "controlled democracy" and/or a bloc with the CP/SP. More importantly, popular agitation on Spain's western frontiers, combined with the possible appearance of a popular-front government including the Stalinists in France to the north, will certainly have a tremendous influence on the Franco regime. The Iberian peninsula is one of the most acute focal points of the class struggle in West Europe.

If you add to this the present economic instability of the Common Market and galloping inflation at home, it is clear that a pre-revolutionary situation is rapidly approaching in Spain. In a descriptive manner, Spain today could be compared to Russia in 1903 with massive unrest in the working class, the absence of legal mass organizations (unions, parties) of the proletariat, an authoritarian regime, opposition to the government by sections of the bourgeoisie, a "leftist" intelligentsia, etc. But in Spain the working class is numerically far more powerful than in Russia at the turn of the century, and it has gone through the bloody but instructive experience of the Popular Front in the 1930's.

The bonapartist dictatorship of General Francisco Franco, with all its demagogic pretensions and false promises of eternal peace, its enormous bureaucratic and military apparatus, is beginning to crack under continuous blows from the working masses. The class struggle, which the government has tried to hide through despotic maneuvers and ideological sleight-of-hand, is present in every manifestation of Spanish social life today.

In the last several years there have been a number of massive strikes in key sections of the economy, some of them even reaching the level of semi-insurrections on the order of the workers' revolt in Córdoba, Argentina, in May 1969. In the last decade Spain has become the country in Europe with the most strikes, an unusual distinction for a country governed by a rigidly authoritarian regime. Spain has also had the dubious honor of being the country where the most strikers have been assassinated by the "forces of law and order." Three cities in the north of Spain —Pamplona (June 1973), El Ferrol (March 1972) and Vigo (September 1972) —have been totally paralyzed for days by strikers, and for the first time in 30 years the army had to be called to suppress the uprisings.

DEVER—BLACK STAR

Franco reviewing victory parade in 1939.

If the proletariat is threatening to overthrow the government with its methods of class struggle, the petty bourgeoisie is also becoming increasingly restive. The most dramatic recent example was the spectacular blowing up of the Prime Minister (Carrero Blanco) in December of last year by petty-bourgeois Basque terrorists. The universities have been unable to attain regular functioning for years. In Madrid the convention of the Bar Association summarily closed down; all the candidates for the Association's leadership withdrew en bloc when the government annulled the candidacy of three of them for political reasons. The government has reacted with wide-ranging repressive measures, rounding up hundreds of Communists, Maoists, "Trotskyists" and nationalists; and in early 1974 it carried out the first death sentence in years against a political prisoner (the garroting of Catalan nationalist/anarchist Puig Antich).

The Civil War and its Consequences

In 1931 the parties representing the "democratic" petty bourgeoisie, the Basque and Catalan industrialists and the Socialist Party joined together in the Pact of San Sebastián with the goal of overthrowing the monarchy, the defender of Castilian big capital. The proletariat, which in 1917 and 1918 had threatened to topple the monarchy, was moving toward a revolutionary outburst which would overthrow the royalty and with it the entire capitalist system. But the SP collaborated with the republican bourgeoisie to prevent a revolutionary workers government, thereby guaranteeing the continued subjection of the working class to capitalist oppression.

The installation of the bourgeois Republic was unable to stifle the revolutionary enthusiasm of the working class, which responded to intense governmental repression with a vast Asturian miners' uprising in 1934. When the bourgeoisie retook the initiative with the military uprising of 18 July 1936, the workers responded by taking over Barcelona, instituting workers control in hundreds of factories, erecting a coordinated workers militia, etc.

In the three years of ferocious civil war which followed, the workers were militarily defeated. But through the Popular Front, the collaboration of the workers parties (Socialists, Communists, anarchists) with the liberal and radical bourgeois parties, the working class had already been decisively subordinated to the interests of capitalism. The absence of a truly revolutionary, Trotskyist leadership gave free rein to the counterrevolutionary Stalinists whose popular-front policies and campaign of terror against the left produced the *political defeat* of the working class which led to the military victory of Franco.

At the end of the civil war, after terrible destruction of human life, came the repression. Three hundred thousand workers and peasants were assassinated. Many others were locked up in concentration camps. All working-class leaders were exterminated or expelled; all political and trade-union groups and associations were dissolved. The bourgeoisie created its special instruments of destruction and coercion which came to characterize the Franco regime: political police, incessant corporatist propaganda and the *sindicatos verticales* ("vertical trade unions"—the state-controlled compulsory labor associations). All the components of a Hitler/Mussolini-style fascist government seemed to be present.

But there was a difference. The civil war was initiated, led and brought to a conclusion by the army and the state bureaucracy (supported by the bourgeoisie). The state apparatus *utilized* the fascist groups during and after the war to crush the workers' organizations. In contrast to Germany and Italy, however, the fascist groups never held power. The fascists were always subordinated to the army, and when they became an inconvenience for the interests of big capital they were removed without effort.

The Falange (the Spanish fascist party) has been since the early 1950's a political party without any popular base. Its very existence is today restricted to the apparatus of the *sindicatos verticales* and a few top leaders linked to the state apparatus. The Franco regime is, and has been since the end of the civil war, a military bonapartist dictatorship—not fascism.

The Rebirth of the Workers Movement

Up to the 1950's the living conditions of the working masses were reduced to an animal level. The Spanish workers were subjected to the worst mental and physical oppression in their history. Prostitution, alcoholism, venereal and infectious diseases, suicides and accidents were endemic. The cultural level of the workers, which had reached its high point in the 1930's, sank to an abysmal level reflecting the misery and deprivation of their situation.

Beginning with the early 1950's the working class began to regroup itself. There was tremendous immigration from the countryside. At the end of the civil war 62 percent of the economically active population lived in or directly from the countryside; by 1970 only 30 percent of the population was employed in agriculture. Several million new workers flooded into Madrid and other major centers, and many workers emigrated to industrial countries in Europe as well.

At the same time, in different parts

pain

of the industrialized north of Spain increasingly extensive strikes developed. In March 1951 an extensive boycott of public transport was carried out. Shortly thereafter 25,000 Basque workers unleashed the most intense strike since the civil war. In 1958 the entire Asturias and León mining districts halted work as a protest against the dismissal of eight miners. From this point on the police were able to obtain only partial victories, and the workers movement became progressively stronger. The classic industrial areas begin the strikes, but they are soon extended in a disconnected fashion to the rest of the country. With their massive concentration of workers and their political cohesiveness the Asturian mining zones are almost always in the vanguard of the movement.

In 1956, due to the bloody and repeated strikes, state regulation of wages was abolished. Under the Labor Code of 1938, wages were controlled directly by the state, strikes outlawed, the right of union association abolished and the *sindicatos verticales* established instead. Now, however, while the framework of corporatist laws remains, the employers are free to raise wages above the state-decreed minimum.

The continuing strikes and low labor productivity led in 1958 to another change in the Franco labor laws. *Convenios colectivos* ("collective contracts") were introduced which provide for the regulation of wages and working conditions in the framework of the *sindicatos verticales*, after discussions between workers and employers. In case they are unable to reach agreement, the "union" bureaucrats (appointed by the state from the ranks of the fascist party) determine the rates and conditions; there is no appeal.

ROUGE

Demonstration of the workers commissions.

Comisiones Obreras

At the beginning of the 1960's in the Madrid metallurgical industry the first *comisiones obreras* (CC.OO.—"workers commissions") were formed. The CC.OO. represent the crystallization of the proletariat's experiences in economic struggle under the Franco regime. Through the convocation of the *convenios colectivos*, groups of workers were able to come together for the first time to exchange ideas; the most combative workers began to distinguish themselves and were, or could be, elected as representatives of the workers in the *sindicatos verticales*. But the commissions and assemblies disappeared when the contract was signed. In 1962 the first permanent workers commission was formed in Madrid, and in the succeeding years this instrument of working-class struggle appeared in other provinces and industries throughout the country.

However, in 1967 the Supreme Court declared the CC.OO. illegal, and in February of this year ten leaders of the workers commissions were condemned to sentences of between nine and 20 years for "attempted illegal association." (These convictions were the result of the government's successful raid on a meeting called to set up, for the first time, a national coordination of *comisiones obreras*.) During the last six years hundreds of militant workers have been blacklisted by employers, placed under police surveillance, jailed and tortured. But the workers commissions continue to spread.

What are the *comisiones obreras*? In June 1966 a pamphlet was published entitled "¿Qué son las comisiones obreras?" which defines the workers commissions as:

> "A form of united oppostion of all the workers, of whatever belief, political or religious affiliation, against the *sindicatos verticales*....
>
> "The CC.OO. are an independent movement of the working class for the defense of the interests of the working class...."

However, on the other hand, "The CC.OO. are not *today* and *never* will be a labor union and much less a political party." The same pamphlet defines the objectives of the workers commissions as:

> "1) Daily and immediate struggle in all workplaces... for all the points included in the labor contracts.... hours of work, overtime, firings and discrimination due to age or sex.
>
> "2) Struggle for democratic liberties, especially to obtain trade-union rights. ... we fight for full right of association, freedom of assembly, free elections, the right to strike and to a working-class press."

Their protestations to the contrary, the workers commissions function today as illegal trade unions, in open struggle against the state labor associations (*sindicatos verticales*). In many areas the CC.OO. have grouped together the most militant elements of the Spanish working class. While they contain reformist elements, the actions of the *comisiones obreras* frequently surpass the narrow bounds imposed by the CP. Many groups, including left Catholics, Basque nationalists, Maoists and various groups claiming to be Trotskyist, not only participate in, but have been able to win positions of local leadership in the workers commissions. The Communist Party appears to have the most influence in certain regions, but this influence is far from being hegemonic due to the absence of a solidly entrenched bureaucratic apparatus with its own caste interests and partial independence from mass pressure.

Limits of Trade Unionism

With the appearance of the workers commissions the class struggle was intensified. From 1962 on a strike wave extended to the entire country: Vazcongadas, Madrid, Barcelona, Valencia, Asturias, Andalucía and Extremadura. In April of 1962 a strike broke out in Asturias which put the whole of Spain in a condition of extreme nervousness. At the "La Nicolasa" pit miners walked out demanding a wage increase, and the strike spread rapidly throughout the mining zone. Sixty thousand workers confronted the local police, and in some zones police stations were attacked. The state concentrated the police in the area but soon the entire north walked out. Movements of solidarity and sympathy strikes occurred in Madrid and even in small industries in the south, as well as in the universities. Despite police violence against the miners in Asturias, the strike held solid and won a limited victory.

Similar militancy and bloody repression have continued to characterize the strikes in recent years. Strikers have been killed by the police in Errandio (1969), Granada (1970), Madrid and Barcelona (1971), El Ferrol (1972) and San Andrés del Besós (1973). This demonstrates dramatically the need for armed defense of the picket lines. Likewise national coordination, both of strikes and of the workers commissions, is another burning need of the workers movement. But *particularly* in a brutal anti-labor dictatorship such as Franco's, it is not possible to emancipate the working class solely by more militant and coordinated trade-union struggle. It is necessary to elevate the struggle to the level of revolutionary socialist politics.

The lack of any political experience during thirty years of military dictatorship is certainly one of the factors explaining why until now virtually all the strikes have been limited to economic demands. Most important, however, is the question of leadership. The Stalinists consciously hold back the workers from taking up the political struggle for a proletarian revolution. But neither the pro-Peking Stalinists—the PCI, the FRAP, etc.—nor the groups claiming to be Trotskyist (the Liga Comunista Revolucionaria, Liga Comunista and Proletario group) have intervened in the strikes to take them beyond simple economic demands.

As Lenin incessantly pointed out, simple trade unionism does not go beyond the bounds of capitalism; as an ideology it is a means of subjecting the working masses to bourgeois theory and bourgeois rule:

> "Since there can be no talk of an independent ideology being developed by the masses of the workers in the process of their movement *the only choice is*: either bourgeois or socialist ideology.... Hence, to belittle socialist ideology *in any way*, to *deviate from it in the slightest degree* means strengthening bourgeois ideology.... the *spontaneous* development of the labor movement is pure and simple trade unionism... and trade unionism means the ideological enslavement of the workers to the bourgeoisie."[emphasis in original]
>
> —"What Is To Be Done?"

The reformist CP, of course, does not deny the need for politics—the politics of class collaboration, that is. It argues that "only" monopoly capital has any interest in maintaining the absolutist Franco regime. Consequently it attempts to ally the workers with the "progressive" sectors of the Church, capital and the army in a "broad front" to implant a "new" democracy. With its "Pact for Liberty," Assembly of Catalonia and other popular-front schemes, the CP is preparing the Spanish proletariat for a bloodbath similar to or worse than that of 1936. In the October Revolution the Bolsheviks refuted in practice the petty-bourgeois pacifist dreams of the Second International about a peaceful transition to socialism. But this does not seem to affect the Stalinists.

The lack of combativity of the reformist leaders of the CC.OO. has served as a brake upon the workers' militancy. But even had there been militant tactical leadership, to saleguard gains such as wage increases or the reinstatement of fired workers, won through hard-fought strikes, the Spanish working class would have to address the question of state power. None of the leftist forces in Spain has sought to intervene in the crucial class

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Australian Elections

Vote Labor! Oust Whitlam!

Reprinted from AUSTRALASIAN SPARTACIST No. 8, May 1974

CANBERRA TIMES

Liberal Party leader Snedden debating Labor Prime Minister Whitlam (seated).

On May 18 Australians go to the polls in an election precipitated by the small change of parliamentary chicanery, fought over programmes and policies which on neither side have any substantial connection with the aspirations of the masses of Australian workers.... There are times when the dissolution of a bourgeois parliament represents an organic development of a crisis in the bourgeois regime, or is a direct product of the class struggle, such as the recent elections in Britain. The double dissolution [of both houses of Parliament] announced in Canberra on April 11 has more to do with the "normal" manoeuvres of ambitious politicians.

No qualitative defeat for the working masses will result from the election of the Liberals, although they will undoubtedly reverse some mild reforms; and no great leap forward or substantial reforms will flow from a Labor victory. The class struggle is not fought out decisively in the artificial atmosphere of Parliament House; the intermittent teapot squall of parliamentary debate is only its pale reflection. For the proletarian vanguard, the significance of the current elections lies in the forum it provides for revolutionary propaganda, and in the opportunities for combatting the illusions retained by the masses of workers in the bourgeois-democratic framework and in their reformist misleaders.

Because workers look to the ALP [Australian Labor Party] for leadership, and because it is the historically-evolved mass political party of the class, the SL calls for a vote for Labor in the May 18 elections. The ALP remaining in office is a precondition for exposing in practice, as the class struggle intensifies, the dead-end of the current ALP leadership's reformism. But in order to avoid building the authority of the class traitors who now control the ALP, and in order to counterpose clearly before the class the path of revolution, we demand the ouster of Whitlam and the Labor bureaucrats and their replacement by a revolutionary leadership, and a Labor government pledged to expropiate the capitalist class.

...The issues presented to the public as key by the two contenders—inflation and (to use the bourgeois euphemism) "industrial unrest"—reflect key aspects of the current level of class struggle. But the LP-CP [Liberal Party-Country Party coalition] and ALP are only competing with each other to prove to the ruling class who is best suited to administer the capitalist state. While [Liberal Party leader Billy] Snedden makes demagogic appeals to the petty-bourgeoisie, wildly accusing the Labor government of encouraging strikes, refusing to chain the unions, coddling the unemployed, consorting with the deformed workers states in foreign policy, lusting after power for Canberra [the federal capital] over the States, and similar outrages to capitalist or petty-bourgeois conservative shibboleths, Whitlam seeks above all to portray his government as the most "responsible" servant of the bourgeoisie, capable of restraining the workers by backing token concessions, opposing strikes, promoting *capitalist* industrial development, fighting for greater "productivity" in industry (i.e., a higher rate of exploitation), and excising some of the more glaring warts from the face of capitalism to prevent it from appearing too ugly to too many.

...Australian workers still overwhelmingly back [Prime Minister Gough] Whitlam's ALP at the polls, and together with [Australian Council of Trade Unions President Bob] Hawke and the ACTU bureaucracy, he has been largely successful in heading off and containing working-class dissatisfaction. But the election in 1972 of a government which workers regarded as representing their interests spurred rising industrial militancy which has now developed into a significant strike wave, as workers instinctively seek to take what they have been denied for so long. Revolutionists must seek to exploit this conflict, which drives the impatient workers in actual struggle against the "respectable" reformists who hope to cling to power by appeasing the bourgeoisie. Strikes have also been fueled by the temporarily favourable conditions for forcing trade-union concessions out of the employers. While limited to trade union demands, and largely an attempt to keep up with inflation, the class militancy is deep-going and sometimes extends beyond the wages struggle to important reforms that Cameron would rather bury in the Arbitration Court. A series of recent strikes have revealed determination and self-reliance. The NSW [New South Wales] power workers have been striking intermittently for a 35 hour week since early 1973. After suffering a setback last October, the power workers have now renewed their strike in the face of virulent slander by the bourgeois press. The oil tank drivers of the Transport Workers Union in Sydney have shown exemplary solidarity against an attempt by the petrol companies to force scab deliveries to Shell Oil customers while Shell drivers were on strike. Postal workers have embarked on a campaign for a 35 hour week, but their leaders have caved in to pressure from Postmaster General Bowen to call off strike action that might "embarrass" the Labor government in the elections. The coal miners have resisted pressure to accept a $20 wage rise in their award [wage negotiations] campaign and have won a $25 rise.

The trade-union bureaucracy has responded to the upsurge with a show of militancy, which has sometimes forced them to clash with the Federal Labor government (as with the NSW power workers, who have refused to buckle under and are continuing industrial action in support of their claims, disregarding Labor government pleas to back off for the elections). But their function is typified by the carefully stage-managed sell-out of the Metal Industry award settlement in early April. Whitlam is depending on the labour bureaucracy to keep the workers in line.

The pro-capitalist behaviour of the Whitlamite ALP should come as no surprise.... The ALP programme does talk of the "socialisation objective", but its definition is hedged in by so many qualifications that it is rendered meaningless, and it has remained a dead letter. As *The Australian*'s editorial [20 April 1974]... notes,

> "It [the Whitlam government] has not nationalised anything, and it has announced no positive plans to nationalise anything.... Mr. Whitlam's appeals last year for the cooperation of leading Australian businessmen was no flim-flam; he really wants their help."

...The essential reason for the Spartacist League's critical support to the ALP is not the minimal reforms in its programme, but the fact that (though run by the labour bureaucracy) it is the historically-evolved party which expresses the political activity of the workers as a class, firmly tied to their mass organisations, the trade unions. Yet given its leadership and programme, it functions not as a party representing the interests of the workers, but as a bourgeois party, the instrument of agents of the bourgeoisie within the labour movement. Critical support—supporting the workers' party against the open parties of the class enemy, the Liberals and the Country Party—is a tactic to help set the aspirations of the working masses against the treachery of its petty-bourgeois leadership. The ALP is a contradictory phenomenon. It is the duty of revolutionists to sharpen that contradiction in order to resolve the ALP into its two class components, with the ultimate aim of winning the majority of workers to the support of a mass revolutionary vanguard party. Therefore we link the call for a Labor vote to the need to oust Whitlam and his ilk, and for a Labor party pledged not to parliamentary reform but to the expropriation of the capitalist class.

...The SWL [Socialist Workers League, co-thinkers of the Socialist Workers Party in the U.S.], which has never had a serious orientation toward the trade unions, has developed a distinctive style of capitulation to the social-democracy. In 1972, they made it clear that they hoped to play the role of a left pressure on Whitlam, with their highest aspiration being absorption into a new ALP left-wing more in the traditions of classical social-democracy than the pragmatic technocrats among ALP parliamentarians. They made themselves quite explicit:

> "The ALP campaign can be a focus for all the mass movements to project their demands to a wider audience... and to *pressurise the ALP to take up real questions....*"
>
> —election supplement, *Direct Action*, November 1972 (emphasis added)

...This time around, the SWL has begun to throw out even those aspects of formal orthodoxy which it once kept for appearances sake. Dumping their 1972 talk of "nationalisation of transport, industrial and financial institutions without compensation and under workers control", the SWL instead includes among its so-called "socialist policies" the demand,

> "...nationalise under workers control and without compensation all corporations which *make excessive profits.*"
>
> —*Direct Action*, 13 April 1974 (emphasis added)

So the SWL favours the continuation of "non-excessive" profits! Perhaps they can explain which profits are not "excessive"!

It is not accidental that the central slogans of the SWL and those of the supposedly "anti-revisionist", "anti-Pabloist" Socialist Labour League (SLL) [Australian subsidiary of Gerry Healy's "International Committee"] are *identical:* both say, "Keep the Liberals Out, Labor to Power with Socialist Policies". With their sectarian inversion of the SWL's reformist methodology, the SLL mimics the SWL in adapting to parliamentary illusions among the masses—but the SLL manages to take cretinism to extremes.

...The lead article in the 11 April *Workers News* manages to include an amazing number of absurdities. Among them is the following:

> "The class struggle has entered a new and decisive stage. What is at stake here is not a swing of the electoral pendulum but the struggle for power."

It is hard to keep track of all the "decisive stages" and "turning points" the SLL has proclaimed over the past few years. But if it *were* a question of the struggle for power, one can only conclude that the SLL thinks that the Labor Caucus [the ALP parliamentary group] is capable of carrying out an insurrection and smashing the capitalist state:

> "...[the SLL demands] that the Labor leadership break completely from its capitalist policies and adopt a full socialist programme to defend the working class and keep the Liberals out for good."

A full socialist programme—the dictatorship of the proletariat—in order to keep the Liberals out of power? There could be no more cretinous parliamentarism than this! Like the SWL, the SLL states its desire to pressure the Labor leadership to the left.... The SWL is more reasonable—they only hope to "pressurise" Whitlam a *little* to the left.

Two organisations nominally left of the ALP, the CPA [Communist Party of Australia] and the pro-Moscow Socialist Party of Australia (SPA), are standing Senate candidates in the elections....

...Although the reforms advocated by the CPA and SPA go beyond those pushed by Whitlam, they must be regarded as only quantitatively different. ... And, unlike the ALP, they do not represent any significant section of the working class. For revolutionists there is nothing to support in these campaigns. Although the CPA and the SPA are part of the workers movement, a vote for them, while not ruled out in principle under all conditions, is wasted....

The CPA and the SPA at present constitute only a distraction from the main task—to break the base of the ALP away from its reformist leadership in the ALP, to the support of a revolutionary programme. The accomplishment of this task, creating a mass-based, Leninist vanguard party, will clear the road for the proletarian revolution in Australia. ■

Continued from page 1

Portugal...

himself. Caetano evidently hoped that the inevitable uproar following publication of the book would aid his policy of gradual liberalization and weaken the ultras such as hard-liner Kauiza de Arriaga who had just returned from Mozambique. But these calculations proved to be wrong and Tomás forced his prime minister to make a statement in the National Assembly denouncing all attempts at liberalization.

The actual publisher of Spínola's book was a subsidiary of the CUF trust which reportedly controls more than a tenth of the capital of all Portuguese firms. Marcel Niedergang, writing in *Le Monde*, identified the main poles in the controversey as a "conflict between the economic groups that support a reorientation towards Europe and the Common Market, and those which remain attached to the idea of privileged relations with Portuguese Africa" (reprinted in *Manchester Guardian Weekly*, 27 April).

Spínola's flirtations with the Communist and Socialist Party leaders since the coup are an intimate part of this "reorientation." It is significant that shortly after returning to Lisbon the exiled SP leader Mario Soares took off on a tour of European capitals pleading for economic aid to the now "democratic" Portugal from Common Market countries.

Independence for Portuguese Colonies!

Key to stabilizing the junta's rule is its ability to avoid military defeat in Africa. Spínola wishes to accomplish this by a constitutional trick, renaming the Portuguese empire a "new republic," and granting the colonial population limited autonomy (popular votes for governor, etc.). The various liberation movements have naturally rejected this fake "commonwealth" as an example of "neo-colonialism." And in any case, Portugal may soon be forced to grant independence to Guinea-Bissau where the rebels led by the PAIGC (African Independence Party of Guinea and Cape Verde) already control a substantial part of the territory. The territory is small, economically unimportant and has only a few Portuguese settlers.

In Angola Spínola may have more success, for the "liberation movement" is militarily weak and divided between the MPLA (People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola) of Agostinho Neto and the FNLA(National Front for the Liberation of Angola) led by Holden Roberto. Roberto has been repeatedly accused of receiving CIA funds and is, in any case, strongly supported by the rightist Mobutu government of Zaïre (the former Belgian Congo).

The situation in Mozambique is more complicated. The north has a strong implantation of FRELIMO (Front for the Liberation of Mozambique) forces. In the south, the South African government might well invade to prevent a FRELIMO victory or even a sharp liberalization by Portuguese authorities. But the Portuguese bourgeoisie's main interest is to hold on to the coffee and minerals of Angola and the oil-rich enclave of Cabinda just to its north. Without the profits derived from these regions the Lisbon capitalists would be restricted to the economic resources of the poor west coast of the Iberian peninsula, many of which are already controlled by British interests.

Revolutionaries must resolutely demand independence for all Portuguese colonies. The remark by Karl Marx that a nation which oppresses another cannot itself be free continues to be true today. The tremendous disorganization of Portuguese capitalism which loss of its colonies would engender could greatly aid the struggle of the metropolitan working class. But at the same time, Marxists have no illusions as to the real character of the petty-bourgeois nationalist movements à la PAIGC, FRELIMO, MPLA, etc. Despite occasional vague references to "socialism," these movements aim at the establishment of a "democratic republic" led by "all strata of the population"—i.e., they want to set up their own capitalist states.

Toward a Portuguese Workers Republic

Those, like the Portuguese Communist Party, who preach confidence in the "democratic officers" must close their eyes to the sordid background of the junta's leaders. Spínola fought as a volunteer with the Franco forces in the Spanish Civil War and then accompanied the German army in the siege of Leningrad during World War II. He immediately volunteered for service in Africa when the guerrilla wars broke out in 1960-61 and is the author of "pacification" practices which involve total annihilation of the population of zones under rebel control. The assassination of PAIGC leader Amilcar Cabral in 1973 took place while Spínola was governor-general and military commander in Guinea-Bissau. This aspiring DeGaulle is far from the liberal the Stalinists and bourgeois press make him out to be.

In Portugal during these crucial weeks it is important to sharply counter the reformist Communist Party and its class-collaborationist politics in the unions and the universities. Against the popular-front CP slogan "the people united will never be defeated" (coined by the now-defeated "Popular Unity" coalition in Chile), Marxists must explain that the working class can rely only on its own forces, that the solution is not "new" democracy but socialist revolution. ■

Continued from page 2

...Fremont

and Putnam point out that at the time they opposed the motion on the grounds that the unions must clean up their own house rather than calling in others to do it, just as they oppose the government intervention to which such reliance on outsiders leads.

In order to provide a left cover for the Brotherhood in the election, the Caucus' "radical" supporters put forward a series of resolutions in the name of the Brotherhood, including a number of supportable demands such as Spanish translations of all union materials, free child care and maternity leave for women members and fighting to raise the wages of foreign auto workers in order to combat runaway shops. However, the real leaders of the Brotherhood showed their decreasing appreciation of this group by freezing its supporters off their slate entirely, thereby rendering their resolutions abstract.

So loyal is this cheering squad to its bureaucratic "allies" that it reportedly expunged from its resolutions all mention of opposition to Woodcock's call for quotas on foreign auto imports—a reactionary attack on foreign auto workers that the Brotherhood bureaucrats support. Furthermore, when Fujino and Putnam put forward their resolution calling for class-struggle politics going beyond simple impeachment, all elements of the Brotherhood were reportedly so horrified that they withdrew even their own mild pro-impeachment resolution! This is the meaning of the kind of "united front" advocated by groups like the Maoist October League, a group which has never retracted its initial enthusing over the Brotherhood.

The presence of the Militant slate had an effect on other political tendencies in the Local as well. Local 1364 is one of the few places where the Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party (TUALP), described as "the trade union arm of the Workers League," actually has a supporter, Tom Cagle. Despite heavy coverage as a TUALP activist in the *Bulletin*, organ of the pseudo-Trotskyist WL, Cagle not only did not run in the election, but refused to support Fujino and Putnam or their resolutions for strikes against layoffs and a labor party *despite his repeatedly declared agreement with their program.*

Supporters of the *Bay Area Worker* (a regional paper backed by the Revolutionary Union) calling themselves the Concerned Rank and Filers of Local 1364 also dropped into inactivity after having announced one candidate. Although he never put forward any campaign material, their candidate had been active in the Employed/Unemployed Committee. This committee stands on a program which objectively accepts unemployment, seeking only soup-line palliatives for the unemployed in place of a class-struggle program.

The Committee for a Militant UAW conducted an active campaign, attempting to use the opportunity provided by the election to explain as completely as possible the class-struggle program of the group. Its literature called for union control of hiring and upgrading to end discrimination, nationalization of the auto and energy industries under workers control without compensation and a government "of, by and for the workers."

Furthermore, the Committee's quick response to the threat of court-ordered closure of the voting demonstrated the kind of leadership in action required in order to actually mobilize union membership behind a class-struggle program. For the militants of the CMUAW, fighting for their program means more than just mouthing a few "militant" phrases to be dropped once they get into office. Regardless of the outcome of this election, their performance in it bodes well for the future. ■

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...Spain

battles to raise demands leading toward a political movement under proletarian leadership confronting the bonapartist dictatorship: the urgent demands for independent legal trade unions, for the right of political association and freedom of the press and for the right to strike (demands which are supported even by sections of the bourgeoisie) must be infused into the strikes themselves, not just restricted to paper programs.

To give the strikes a political perspective would soon require repulsing attacks by the police, Guardia Civil, army, etc. (as all major strikes in Spain do in any case). Thus it is crucial to prepare armed self-defense of the picket lines, under the control of democratically elected strike committees, which can function as organs of the proletariat as the situation approaches dual power.

The struggle to deepen the strike movements requires the injection of an explicitly political element with a clear anti-capitalist thrust. Not relying upon the "progressive" bourgeoisie to lead the fight for democratic liberties, but understanding that a unified working class struggling for power in its own right will win over the support of many sectors of the peasants and urban petty bourgeoisie, the workers movement must advance the perspective of a workers government, the only real alternative to the bonapartist military dictatorship. ■

Presenting...

The Impeachment Rally Follies

"The Watergate crisis" has been largely confined to the top circles of the American ruling class. It was caused by Nixon's use against respectable bourgeois politicians of methods normally reserved for reds, black radicals and union militants. In contrast to the issues of black rights and the Vietnam War, the Watergate crisis has not polarized American society at the base or even generated mass protest activity. While tens of millions of Americans despise Richard Nixon and want to get rid of him, they don't believe it is necessary to *do* anything to bring that about, apart from voting against the Republican in any available election. The general popular attitude toward the Watergate affair most closely resembles that of Roman spectators watching a particularly repellent group of barbarian chieftains being ripped apart by wild animals.

(Such a passive attitude is not an accident. With everyone from Southern conservative Sam Ervin to the Communist Party and the Maoists proclaiming impeachment as the answer to Watergate, it is hardly surprising that the American public is inclined to sit back and let Congress settle everything.)

It was predictable that come spring some "left" group would try to foment a "mass impeachment movement" modeled on the late, great antiwar movement, whose lack of success in ending the war can be testified to by any South Vietnamese peasant. The right-Maoist Revolutionary Union (RU) has risen to the occasion through a "Throw the Bum Out" campaign of its student group, the Attica Brigade. (The Socialist Workers Party of NPAC fame, in contrast, has been too busy pushing its "socialist answer to Watergate"—attacking Nixon through court suits—to organize anything of consequence lately.) After a brief sit-in at the Statue of Liberty, the Attica Brigade organized its first "mass action" in Washington on April 27.

Antiwar Graffiti

At this point, a demonstration in front of Congress demanding that it impeach Nixon has about as much political purpose as a demonstration before Democratic Party Headquarters demanding support for holding elections next November. The evident irrelevancy of an impeachment rally reflected itself both in the small size, perhaps 6,000, and in a ho-hum carnival atmosphere at the April 27 events.

The rally resembled a parody of a fourth-rate antiwar demonstration circa 1969—virtually a conscious exercise in nostalgia. The Yippies (remember them?) made a comeback playing the Patty Hearst Brigade in honor of the latest counter-culture heroine. Folksinger Phil Ochs reworded one of his old antiwar songs to deal with Watergate, not even bothering to write a new one. The Communist Party's youth group, the Young Workers Liberation League, added color to the occasion with their cobalt blue uniform blouses.

Although the rally was mainly organized by two ostensibly socialist tendencies—the RU and CP—one would, as usual, never know it from the speakers. The demonstrators were addressed either by heads of front groups (like the CP's favorite, the ubiquitous Beulah Sanders of the National Welfare Rights Organization) or left notables like Dave Dellinger, whose main qualification for addressing rallies is that he represents nobody but himself. The speakers had the difficult task of presenting impeachment as a radical demand and a blow against the many-sided oppressiveness of American society. However, they proved up to the occasion, spewing forth endless political idiocies full of sound and fury but signifying nothing.

Dolores Huerta of the United Farm Workers spent most of her speech denouncing the American people for "vast ignorance" and "racism" in voting for Nixon—in short, a retroactive campaign speech for McGovern. Dellinger intoned, "we are going to impeach Nixon and keep right on moving" to "return the American system to the American people," a system which "must develop faith in the people." Sanders was singing a feminist tune that afternoon: "If we had a woman in office I believe we would not have the trouble we have today." And Herbert X. Blyden of the Attica Defense Committee spoke darkly of a "long, hot summer" (during which the cops will again gun down hundreds of unarmed black youth, as happened in the 1967 ghetto riots?), counterposing to impeachment the following course of action: "you have to do what has to be done."

The actual political content of the rally was captured by the RU slogan, "Throw the Bum Out"—tough-guyism for impeachment. This is exactly the same demand being made by George Wallace, Henry Jackson and Ted Kennedy. Not one speaker even called for the obvious relevant democratic demand—an immediate presidential election. And of course not one called for a break with the liberal wing of the Democratic Party and the building of a workers party.

Streakers and Brawlers

No such rally would be complete without streakers. So several members of the Patty Hearst Brigade duly ran naked through the crowd.

But the high point of the day was a brawl between the Attica Brigade and Youth Against War and Fascism (YAWF), a bizarre amalgam of revisionist "Trotskyism" and Third-World Maoism. The Attica Brigade had announced a "militant action" and marched off to do its thing at the Justice Department. Never a group to resist a "militant action," YAWF marched off after them. The "militant action" led to rocks being thrown at the cops, who promptly charged. Unfortunately for the retreating Attica Brigade, however, YAWF continued to march forward. So the Attica Brigaders were trapped between YAWF and the police, which led to their being badly mauled by the cops.

The incident is an object lesson in the need for a genuine united front on such occasions, involving joint preparations and close tactical coordination. When the bruised Attica Brigade finally got back to the rally point, it denounced YAWF for objectively aiding the cops; YAWF counter-denounced the Attica Brigade for cowardice in the face of the enemy. At this point fights flared between members of the two groups. The brawl petered out as YAWF announced it had recovered an Attica Brigade banner from the battle of the Justice Department and magnanimously offered to send it back to them in the mail.

For Immediate Presidential Elections! For a Workers Candidate!

That the majority of American people wants the repulsive liar and criminal Nixon removed from office is a good thing—certainly better than if they didn't. However, his replacement by the equally conservative, anti-labor Gerald Ford as the result of a congressional impeachment trial would hardly be a major advance in the class struggle. Impeachment is not enough! The working class must organize to settle accounts with Nixon and his class for their real crimes against humanity. The only position for a revolutionary socialist on Watergate is to call for labor action (including, if necessary, a general strike) to force immediate presidential elections and to run a union-based candidate on a program opposed to both capitalist parties. For a left group to agitate for impeachment now (like the CP, RU, et al.) is simply to do donkey work for the Democrats and useless donkey work at that. ■

WV PHOTO

Impeachment rally in Washington, April 27.

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...UFW

and caused the arrest and brutalization of thousands of farm workers.

The Last Round?

Chavez' lack of a class-struggle strategy has made it relatively easy for the Teamster pressure campaign to neutralize even the liberal Democrats, whom Chavez favors as "allies." Recently the Detroit IBT threatened a strike by the city's 650 garbage truck drivers if liberal Democrat Mayor Coleman Young declared a "grapes boycott day" as requested by Cesar Chavez. Young, a personal friend and supporter of Chavez, ceded to his Teamster political supporters' demand that he take no stand, not even a symbolic one, in support of the UFW.

The UFW let Young off the hook and negated its own case with anti-labor statements that could only serve to alienate the rank-and-file Teamsters to whom the UFW should be appealing over the heads of their leadership. UFW spokesman Sam Baca charged that "by succumbing to this kind of coercion, the mayor is setting a dangerous precedent. Will the people of Detroit be threatened with the denial of a service for which they pay taxes every time the elected officials of this city make a decision the Teamsters do not approve?" (*Detroit Free Press*, 9 March 1974). Identical arguments could be used to crush a general strike in support of the farm workers!

George Meany's failure to provide strike funds to the UFW, instead advocating piddling, pass-the-hat contributions from individual unions, coincides with an escalation in the Teamster/grower/government assault on the UFW. Because of the low wages of farm workers and the dwindling membership of the union, a strike fund is crucial to UFW success.

Furthermore, legislation is currently in preparation to allow the reinstitution of the bracero program—which provides for the importation of up to 500,000 Mexican nationals, inevitably to be used as strikebreakers. In fact it was only with the elimination of the bracero program in 1964 that farm workers were able to successfully organize at all. The growers continue to lobby for legislation that would destroy the UFW, including outlawing "unfair" strikes, i.e., those at harvest time!

Militant unionists, while calling for

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REVOLUTIONARY LITERATURE

EL MALCRIADO

Labor contractor's bus which plunged into a ditch in January leaving 28 dead.

full citizenship rights for all foreign workers in the U.S. and opposing all laws to deport or fine foreign workers (such as the Rodino-Kennedy bill), must oppose the bracero program or any other form of importing contract labor which limits the right to organize, seek higher wages or change jobs freely. Recognizing the need to count only on our own forces, labor and socialist militants do not call on the government to deport scabs, but instead deal with them through vigorous defense of the picket lines, unionization of agricultural workers in Mexico (many of whom produce for the U.S. market in any case). Ultimately, scab-herding must be beaten by incorporating the scabs/victims in the common struggle.

Farm workers must recognize that the UFW's battle will be won by strikes in the fields and by solidarity action by the rest of the labor movement (especially hot-cargoing), not by moral witness in front of supermarkets. The strikes around this year's grape harvest in California's valleys may well be the battles which will determine once and for all whether the UFW is to survive as a trade-union organization. The UFW needs a leadership that will make use of farm workers' militancy and desire to struggle in their own interests, with a strategy and politics that can win. Instead of attempting to ingratiate itself with the bosses' Democratic Party, such a leadership would reject anti-communism, "respectability," pacifism and prostration before bourgeois legality, and instead call for and organize all-out struggle for the mobilization of the entire labor movement against the growers and their capitalist government. Teamsters out of the fields! Hot-cargo scab products! For a state-wide general strike in defense of the UFW! For armed defense of the picket lines! Nationalize the fields under workers control! Oust the bureaucrats! For a workers party based on the trade unions! For a workers government! ■

Demonstration Protests Haitian Deportations

WV PHOTO

Supporters of the Spartacist League march in April 27 demonstration protesting deportation of Haitian refugees from the U.S. The protest action drew more than 200 participants, including numerous Haitians, supporters of various socialist organizations and trade-union militants. A particular urgency is given the demonstrations by the dragnet raids carried out by the U.S. Immigration Service in the New York area earlier in the month to round up anyone who "appears to be" an undocumented Haitian. At the same time, in Texas and Miami more than 130 Haitians are being held in "preventive detention." Altogether, throughout the U.S. more than 440 refugees from the brutally repressive Duvalier dictatorship have been denied asylum and ordered deported by the Nixon government.

Among the trade unionists present were representatives of the Militant Solidarity Committee at Mahwah, N.J., Ford with signs in French proclaiming "Stop the Deportations" and "Full Citizenship Rights for All Foreign Workers." SL signs included the slogans "For a Trotskyist Party in Haiti" and "Toward the Rebirth of the Fourth International."

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...Steelworkers

were helping Abel and the companies shelve the right to strike for another six years, steel workers were finding they very much needed the right to strike in two localities in which both the companies and their courts and government were being as brutal as ever. In Nashville, striking members of Local 4802 were harassed by restrictive court orders, scabs and cops, and in a company town in Michigan, open warfare is in progress because of company union-busting. In the April 1974 *Steel Labor*, right next to the article praising the anti-labor judge's defense of the no-strike pact, we find the following:

> "Amid Dow Chemical Co. safety posters and billboards declaring 'Life is Fragile,' Steelworkers from the 5,300-member Midland, Mich., Local 12705 in the second day of their strike were confronted by more than 100 state police who bloodied them with riot sticks, made mass arrests and herded others into a rental 'U-Haul' for the county jail."

What *Steel Labor* doesn't mention is that there have also been clashes with Sheriff's deputies... who belong to a unit of the Steelworkers!

Leadership the Real Question

It is not ENA or some other bogey but control of the union by a reformist bureaucracy that is key. In its struggle against ENA, the NSRFC makes itself completely indistinguishable from the liberal bureaucrats like Sadlowski of District 31 (Chicago) who are snapping around Abel's feet. (The CP gave obvious back-handed support to Sadlowski in the last District elections—which, incidentally, are being reviewed in court, like so many other things!). The Sadlowskis, in turn, are no different from liberal bureaucrats running many unions which have the right to strike.

There is very little difference in real conditions or degree of workers democracy among these unions. The recently announced steel contract is remarkably similar to the last UAW contract. It has the same paltry 3 percent yearly raise sugar-coated for good first impressions by a cost-of-living "roll-in" (addition of previous COL gains to the base rate in the first year); a virtually identical minuscule increase in the inadequate rate of computation of the cost of living; and a similar sellout on probation for new hires. The UAW got larger pensions, but Abel obtained the principle of "inflation adjustment" on pensions.

To the CP, which is interested in finding excuses for its orientation toward liberal bureaucrats like Woodcock, it is important to find distinctions where none exist. Wanting to avoid annoying Woodcock—since he is an ally of the liberal bourgeois politicians—the CP was nowhere to be found during the struggle over the last UAW contract and later gave "critical support" to the sellout. Since Abel is an ally of right-wing liberals such as the anti-communist Jackson, Woodcock's contract must somehow be made to seem better than Abel's—so the UAW's bigger pension is cited (*Daily World*, 18 April). As far as democracy goes, how can the UAW with its vicious red-baiting and gross manipulation of the contract vote last year be considered qualitatively different from Abel's "representative democracy" and compulsory arbitration? The ex-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party reflects the same tone of seeing the liberal UAW as somehow better:

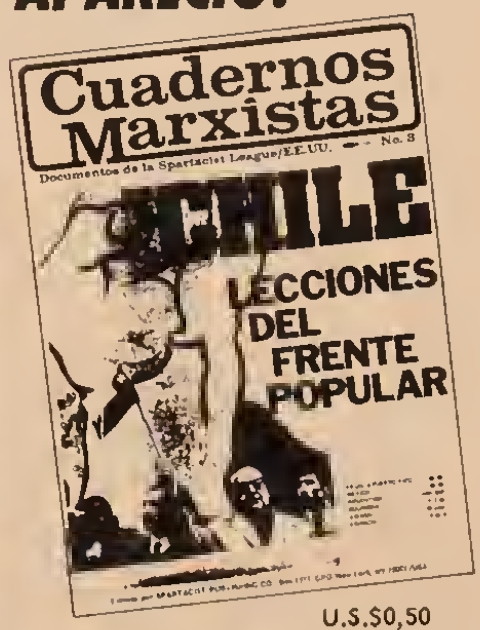
> "In all cases the terms [of the steel contract] lag behind those negotiated last Fall by the United Auto Workers."
> —*Militant*, 26 April

This is pure hogwash and a reflection of the SWP's abysmal ignorance of the real conditions facing U.S. industrial workers today.

Unlike the CP, which gives political support to both liberal bourgeois politicians and liberal trade-union bureaucrats on the basis of distinctions that don't really exist, revolutionists must put forward their own, class-struggle program in the unions. Blocking with centrists and reformists in specific actions against specific betrayals of the bureaucracy, such as ENA, should not be confused with political support.

For the CP, there is no program other than replacing Nixon or Abel with a slicker version of the same thing: a McGovern or a Woodcock. Revolutionists, however, begin with the need to replace the reformist bureaucracy with class-struggle leadership, and the capitalist ruling class with the working class in power. In the unions, this means uniting all the workers in the struggle to make the *employers* pay for discrimination rather than supporting court-inspired, anti-union redivisions of the same pie—for jobs for all through a shorter workweek at no loss in pay; union control of hiring and promotion on a strict first-come first-served basis; company-paid recruitment and training programs and an end to all government intervention in the labor movement. On the basis of such a working-class program, caucuses should be built to struggle to replace the Abels and Woodcocks with a new class-struggle leadership rather than putting in some slick-talking fakers who call for higher wages, union democracy and everything else any self-respecting business unionist claims to favor—as long as he is out of office. The struggle is also political; a truly militant union leadership would have to break with the capitalist parties and build a workers party to fight for a workers government. ■

APARECIO!



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BLACK AND RED

Class-Struggle Road to Black Liberation

SPEAKER: LEN MEYERS
Spartacist League/Author of the WV article "The Rise and Fall of the League of Revolutionary Black Workers"

DETROIT FORUM

Sunday, May 12 7:30 p.m.
Trinity Methodist Church
13100 Woodward

WORKERS VANGUARD

Abel and Courts Shaft Steelworkers

Union militants with illusions in the willingness of the employers' courts to combat racial discrimination have just been handed a hard lesson, courtesy of the Abel leadership of the Steelworkers union. A year ago Abel surrendered the steel workers' right to strike, without so much as a membership referendum over this historic betrayal. Now the USWA bureaucracy has chalked up another slick fait accompli for the membership: an April 15 Washington, D.C., district court decision which effectively absolves the steel companies from all responsibility for their decades of discriminatory treatment of women, black and other minority workers.

In steel, black workers have been kept segregated into the hottest, dirtiest and most dangerous work through the departmental seniority system, which allowed no transfers, or transfers in which the worker started at the bottom in another department, with loss of pay and seniority. Since the late 1960's this system has come under increasingly heavy attack, many workers demanding plant-wide seniority. With the union leadership refusing to fight for this demand, black workers have been enticed by liberals into placing their hopes in court suits under Title Seven of the Civil Rights Act—suits in which the union usually is charged as well as the company.

These suits began to make some headway in the courts in 1971. Court rulings have led to some improvements for blacks in some locations, such as the Bethlehem Steel plant in Lackawanna, New York or U.S. Steel's Fairfield, Alabama works, but only by instituting various forms of reverse favoritism. These court-ordered "reforms" have the dual effect of heading off the development of revolutionary class consciousness among discontented black workers by fostering reliance on the government and of heightening racial tensions and reinforcing white racism. Thus the Lackawanna decision, which gave rate-retention and limited plant-wide seniority rights to black transferees but not to whites, was followed immediately by the creation of a reactionary "Rights for Whites" group in the plant. The May 1973 Fairfield decision went further in that the judge ordered a sweeping restructuring of the lines of seniority, virtually rewriting the contract in the courtroom. But again rate-retention was only for black transferees, and the *workers* were made to pay half the back pay awards through a tax on the union!

Cops confront strikers at Midland, Michigan, Dow Chemical plant. STEEL LABOR

New Ruling: Bureaucratic Deal

After the Fairfield decision, and with a contract approaching, the companies were anxious for a scheme for piecing off black workers cheaply and permanently. The April 15 ruling—a product of months of backroom maeuvering between the companies, the union and various government agencies—is national in scope and provides for token back-wage payments for victims of racial discrimination.

The record total of $30.9 million in damages actually works out to an average of only $400 to $800 per individual worker, when the actual amount due should be computed in thousands, not hundreds. In order to claim even this, the worker must sign a waiver against any future court action on his part, thus ensuring an end to claims. Like most of the previous local decisions, the new arrangement establishes quotas for new hiring and gives special privileges to black transferees instead of uniform plant-wide seniority. And again the union is held liable for part of the back-pay awards.

The way in which the deal was put over is the crowning touch. On the basis of prior arrangement, the Labor Department, Justice Department and the Equal Employment Opportunities Commission (EEOC) sued the companies and the union on behalf of all the black workers who had been discriminated against. The companies and the union, of course, instantly agreed to the terms which they had jointly cooked up beforehand. This made the government a party to the deal between the companies and the union, so that its agencies are now obligated to enter any future Title Seven suits (by workers who refuse the token back-pay award) *on the side of the companies!*

More important, the rug has been pulled out from under any internal union struggle for plant-wide seniority, since the union is now legally bound to the present arrangement, without the union membership's having had any say. Naturally, the agreement is being hailed in the bourgeois press as a model of "voluntary compliance" with the "affirmative action" requirement of the Civil Rights Act.

J.P. Cannon once remarked that it is better to call for something you want and not get it than to call for something you don't want and get it. The latter is ever the fate of opportunists. Groups in the Steelworkers union such as the National Steel Rank and File Committee (NSRFC), supported by the reformist Communist Party, had called for the implementation of the Fairfield decision throughout the industry. Yet the CP and its union friends are none too pleased with the present outcome. "A Cheap Deal," declares the CP's George Morris (*Daily World*, 23 April 1974), trying to make a distinction between the "good" Fairfield decision and the present decree—conveniently ignoring key aspects of the Fairfield ruling: its deliberately racially divisive effect and the union's being held partially liable for the back-pay awards, which could have been used to break the union financially. The main point, however, is the increasing government dictation of terms to the workers—the inevitable result of relying on the courts to "impartially" settle disputes between labor and capital. Suits to right the wrongs of the companies create illusions in the courts, which exist to protect the property, profits and other "rights" of the companies.

The Abel bureaucracy uses the courts to cement its collusion with the racist companies. Militant steel workers, however, must recognize that a suit against an *employer*, undertaken without illusions as part of a strategy of class struggle, is at best a secondary, although sometimes desirable, tactic. The real struggle is to unite the workers around a militant program for the labor movement, to oust the Abel bureaucracy and its policies of insensitivity to racial injustice. Central to such a program is an understanding of the class nature of the state and its courts. Those like the CP who advocate court suits against the *union* itself are fundamentally no different from the class-collaborationist Abel bureaucracy.

AP
Abel (left) and company representative announce ENA no-strike pact last year.

No-Strike ENA Upheld

Only two weeks prior to the "anti-discrimination" ruling, another court action in early April had upheld Abel's no-strike "Experimental Negotiating Agreement" (ENA). Thirty-five steel workers, supported by the NSRFC and CP, had sued the companies and the union to overturn ENA and also provide for membership ratification of contracts, which has never been a right in the Steelworkers. Abel had rammed through the ENA in supremely undemocratic fashion: even the International executive board was kept in the dark until the last minute, and the critical passage by the Basic Steel Industry Conference was based on a flawed copy of the terms! The court ruled to uphold the ENA, just in time for Abel to announce a new contract which extended the "experimental" no-strike pledge until *1980*.

Despite the court's ruling upholding the ENA on all counts, *Labor Today* (March 1974), monthly organ of Trade Unionists for Action and Democracy, a pan-union group supported by the CP, enthused over the court experience because Abel was exposed in the witness chair for his gross ignorance and bureaucratic functioning. For *Labor Today*, it was really the "rank and file," not capitalist state power, dominating the court:

> "... Abel seemed to recognize that he was making admissions that would look bad to steel workers and he began making speeches about the 1971 contract, maybe 'the greatest contract' in the history of *any* labor negotiations. The steel worker audience hooted with laughter."

Not surprisingly, the judge had a better idea of what was really going on. Explicitly defending the ENA as "an evolutionary step forward in labor relations," he ruled arguments of democracy irrelevant and concluded:

> "No one, and especially no one with roots in the Pittsburgh area, belittles the right to strike; brave men died to win it. No one discounts their sacrifice. But it is symbolic of the changes wrought by time that this dispute is being resolved in a court of law, rather than recourse to violence and recrimination which characterized labor relations in the recent past."
>
> —quoted in *Steel Labor*, April 1974

One wonders how the NSRFC supporters in court must have felt, having asked a capitalist jurist (which side was he on when the 'brave men died' in Pittsburgh?!) to make this ruling. Did they actually expect the courts to hand over historic rights to the workers without a fight? No; they were conducting a cynical, opportunist maneuver, a maneuver which backfired dangerously. By detouring the struggle against ENA into the courts, they helped give Abel a needed breathing space and a legal prop. Opposition to ENA had been mounting; ten locals denounced it, petitions were gathered, etc. (see *WV* No. 38, 15 February 1974). Now, even in the unlikely event of a successful appeal, the new regular contract has replaced the original ENA deal with a similar no-strike pledge for the following three years (covering the next negotiations in 1977 and extending until 1980).

In the meantime, while the courts

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WORKERS VANGUARD 25¢

No. 45 24 May 1974

Impeachment Means Ford in the White House...

For New Elections and A Workers' Candidate!

MAY 18—The question has come down to whether Nixon will be impeached (an event which can be an exploitable gold mine for the Democrats) or resign (thereby getting the Republicans off the hook). Innumerable pious words to the contrary, the political forces pushing for impeachment (much less those calling for Nixon's resignation) are in no sense motivated by concern to protect democratic rights from the abuses of government power. Rather, Nixon's continuation in office is a serious obstacle to the smooth functioning of American imperialism—a fact now recognized by all sections of the ruling class. The latest dispute between the Democratic and Republican leaderships over impeachment vs. resignation only demonstrates how thoroughly the whole Watergate crisis is dominated by cheap partisan politicking.

A serious campaign to protect elementary democratic rights, so blatantly violated by the Nixon administration, would not consist of replacing him with the ex-FBI agent Gerald Ford. Rather it would seek to check and dismantle the repressive apparatus of the state. *All* government wiretapping should be outlawed and all political dossiers destroyed. The secret political police (FBI, CIA and other intelligence agencies) should be abolished. The standing army and its officer corps should be dissolved. Simply to mention such a program is to show how little the impeachment campaign has to do with civil liberties and democratic government, even from a bourgeois liberal standpoint.

"Clean-Minded" President Talks Dirty

After the Saturday Night Massacre (the firing of Special Watergate Prosecutor Cox, Attorney General Richardson's resignation) last October and the subsequent string of unprecedented Republican electoral defeats, Nixon's

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WV PHOTO

Nixon (right) and cronies Rebozo and Abplanalp (left). UPI

Political Turmoil in West Europe–

Brandt Falls

BERLIN, May 18—Looking superficially at the European political scene in recent weeks one could get the impression that chance is the dominant factor. In Britain Harold Wilson's two-month-old Labour government (the oldest of a major Common Market country at present!) won the recent elections primarily due to Tory Prime Minister Heath's irrational belief that defeating the miners' strike was worth plunging the economy into chaos. Pompidou's death suddenly ended 15 years of Gaullist rule in France. And now Germany's Willy Brandt has been finished off by spies and rumors.

In fact, deeper forces are at work. Although affected less by the Arab oil boycott/price offensive than any other Western state, German capitalism is suffering from sharpening internal contradictions. Consumer prices have gone up 7.6 percent in the last year while wholesale prices shot up at a 12.8 percent rate, indicating even higher inflation in the future. Unemployment, long a negligible factor in the land of the *Wirtschaftswunder* (economic miracle), stood at 560,000 in March. Heretofore docile foreign workers showed menacing signs of militancy in last year's August strikes in the Rhineland. And increasing dissatisfaction among German workers, particularly the young, is reflected in polarization inside Brandt's Social Democratic Party (SPD).

J.H. DARCHINGER

Spy Guillaume (left) and Brandt.

Bourgeoisie Dumps Willy

Worried about the fragility of the economy, the bourgeoisie has been searching for a "strong man" who will take on the unions and hold down inflation by freezing wages. Lately Brandt has had little to offer the ruling class of the Federal Republic

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Papal/Fascist Anti-Divorce Drive Defeated in Italy /2

Zionists, Arab Nationalists Trade Terrorist Atrocities /12

■

Rightist Takeover Looms in Ceylon /4

Support NYC Anti-Discrimination Bill

Full Rights for Homosexuals!

in the face of a recession, runaway inflation and the imminent impeachment of the President of the United States, one would not expect a local edict banning discrimination against homosexuals to generate serious political conflict at present. The normal procedure—as with laws against racial and sex discrimination—would be to pass the legislation and then violate it in practice. Thus the fact that the New York City homosexual equal rights bill (Intro 2) has produced active opposition from powerful organizations demonstrates how easily backward social attitudes, even on marginal questions, can become rallying points for political reaction.

Predictably, the main force behind the anti-homosexual campaign is the world's foremost purveyor of reactionary ideology, the Roman Catholic church hierarchy. Anxious to defend the sacred patriarchal family, church fathers are focusing on preventing homosexuals from teaching school children. An editorial in the *Catholic News* (25 April), official paper of the New York Archdiocese, states: "Homosexuality is an increasing threat to sound family life in our city today ... we are equally opposed to forcing on others who consider homosexual practice gravely immoral, close or influential relationships that could harm persons in their formative years."

Also playing a leading part in opposing the anti-discrimination bill is the leadership of the Uniformed Fire Officers Association, which appears more interested in protecting the Fire Department's macho image than in defending the real interests of working firemen: "If passed, Intro 2 would permit a small segment of the NYC community who are afflicted with homosexual tendencies and who are otherwise sodomites, perverts and deviates to live and work where they choose" (*Fire Officers News Bulletin*, 23 April).

Anti-homosexual prejudice is one of the strongest reactionary attitudes within the working class, particularly (but by no means only) among workers from Latin backgrounds and even among those who consider themselves communists. (It is significant that a nationalist demagogue like Perón thinks that the most damaging charge he can raise against Marxism is to link it to homosexuality.) Historically the left wing of the American labor movement has refused to touch the homosexual question so as not to antagonize backward workers. The Stalinists go even further and label homosexuality a "capitalist sickness"; in Stalinist-ruled countries homosexuals are subject to diverse forms of persecution as "undesirables" and "deviates" (see "Left-Wing Puritanism," *RMC Newsletter* No. 7, April 1971). Yet it is clear that by failing to fight anti-homosexual prejudices these ostensible socialists are in fact giving direct aid to reactionary forces such as the Catholic church.

As a result of the campaign by the church hierarchy and UFOA leadership, passage of Intro 2 is now doubtful. Since a trade union is playing a leading role in opposing the bill, it is particularly urgent that the workers movement speak out firmly for the rights of homosexuals at this time. We call upon the New York City labor movement to support the bill banning discrimination against homosexuals in employment, housing and public accommodations.

Papal/Fascist Anti-Divorce Drive Defeated in Italy

MAY 16—In a two-day national referendum, Italy's first since 1946, Italians voted earlier this week by a margin of three to two to retain the country's three-year-old law permitting divorce. In this Roman Catholic country of chronic unemployment and a resulting shrinking job market for women, anti-divorce forces counted on Italian women to repeal the divorce law. They particularly looked to the two million "white widows" of the destitute deep South who fear being abandoned by their husbands who have gone elsewhere in western Europe to look for work. Italian women, who represent a 1.7 million majority of the electorate, were decisive in the referendum—voting not for, but *against* repeal and for their own rights! Even in southern Italy the pro-divorce vote was heavy.

The very conservative divorce law first went into effect in December 1970. It provides that a judge can terminate a marriage after a separation of five to seven years, depending on circumstances, or in instances in which one party has been sentenced for a grave crime. Almost immediately after the law's enactment conservative elements began a campaign to repeal it.

The vote result was a major defeat for the church hierarchy and the Christian Democrats, who head Italy's coalition government and have dominated Italian politics since World War II. This defeat will heighten tensions within the weakened CDP (many of its supporters had opposed the party's anti-divorce stance). It will undoubtedly topple Premier Mariano Rumor's government—his fifth since taking office last July—and could produce a split in the party. Contributing to the probability of the government's collapse is Italy's soaring inflation, now at an annual rate of 20 percent.

Pope Paul VI SPECCHIO

Italian CP head Berlinguer SPECCHIO

SPECCHIO

Campaigning for legalized abortion in Italy. CP opposes this democratic right.

The divorce battle has already split the coalition government. The other two members of the government—the Socialists and Social Democrats—opposed repeal, as did the Republicans, who have no ministers but support the government in parliament. Also opposing repeal were the Communist Party, Italy's second largest political force, and the Liberals, an anti-communist conservative group. On the other side, Pope Paul VI publicly lauded the church hierarchy for its anti-divorce stand.

The Christian Democrats' only ally in their anti-divorce campaign—aside from the Church—was Italy's fascist party, the Italian Social Movement (MSI). The bulk of the Christian Democratic Party fought the divorce law as the beginning of "permissiveness" which would lead to the "horrors" of sexual promiscuity, legalized abortion, drugs and pornography. But the right-wing Christian Democrats joined with the fascists to turn the whole campaign into an anti-communist crusade. Indicative was the fact that the only city which recorded a heavy "yes" vote (for repeal of the divorce statute) was Naples, a stronghold of the monarchists and fascists.

Despite the openly reactionary character of the anti-divorce campaign, the Communist Party was noticeably embarrassed by the whole business. First of all, it worried over the possibility of an internal split, fearing many of its rank-and-file women members would violate its instructions to vote against repeal of the law. Most importantly, the CP did not like finding itself in opposition to the Christian Democrats with whom the CP has for some time been trying to work out a deal in order to enter the coalition government (*New York Times*, 21 January). Last fall, Leonilde Iotti—a Deputy Speaker of the Chamber of Deputies and widow of Palmiro Togliatti, leader of the CP until his death in 1964—and current CP head Enrico Berlinguer made statements that they would be available for talks with the Christian Democrats to amend—i.e., make even more stringent—Italy's divorce law!

For fear of endangering the possibility of class collaboration with the Catholic CDP, the Communist Party has not spoken out against the Vatican for years. Last fall it even went so far as to take a public stand *against* the simple democratic right of legalized abortion. At a conference of the Union of Italian Women, the Union's leadership offered a proposal demanding that the present legal ban on abortion be lifted and that government-supervised clinics be allowed to terminate pregnancies upon request. CP representative Iotti opposed the proposal and suggested that the Union consult with Roman Catholic women's organizations to reach a unified stand on abortion. Mrs. Iotti told the conference that "abortion is always a traumatic experience for a woman" and it was never easy for a woman "to rid herself of the fruits of love" (*New York Times*, 5 November 1973)!! She recommended the dissemination of information on birth-control methods other than abortion.

By its actions, the Italian CP has shown that it will sacrifice even the most basic democratic rights in order to prostrate itself on the altar of class collaboration. While the CP did not dare go so far as to urge repeal of the divorce law, and has consequently endangered its relations with the Christian Democrats, Berlinguer still hopes for an entry into a popular-front government with left Christian Democrats in the course of the current political shakeup.

What can be expected from Communist Party entry into a coalition government is indicated by what happened the last time around: as part of post-World War II popular-front governments, the CP voted to include

WORKERS VANGUARD

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Maoists Bloc with Rightist Parties

Balaguer "Wins" Rigged Dominican Elections

Joaquín Balaguer, president of the Dominican Republic since defeating liberal Juan Bosch shortly after the U.S. invasion of 1965, re-elected himself to a third successive term on May 16. Balaguer was virtually unopposed as three opposition groups withdrew from the race shortly before the election date, charging the government with fraud.

When it became apparent that the main opposition group, a five-party popular front called the Acuerdo de Santiago (Santiago Agreement), posed a challenge to his re-election, Balaguer took steps to ensure victory. With complete mock seriousness, the Central Electoral Board simply ruled that voters could cast ballots at any of the country's 5,000 polling booths. With no registration control, this meant that government supporters could vote at as many polling stations as they could travel to in one day! The Acuerdo de Santiago withdrew its candidate as did two smaller slates.

Acuerdo de Santiago vs. Bloque de Dignidad Nacional

The Acuerdo had originally been part of a larger coalition, the Bloque de Dignidad Nacional (National Dignity Bloc), united primarily around opposition to Balaguer's re-election. The Bloque was set up last fall at the initiative of recently returned exile Juan Bosch, historic leader of the left-bourgeois Dominican Revolutionary Party (PRD).

However, shortly after the December convention of the opposition coalition, a split occurred within the PRD over Bosch's proposal to turn the PRD into a cadre party. Bosch's proposal was rejected by the bulk of the PRD leadership under José Peña Gomez, and Bosch left to form a new party, the PLD (Dominican Liberation Party), taking over the PRD's offices in the process.

The incensed PRD declared that it would refuse to sit down with "criminals who steal offices" and pulled out of the Bloque, taking with it the PRSC (Christian Democrats), the Partido Quisqueyano Demócrata (PQD—extreme right-wing militarists led by General Elías Wessin y Wessin) and the several-thousand-member Maoist MPD (Dominican People's Movement). One of the MPD's main arguments for siding with the PRD against Bosch was that only communists could have a cadre party; a bourgeois cadre party was utopian!

The Acuerdo de Santiago quickly proceeded to trim the program of the Bloque de Dignidad Nacional which had been adopted at the December meeting. Dropped were the key demands of nationalization of Gulf and Western, a large U.S. sugar company which dominates the Dominican economy, and nationalization of large landholdings. The justification given was that "the people" hadn't *really* supported the Programa de Dignidad Nacional, but had gone along with it only because the popular Bosch had written it.

The real reason behind the program changes was the Acuerdo's desire to get elected at any price. First, given the country's status as a bonafide sugar republic, it feared that the U.S. government would never permit a group calling for nationalization of the leading U.S.-owned monopoly to take power. Second, the PQD, PRSC and the other conservative parties didn't support the program of the Bloque. As for nationalization of land, the Acuerdo's presidential candidate, Antonio Guzmán, is himself a wealthy cattle rancher!

An indication of the truly rotten nature of the Acuerdo de Santiago bloc was provided by a truckers' strike in the town of Santiago the week before the elections. The truckers demanded the freeing of political prisoners, among whom are leaders of the MPD, one of the parties of the Acuerdo. However, the following day PRD leader Peña Gomez denounced the strike as inopportune (*El Nacional*, 9 May).

Maoists in Competing Popular Fronts

Most damning is the participation of the self-proclaimed Marxists of the Movimiento Popular Dominicano in this rotten coalition. The MPD claims to stand for the dictatorship of the proletariat, but its opportunist appetites have caused it to swallow its own program. As in all popular fronts between workers parties and bourgeois parties, it is capitalist politics that dominate the Acuerdo de Santiago. In true Stalinist fashion the MPD justifies such opportunism with the reformist theory of a "two-stage" revolution, in the first stage of which you can apparently ally with anyone in order to get into power.

LISTIN DIARIO

Joaquín Balaguer

The MPD theoretically has a position against participating in elections—a headline in its January 1974 *Lucha* (New York) reads "Electoralism Leads to Political Suicide"—but here they are in an electoral bloc with right-wing militarists! (Moreover, their ally General Wessin y Wessin was used by the U.S. Marines to subdue rebels during the 1965 uprising!)

The Maoists and Castroists of the Bloque de Dignidad Nacional (which as such ran no candidate in the election) correctly criticize the Acuerdo for its maneuverings to appease U.S. imperialists and the landowners. But, although much smaller, the Bloque is qualitatively no different. Here we have the same lineup—on the left the Maoists (Voz Proletaria and Bandera Roja) and the Castroist Linea Roja 1J4, aligned with the bourgeois PLD of Juan Bosch and three right-wing groups, the GIAT, UCN and MCN.

While to the left of the Acuerdo, the program of the Bloque is necessarily bourgeois, for the bourgeois members of the bloc could not support anything else without committing class suicide. Calling for such things as nationalization of the mines and land reform, it is similar to the program of the Allende government in Chile. Despite some radical-sounding demands in its program, by refusing to break with capitalism Allende's "Popular Unity" coalition wound up simply paving the way for last September's rightist coup and the ensuing repression of the entire Chilean left.

The Bloque's land reform program is typically bourgeois: it would not even nationalize capitalist farms; the "feudal" landowners who would lose *part* of their land would be compensated by the peasants and the state. The program explicitly states that this is necessary in order to promote *capitalist* development in the countryside! Other sections pledge non-interference with the order of promotions in the military hierarchy, call for raising the salaries of middle-level officers and include the minimal demand of 44 hours' work for 48 hours' pay (*Programa para un gobierno de dignidad nacional*, 13 December 1973).

Anti-Continuista Opportunism

The Bloque de Dignidad Nacional weeps over the loss of its former members at the same time that it criticizes them for their accommodation to the imperialists! According to the Bloque, only a unity of *all* the "revolutionary left" (which here includes the bourgeoisie and extreme rightists!) could successfully prevent "continuismo" (Balaguer is a former Trujillo aide) and set up a "government of national dignity" which would respect democratic freedoms and bring better living conditions.

In a polemic against the Acuerdo the Bloque writes:

> "We were, and we are firmly convinced that in present conditions it is necessary to create a broad front which gathers the broad masses of people brutalized by the regime and brings together under its banner the immense discontent which reigns in the country under the Balaguer regime in order to direct them toward the fight against the election farce and the re-election of Balaguer, and for a democratic government which accomplishes the Program of National Dignity."
>
> —"Acuerdo de Santiago: Un paso derechista," 25 January 1974

Thus for the Bloque de Dignidad Nacional, just as for the Acuerdo de Santiago, the objective is simply to oust Balaguer from office. In order to do this it is willing to unite with any group, no matter of what political stripe.

The popular-front tactics of the Dominican left are most criminal in light of the fact that it is repeating the same mistakes made during the 1965 Santo Domingo civil war. In the midst of an armed uprising of Dominican workers and peasants the left did nothing to raise a revolutionary program among the masses. It insisted on limiting a revolutionary situation to bourgeois-democratic demands and called on the masses to look to the leadership of the anti-communist Juan Bosch. Instrumental in cementing the 1965 unity with Bosch's PRD was the same MPD (which today blocs with General Wessin y Wessin). After months of bloodshed the masses voted in Balaguer, who campaigned on a program of "order" and "unity."

Having learned nothing from the past, the Dominican Maoists and Castroists now seek simply to get rid of Balaguer, whose victory they prepared in 1965, and install another bourgeois president. By forming a political bloc with sections of the bourgeoisie these Marxists are paving the way for their own destruction and liquidating their potential as a revolutionary force in the Dominican Republic. In Chile this came by way of a military coup. But given the reactionary character of the bourgeois parties involved in the Acuerdo and the Bloque, if either of these popular-front groupings ever achieves power, it could be the "popular" government of "national dignity" itself which wipes out its former left allies. ■

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the Lateran treaties on church-state relations in the 1948 constitution. These treaties left regulation of marriage in the hands of the Catholic church, thereby giving rise to the current battle.

Divorce is a democratic right, as are abortion and equal pay for equal work. Revolutionary socialists fully support such demands. But to achieve real social liberation for women and eliminate all forms of sexual discrimination it is necessary to go beyond legal equality within the narrow framework of capitalism.

The right to divorce must be supplemented by child support from the state if it is to provide tangible protection for working women. To be accessible to the most exploited, abortion and other forms of birth control, prenatal and post-natal care and other medical services must be provided free on demand. Beyond formal equality in hiring and advancement it is necessary to incorporate the bulk of women into social labor, which requires putting an end to unemployment and providing services such as free 24-hour child-care facilities which point toward the complete socialization of household labor.

Only the integration of the struggle for women's liberation into the general proletarian struggle for socialist revolution can solve *these* questions. And this, in turn, requires a relentless struggle for a *communist*, i.e., Trotskyist, program of transitional demands which go beyond the limits of the capitalist system and include the perspective of a workers government to eliminate the bourgeois state.

The CP reformists seek the opposite—to restrict the struggle to what is acceptable to their (hoped-for or actual) bourgeois/reactionary allies. The Italian Communist Party's opposition to abortion and its faint-hearted support for divorce, like the U.S. CP's opposition to the Equal Rights Amendment, are dramatic proof that in their hunger for opportunist alliances (with the Catholic church, with reactionary labor bureaucrats) the Stalinists willingly sacrifice not only socialism but even the most elementary democratic rights. ■

Auto Workers Fight Layoffs

Sunday, 9 June
7:30 p.m.

Trinity Methodist Church
13100 Woodward Avenue

SPEAKER:
David Phillips

Member of the Committee to Fight Layoffs of UAW Local 1364, Fremont, California

DETROIT

Rightist Takeover Looms in Ceylon

by Edmund Samarakkody

Special Report from Ceylon

COLOMBO, May 2—A sharp change has taken place in the political situation here. The rightest forces led by the older and more conservative bourgeois party (United National Party) have now begun to mobilise with the perspective of ending the coalition government [of Mrs. Bandaranaike's Sri Lanka Freedom Party, along with the reformist LSSP and CP] and smashing the working-class movement and the left. In the context of the coalitionist and reformist politics of the working-class leaders, it means that the working class and the left parties face an unprecedentedly grave situation, unless these forces are able to speedily reorient themselves, forge a new revolutionary leadership and march forward for the revolutionary conquest of power. The alternatives of proletarian revolution or the triumph of counterrevolution are sharply and urgently posed on the Ceylon scene today.

The LSSP [Lanka Sama Samaja Party] betrayers and their Stalinist friends have so well practised class collaboration through the coalition government during the last four years—weakening seriously the working class and politically disorienting it—that the forces of capitalist reaction have gathered strength and are already taking the first steps (in the perspective of a confrontation to end the coalition and smash the working class and the left) towards the realisation of their new solution: a naked capitalist dictatorship.

The UNP and its allies in the parliamentary opposition—the Federal Party (Tamil bourgeois), Tamil Congress (Tamil bourgeois), Ceylon Workers Congress (Thondaman) and some independent rightist parliamentarians—stepped up their opposition to the coalition government with the deepening of the crisis of the economy and the worsening of the situation of the masses. Since the beginning of the year these rightist parties, backed by the "Dawasa" and "Sun" group of newspapers, have been campaigning for civil disobedience as a protest against the acts and omissions of the government that have produced the increasing misery of the masses: increase of food prices, increase of the price of kerosene and petrol, increase in bus and train fares, increase in the prices of all commodities produced by government-owned factories and enterprises, etc. These parties have also demanded that the government go to the polls at the end of the fifth year (next year), as against the government's decision to prolong the life of parliament for seven years.

Pursuing these aims the rightist forces led by the UNP announced at the beginning of April that they would hold 150 public meetings on April 21. The government's reaction to this was to ban all these meetings. And when the UNP leader, Jayawardena, indicated that they would defy the ban, the government imposed a twenty-four hour curfew for April 21 and also sealed the printing press of the "Dawasa" and "Sun" group of newspapers.

There was speculation whether in this context the government would allow May Day meetings. There was however only a partial ban of meetings on May Day. Only one trade-union meeting of the UNP was permitted. But the UNP and its allies broke this ban and held several meetings; the police did not interfere. The LSSP forces were the largest in the coalition's May Day demonstration.

The government's explanation for its actions in relation to the campaigning of the rightists is that fascist forces have raised their head and were planning to organise violence for the overthrow of the coalition government. Prime Minister Bandaranaike has used this theme to call upon the masses to come to the support of the government. Her claim was that the rightist forces are against the government because they have been adversely affected by the government's "progressive measures": land ceilings, house ceilings, income ceilings and severe taxation imposed on the capitalists.

All pro-government trade-union leaders have issued statements raising the spectre of "fascist offensive," expressing readiness to take to the streets with arms in hand to fight these forces. In this regard it is the LSSP that is most vociferous on the need to mobilise the working-class forces to meet this threat from the rightists. It is reported that the LSSP Political Bureau has taken a decision to "form workers militias."

The threat from the rightist forces that have begun to mobilise is indeed real. But there is no "fascist" movement today. Revolutionary Marxists are only too familiar with the cries of "fascism" raised by the Stalinists and other reformists to keep the masses chained to the chariot wheels of the so-called progressive bourgeoisie. Of course the ground is fertile for the growth of a fascist movement, and the further evolution of the present rightist opposition movement could well lead to the formation of such currents. In any event, the need and perspective of the capitalist class is for a naked capitalist dictatorship.

Ceylon premier S. Bandaranaike meeting with Chou En-lai.

But why has the capitalist class decided to have an end of coalition? Is there a real threat to capitalist rule in the immediate period ahead? Have there been mass mobilisations around an anti-capitalist orientation?

Unlike the cases of Indonesia and Chile, there has not been during this four-year coalition regime anything resembling mass mobilisations. And while working-class strikes, including strikes in important branches of the economy, have occurred, they have not led to any sort of confrontation with the capitalist class and the government.

However, the very success of the coalition government in maintaining class peace (both through coalition politics and even more through the use of and show of strength of the armed forces) has cracked the base of the coalition regime. Bandaranaike's politics—a "rightful place" for Buddhism, dethroning the English language and enthroning Sinhalese as the only state language [to the exclusion of Tamil, the language of Ceylon's oppressed Indian-derived minority], and the LSSP and CP promises of "socialism"—are of no avail in keeping the working class and the masses loyally in the camp of the coalition; on the contrary, the masses have now broken with the coalition government by reason of the systematic blow struck against their living standards, the hopelessness of their present state and their possible fate from the further continuation of the government. The capitalist class can well see that the coalition has outlived its usefulness.

The capitalist class (including the "national bourgeoisie" that was backing this government) can clearly see that the LSSP and CP leaders can no longer control the working class. The working class has come to the end of its tether. The pro-coalition trade-union leaders were compelled, however hypocritically, to take decisions to launch a general strike to compel the government to grant their wage demands. And although the government reacted to these mobilisations by granting a wage increase, the workers have already expressed their disappointment in that regard. Big class battles are in the offing. But the capitalist class and the government have reached the limit of any concessions on the wage front. It is thus that the organised working class is a terrible roadblock to capitalist class rule.

The other side of the picture is that the working class needs, from a different direction, to end the coalition. In fact what the working-class leaders in the coalition government got from this alliance was, from the outset, empty of content even in the sphere of small concessions. The working class was cheated. While striking direct blows at the workers' living standards, the coalition government dangled before them the so-called anti-capitalist measures—"income ceilings," "land ceilings"—which were only measures in the interest of capitalist development.

Thus it is now a question of settling the accounts between the forces of capitalism and the forces of the working class and toilers.

While the LSSP and CP leaders are shouting empty slogans of smashing "the fascists and reactionary forces and of ending capitalism under the leadership of the working class," they are lining up behind the bourgeois leader, Mrs. Bandaranaike, who has made it abundantly clear that she looks to the armed force of the bourgeois state to resist the forces of capitalist reaction! The LSSP and CP leaders have already raised their familiar and treacherous slogans: "unity of the progressive forces," "Anti-Fascist Peoples Front," etc.

MILITANT

Rebels captured in Anuradhapura during 1971 Sinhalese youth uprising.

While most of the "left" groups have echoed the LSSP and the Stalinists, Tampoe [head of the LSSP(R), Ceylon section of the "United Secretariat"] has not even made mention of the real threat from the forces of capitalist reaction. He has implicitly taken a position of unconcern whether it is the coalition or the UNP-led forces that will control state power. Tampoe's remedy is "rebuilding the left movement"!

It is only the Revolutionary Workers Party that has undertaken a Marxist analysis of the present development. Understanding the danger of the mobilisation of the rightist forces for the smashing of the working class and the left parties, we have explained how the coalition government, with the active assistance of the LSSP and CP, helped the growth of capitalist reaction and are still continuing to do so. We have explained that the struggle against the forces of capitalist reaction cannot be undertaken by a capitalist coalition government; such a struggle can end in the defeat of the reactionary forces only on the condition that it is an anti-capitalist struggle under the leadership of the working class, a struggle that will mobilise all the forces of the working class and the toilers on the basis of an anti-capitalist program. There cannot be any question of political support to the coalition government. Concretely, we have called for the independent organisation of the working class to counter the growing forces of capitalist reaction, and have insisted on the imperative need to break from the coalition government. ■

Portuguese CP Enters Spínola Government

MAY 17—General Antônio de Spínola, head of the military junta that has ruled Portugal since the coup d'état on April 25, yesterday installed an interim government with two ministers from the Communist Party. Also included in the cabinet are three Socialist ministers and representatives of liberal bourgeois parties. As part of an agreement with the major parties, Spínola assumed the office of president, and elections for a constituent assembly were put off for one year.

In the situation of general popular euphoria that followed the overthrow of the bonapartist civilian dictatorship that dominated Portugal for the last 45 years, the military junta has been understandably reluctant to test its strength by ordering a general crackdown on the left. It has permitted the formation of more than 44 unions (replacing the state-run corporatist unions of the Salazar period) and a national labor federation. The generals also permitted two May Day celebrations. The larger drew some 800,000 in a march to a stadium to hear Alvaro Cunhal, head of the Portuguese Communist Party (PCP), and Socialist Party leader Mario Soares speak. A smaller demonstration called by the Maoist MRPP (Movement for the Reorganization of the Proletarian Party) drew 10,000, mostly youth, including many Africans and a number of sailors.

L'EXPRESS

Portuguese CP leader Cunhal received warm welcome.

But the generals will not permit such freedom of expression and organization for much longer. Already the innumerable factory and office meetings are leading to strikes and demands for higher wages, workers' participation in management and an immediate end to the war in Africa. On May 3 militant telephone workers removed the old managers of the state enterprise, accusing them of corruption and complicity in the crimes of the Salazarist regime. These "mini-revolutions" rapidly spread to other public enterprises (railways, airlines, post office, electricity). And as the interim government was being installed yesterday, thousands of workers were going out on strike:

> "Ignoring a plea for order and work by Gen. Antônio de Spínola, who took office yesterday as President, 8,500 workers of Lisbon's biggest shipyard, Lisnav, occupied the sprawling plant along the Tagus River last night with demands for a doubling of wages and for worker control.
>
> "It was a revolutionary scene, with banners proclaiming 'we want to own our country' and 'down with useless lackeys. Up with the workers.' Hammer-and-sickle symbols were sprayed over executive elevators leading to offices where Portugal's biggest industrial and commercial combine, the Companhia Uniao Fabril, held sway up to yesterday.
>
> "Hundreds of thousands of textile workers threatened to stop work if wages were not doubled and changes in management not made. Plants belonging to Firestone, International Telephone and Telegraph and Timex were struck and occupied by workers demanding big wage rises as well as the removal of at least part of the old management accused of complicity with the 'fascists' of the old regime."
>
> —*New York Times*, 17 May

It does not take much imagination to see that a revolutionary situation could easily arise as such strikes spread throughout the country.

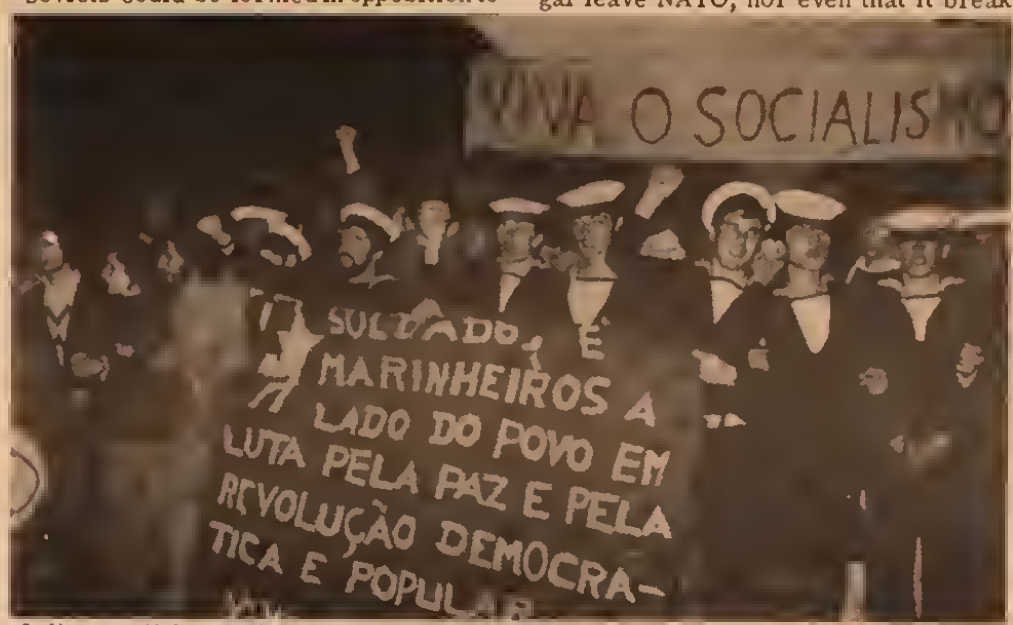
The inclusion of the PCP in the government is an integral part of Spínola's preparations for a crackdown on the left. The Stalinists were, of course, given no real power: Cunhal is minister without portfolio and Pacheco Gonçalves, a CP union leader, was made minister of labor, from which position he will be responsible for ordering workers to abandon their strikes. The Stalinists are more than willing to assist in this effort.

While negotiations for the new government were going on the junta issued warnings to public employees that if they did not stop removing top officials the military would move against the workers (*New York Times*, 5 and 6 May). The CP, in response, called on its members to remain orderly, avoid acts of revenge and be vigilant in the face of "adventurists" (*Triunfo* [Madrid], 11 May). There can be little doubt what the PCP meant by its May Day statement which declared its "readiness to assume necessary responsibilities" in creating an interim government.

With their policies of popular-front governments (with the military and "progressive" bourgeois parties), the Stalinists are attempting to repeat the tragic Chilean experience. Right up to the morning of last September 11, the Chilean CP and Socialists preached to the working class that it must refrain from "adventuristic" acts which would divide the people, such as factory occupations, and place its trust in the "democratic" generals and the Christian Democrats—the very forces that organized the bloody coup. Even the slogans are the same: "O povo unido, jamais será vencido" ("the people united will never be defeated") chant the reformists. Pinochet proved this wrong in 1973, Franco in 1939. It is for *proletarian* unity, around their class program and vanguard party, not bogus "popular" unity that the workers must struggle.

Portugal is teetering on the brink of a revolutionary crisis, and it is above all the treacherous misleadership of the CP which is barring the way forward for the working class. Marxist revolutionists, in contrast, must seek to extend and organize the workers' militancy into an open challenge to the generals and their bootlickers in the provisional government. For instance the demand for immediate elections to a constituent assembly could win massive support from a population which has never had the chance to vote in free elections. It would also directly threaten the power of the military, the main guarantor (along with the Stalinists) of bourgeois rule in Portugal today.

While vigorously championing this democratic demand, revolutionary Trotskyists must also raise proletarian slogans in order to polarize the confused political situation on clear class lines. In addition to demanding substantial wage increases, the unions must demand workers' control of (not "participation" in) the important state enterprises. Militant workers such as those now occupying the CUF shipyards could certainly be won to support a call for immediate expropriation (under workers control and without compensation) of trustified industry. This can be organized by the formation of democratically elected factory committees, subject to immediate recall by the ranks, during the course of sit-down strikes. Such committees, drawn together in a central council of strike and factory committees, would represent a germ of workers power from which soviets could be formed in opposition to the present bourgeois government.



Sailors call for socialism at Maoist May Day rally in Lisbon. ECONOMIST

The CP, now in the government, will do everything possible to retain its current bourgeois respectability, including the most shameless scabbing on every attempt to defend the interests of the masses through labor action. But thousands of Portuguese workers are not yet aware of the counterrevolutionary character of the Stalinists' policies. In a situation where every day lost represents a defeat for the revolution, Portuguese Trotskyists must do everything possible to expose the real policies of these fake-communist lackeys of Spínola & Co. As the Bolsheviks demanded that Kerensky, the Mensheviks and Social Revolutionaries take power in the spring of 1917, a Trotskyist party would call on the reformist PCP to stop hiding behind the military and bourgeois liberals and seize power directly. Its refusal to do so will go a long way toward convincing the masses of the need to build a truly bolshevik vanguard party.

The Stalinists are evidently counting on support from sections of the "Movement of the Armed Forces" which organized the coup (and a member of which is now defense minister). The existence of dissident "democratic" and even "socialist" captains and colonels can be an important obstacle to a rapid restabilization of Portuguese capitalism; but the workers must not place their trust in or rely on a small group of middle-level officers. Now is the time to organize soldiers' and sailors' committees, a move which would profoundly disrupt the armed forces, and to agitate for an immediate end to the African wars!

The CP claims to support immediate independence for Portugal's colonies; however, the new government is committed only to negotiations and a vague pledge of self-determination. Moreover, despite their presence in the government, the Stalinists have made it clear that they do not demand that Portugal leave NATO, nor even that it break the Iberian Pact, a military pact with Franco Spain (*Triunfo*, 11 May).

While the commitment of CP leaders to such policies of class collaboration is total, this is by no means true of its ranks and the rest of the working class. By struggling for immediate elections to a constituent assembly, for the formation of factory committees, for workers control of state enterprises and expropriation (under workers control) of industry, for soldiers' committees, for immediate independence to the colonies and an end to the African wars, and by demanding the CP take power in its own name a revolutionary Trotskyist party can expose the Stalinist demogogy and open the way to proletarian revolution in the Iberian peninsula.■

Portugal's Spínola L'EXPRESS — Chile's Pinochet GAMMA

Part 2/ The 1948 War

Editor's note: *The first part of this article was printed in* WV *No. 33, 22 November 1973. In the ensuing period the Spartacist League has undertaken internal discussion on the national question as it applies to interpenetrated peoples generally and the Near East in particular. In the course of this discussion we have reviewed our earlier position on the 1948 Arab-Israel war, which is found in* Spartacist *No. 11, March-April 1968.*

The establishment of the Zionist state of Israel was one of the consequences of the dissolution of the British Empire following World War II. Six years of imperialist war in Europe and the Far East had drained the resources of the leading colonial power to the point of bankruptcy, engendering mounting social crisis in England and setting the colonies aflame with independence struggles.

The British working class demonstrated its "gratitude" for Winston Churchill's "victory" over German imperialism by sweeping him out of office in the 1945 elections. After a generation in opposition the Labour Party, with Clement Attlee as Prime Minister and Ernest Bevin (a right-winger within the party) as Foreign Secretary, crossed over to the government benches on July 17. Bevin soon made clear the new government's intention to fully enforce the 1939 "White Paper" on Palestine, which restricted Jewish immigration. Detention camps were established in Cyprus for captured illegal immigrants and additional British troops were dispatched to police the Palestine Mandate area.

Battle Over Immigration

During World War II the Hagannah, armed wing of the Jewish Agency, and the Irgun, a rightist Zionist commando group, made a truce with the British. The so-called Stern Gang, which had a reputation as fascists within the Zionist spectrum, split with the Irgun over the truce and continued guerrilla operations throughout the war.

With the end of World War II and Bevin's moves to restrict Jewish immigration to Palestine, the Hagannah and Irgun resumed commando operations. In October 1945 they cut the Palestine railway system in 153 places, totally disrupting traffic. On 20 February 1946 a coordinated attack by the Zionist armed forces hit the Mount Carmel radar station, three RAF airfields (destroying 15 planes) and a multitude of police posts. On June 16, the Hagannah elite force, the Palmach, knocked out all bridges and rail lines that crossed the Palestine border. The British responded by occupying Jewish Agency offices and conducting mass arrests. The Zionists, in turn, retaliated by blowing up British military headquarters in Jerusalem's King David Hotel on July 22, killing 80 English, Arabs and Jews.

As the struggle between the Zionists and the British dragged out during the next two years, the Mandate government ordered mass dragnets and arrests, cordoning off whole cities and placing thousands of suspects in detention camps in Palestine. Additional thousands of "illegal immigrants" were confined in the Cyprus camps. The main conflict centered on this question of immigration from Europe.

The prospective Jewish immigrants were hardly the typical picture of fat, arrogant, imperialist-bribed colonialists bred on Kipling's "white man's burden." Rather, they were the wretched survivors of the Nazi occupation who were "liberated" by the Allies only to have their concentration camps converted into "displaced persons" camps. At the end of World War II, these camps in West Germany held over 100,000 Jews; but the outbreak of pogroms in Poland and the Balkans during the summer of 1946 swelled the numbers in these camps to a quarter million.

In the United States, the Socialist Workers Party (the Trotskyist Party at that time) campaigned to force the government to drop its racist immigration quota system, which discriminated against Eastern Europeans, in order to permit Jews into the U.S. However, as many scholars have pointed out, "Zionists preferred to see Jewish refugees go to Palestine..." (David Brody, "American Jewry, Refugees and Immigration Restriction," *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society*, June 1956). Far from opposing the discriminatory immigration quotas, Rabbi Wise (a leading Zionist) had testified in 1939 congressional hearings, "I have heard no sane person propose any departure or deviation from existing laws now in force" (*ibid.*)! The reasons were obvious: if hundreds of thousands of European Jews came to America, then hopes for a Jewish Palestine would be shattered.

U.S. Imperialism Replaces Britain

Shortly after World War II there was a sharp recession, especially acute in England, which bottomed at the beginning of 1947. Domestic social/economic crisis suddenly awakened the Labour government to the fact that it could no longer afford to police the British Empire. In the Mandate area England had some 80,000 regular troops and 16,000 policemen, along with the British-trained, British-officered and British-equipped Transjordanian Arab Legion, all of which represented a considerable drain on the budget.

In rapid succession the government announced on January 28 that Britain was leaving Burma, on Februay 18 that the Palestinian question would be submitted to the UN and on February 20 that His Majesty's troops would pull out of India no later than June 1948. The next day the British ambassador to the U.S. informed Secretary of State Marshall that England could not continue to supply military aid to Greece.

At the time, U.S. corporations owned 47 percent of the oil in the Near East. The oil companies were solicitous of Arab "good will" and hence hostile to the aspirations of the Zionists. Secretary of Defense Forrestal went on a nationwide campaign to whip up an "energy crisis" scare in order to build a lobby against partition. The State Department had a large component of Near East "experts" who were pro-Arab and, moreover, had the ear of Marshall.

Why, then, did the U.S. support partition? The international Zionist lobby was strident; but it was certainly not strong enough to get Truman to support a policy counterposed to U.S. imperialist interests in the region. Truman's desire for the "Jewish vote" in the 1948 elections no doubt played a role as well, though it also was not decisive. He certainly can have felt no sympathy for the thousands of "displaced persons" in Europe or else he would have opened U.S. borders to them.

Stalin evidently supported partition at this point in the conviction that it would further disintegrate the British presence in the Near East. But while the U.S. was moving in to replace the British, it is doubtful that Truman wished to step up the pace (considering the unrest in France and Italy, not to mention nearby Greece). The main interest of U.S. imperialism in the creation of a Zionist state in Palestine was, rather, as a contributing force to balkanizing the Near East and as a lightning rod to deflect the aroused national and class aspirations of the Arab fellahin and proletariat.

Partition

When the UN passed the partition resolution on 29 November 1947 there were some 600,000 Jews and 1.2 million Arabs in Palestine. Contrary to the story-book propaganda image of hardy Zionist pioneers hoeing the land on isolated kibbutzim, in fact over half the Jewish population was concentrated in three large cities: 150,000 in Tel Aviv, 100,000 in New Jerusalem and 80,000 in Haifa.

These cities and others were either "mixed" (such as Haifa, which had 70,000 Arab residents) or were adjacent to Arab cities (such as the 70,000 Arabs living next door to Tel Aviv in Jaffa). The proposed "Jewish state" had every major city, including the port cities of Haifa and Tel Aviv and the Arab city of Jaffa, except for Jerusalem which was "internationalized." Further, the Zionist state would include the best citrus lands (and was expected to pay the Arab state 4 million pounds yearly in consequence).

At the time partition was announced, the Jews owned only 6 percent of the land in Palestine; under the UN-approved plan they were to get 55 percent of the total area. The Zionist state would encompass 538,000 Jews and 397,000 Arabs, while the Arab state included some 804,000 Arabs and only 10,000 Jews. No wonder the

Arab civilians fleeing Haifa following Hagannah attac

ASSOCIATED PRESS, MAY 13, 1948

King Abdullah of Transjordan talking with Arab Legion commander Glubb.

f the Zionist State: A Marxist Analysis

attack in April 1948. PRENTICE/HALL

Zionists rejoiced over partition while the Palestinian Arabs cursed it.

Inter-Communal Conflict

Immediately following the UN partition vote inter-communal strife intensified sharply. In "mixed" cities sniping went on around the clock. Between cities, supply convoys were regularly ambushed. 50 Jews and 50 Arabs a week died from this irregular warfare. The Grand Mufti called (from Damascus) for a general strike alter the announcement of the UN resolution. But it was totally ineffective as the Zionists lived behind the walled fortress of their closed economy. The Mufti also called upon his "Home Guard," nominally 50,000 strong, to rise up in arms. But the only arms they possessed were ancient firearms of dubious usefulness, and much of their time was taken up by shootouts with other "Guards" who supported effendis antagonistic to the Mufti.

One of the most unfortunate aspects of the inter-communal fighting which followed on the heels of the UN partition vote was that it spread even to the few areas, like the Haifa docks and oil refineries, where there had been a long tradition of common Arab and Jewish class struggle. Christmas was "celebrated" in Palestine in 1947 with an orgy of bomb throwing, sniping and ambushes, especially in Haifa and the "no-man's land" between Jalfa and Tel Aviv, resulting in more than 100 deaths. On December 30, members of the Irgun threw bombs from a passing vehicle into a group of Arab workers standing at the gates of a Haifa oil refinery, killing 6 and wounding 47. Arab workers in the plant then attacked Jewish workers with knives and pickaxes, killing 41 and wounding 15.

Enter the Arab League

The British-sponsored Arab League met in Cairo from December 12 to 17. While each member state truculently denounced the Zionists and championed the cause of the Palestinians and Arab unity, nonetheless each was interested only in how much of Palestine it might carve out for itself—and in preventing its fellow members from carving out too much.

The meeting was called at the initiative of the Iraqi prime minister Salah Jabr, who was the most radical in his rhetoric and proposals, calling for immediate armed intervention. Jabr knew he was sitting on a volcano of social unrest at home and needed the diversion a "Holy War" against Zionism would bring. But he was too late. Following the publication of a new defense treaty with Britain on January 16, huge student demonstrations broke out, followed by workers and unemployed taking to the streets. Consequently, throughout the 1948 Arab-Israel war most of the Iraqi army was tied up in keeping order in Baghdad.

King Abdullah of Transjordan was the sole surviving son of the sherif of Mecca and dreamed of undoing the historic injustice done to his side of the royal family in the Versailles Treaty. As a first step to reestablishing a Greater Syria under Hashemite rule he was intent on capturing the part of Palestine allotted to the Arabs, especially Jerusalem, the third-ranking "Holy City" of Islam and a suitable site for his throne. Syria, too, may have dreamed of a reborn Greater Syria, yet it had but one poorly equipped division while Abdullah had the crack Arab Legion.

The Grand Mufti of Jerusalem quite naturally wanted no regular armies to intervene, especially Abdullah's, for the Hashemite kingdom could only be built at the Mufti's expense. Instead he wanted equipment for his irregulars. It was finally decided to train and equip some 3,000 volunteers, the "Arab Liberation Army," under Fawzi el-Kaukji, a veteran of the guerrilla fighting following the 1936 general strike in Palestine and of the pro-Axis military coup in Iraq in 1941.

Such byzantine negotiations could naturally not ignore the Zionists. In November 1947, prior to the Cairo meeting of the Arab League, Abdullah had already had a secret meeting with Golda Meyerson (Meir) representing the Jewish Agency, in which he confided to her his plans for occupying those parts of Palestine designated for the Arabs, because "we both have a common enemy who will obstruct our plans—the Mufti." Likewise, in January 1948 Kaukji met with a Jewish Agency representative at his headquarters in central Palestine and promised neither to attack the Jews nor to come to the aid of the pro-Mufti Palestinian irregulars. While he broke the former part of his promise, attacking several settlements in the Galilee, he scrupulously kept the second part.

Flight of the Palestinian Arabs

While the period of December 1947 to March 1948 was largely marked by inter-communal strife and diplomatic negotiating between the Arab states, the dominant aspect of April and early May was a concerted drive by the Zionists to secure their lines of communication and, subsequently, to drive out the Arabs from areas allotted to the Jews under partition. That the Zionists intended at the beginning to carry out such a mass expulsion is doubtful, but they certainly took advantage of the panic which set in among the Arab population.

On April 9 the Irgun launched its notorious massacre at Deir Yassin, killing 254 Arabs, most of them unarmed. The remaining 150 villagers were dumped into trucks and paraded through Jewish sections of Jerusalem. While the Jewish Agency expressed its "disgust" at Deir Yassin in a cable to King Abdullah, nonetheless this atrocity was exploited by the Jewish Agency and the Hagannah to induce terror and flight.

In Haifa on April 22 the Hagannah launched a large-scale assault which overran important government buildings and occupied key sections of the Arab quarters. The Hagannah demanded that Arabs turn over all arms, that all non-Palestinians (Syrians, Iraqis, etc.) be handed over for trial and detention, and recognition of Jewish control over the entire city. Instead of submitting to these onerous terms, the Arab population evacuated the city. Three days later the Irgun launched a well-armed attack on the Arab city of Jaffa. While the Jewish Agency disclaimed responsibility for this attack, when the Irgun disintegrated and its advance was stopped, the Hagannah came to its rescue and 70,000 Arabs had to flee.

Motorcycle scouts of the Arab Volunteer Armies. PRENTICE/HALL

Thus, even before the proclamation of the Zionist state, the Palestinian "refugee problem" had been created. More than 300,000 Arabs had fled to exile as a result of Zionist terror, inadequate or non-existent Palestinian leadership and (in some places) exhortations by the "Arab Liberation Army" to clear battle areas around the "mixed cities."

Proclamation of Israel and the Arab Armies' Invasion

As the last British troops embarked on May 14 the State of Israel was proclaimed by the Jewish Agency leaders. The next day the armies of five Arab states crossed the borders into former Mandate Palestine. It is important to have a clear picture of the military situation at this point in order to judge whether the ensuing struggle was, as the Zionists (and Stalin) claimed, a war of national liberation or, on the contrary, a war of national expansion on the part of Israel.

In the first place, British troops were no longer a factor. This meant that, except in the north around Galilee, the only effective military forces in the former Mandate area were those of the Zionists. The Arab Legion, the main opponent of the Hagannah in the early fighting, had to cross the Jordan River and travel some 80-90 miles before making contact with the Zionist forces around Jerusalem. Thus much of the action in the early days of the 1948 war consisted of the Hagannah expanding the area of its control, filling the vacuum created by the departure of the British.

Secondly, the balance of military forces was roughly even. As of May 15 the Hagannah had mobilized approximately 25,000 regulars, who faced 10,000 Egyptians, 4,500 Arab Legionnaires, 7,000 Syrians, 3,000 Iraqis and 3,000 Lebanese, for a total of 27,500 on the Arab side. The Arab armies were initially better equipped, but the Zionists had the advantage of short lines of communications and tight defense lines in a country the size of Vermont.

Most important of all, however, the Zionist command was (more or less) unified while each Arab army pursued an independent and often contradictory policy. The final Arab invasion plans had designated Iraqi general Nur ad-Din Mahmoud as "Commander of the Regular and Irregular Forces for the Saving of Palestine." He was supposed to lead a coordinated pincer attack in the north combined with blocking maneuvers in the south, with the objective of capturing Haifa. However, on May 13 Abdullah informed the other members of the Arab League that he was to be supreme commander himself and was not interested in Haifa but Jerusalem. Consequently all plans were changed, throwing the Arab armies into chaos, and a superior military strategy was scotched in favor of one that had as its highest objective making Abdullah King of Jerusalem. As he had repeatedly told the Zionists, Abdullah had no interest in occupying the Jewish districts; not once during the war did he attempt to do so.

The actual fighting during the first four weeks of the war (May 15 to June 11) centered on lines of communication with Jerusalem. Because of Zionist military effectiveness, the lack of coordination of the Arab armies and the main Arab contender's exclusive interest in occupying the non-Jewish areas, the physical existence of the Jewish community in Palestine was never in question during the course of the fighting.

After four weeks of fighting the Arab Legion held Latrun, a strategic point blocking the main road from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem; however, the Hagannah had managed to bypass the area by building a new road. General Glubb's Legionnaires had also taken Sheikh Jarrah, a village whose only importance was that it was midway between New Jerusalem and Mt. Scopus. And they had occupied the "Old City" of Jerusalem whose significance was purely religious and symbolic. The Iraqi army took Jenin, from where they did not budge for the rest of the war. The Egyptians took three settlements in the Negev. Militarily, the first round was a stand-off.

The UN-imposed four-week truce lasted from June 11 to July 9 and was used by both sides to resupply their forces. The Arab states expanded their troop commitments by 15,000 men. But it was the Zionists who benefitted most from the lull. Reflecting Russian policy, which considered the Israeli struggle a progressive anti-imperialist war of national liberation, Czechoslovakia de-

continued on page 10

The Politics of Cowardice-

Australian SWL Excludes Spartacists from Public Meetings

Sydney,
18 October 1973

To the Political Committee,
The Socialist Workers League,
Sydney.

Dear Comrades,

At the forum held by the Socialist Workers League-Socialist Youth Alliance in Melbourne on Thursday October 11 about questions of revolutionary politics in Africa, comrade Dave Kuren, a member of your organisation, accused the Spartacist League of lying in a *Workers Vanguard* article on South Africa published in the issue of 28 September 1973. Questioned after the meeting, comrade Kuren cited his source as an article in the April 1973 *Internotional Socialist Review*, which in fact contains *nothing* to support him.

Your meeting refused to allow comrades of the Spartacist League to reply to the accusation, claiming that our attempt to do so was an intolerable disruption of the meeting. Your comrade's accusation is thus clearly given the status of the organisational line of the SWL-SYA.

We hope you will agree that it is important that the left wing movement conducts the necessary debate among the different tendencies in an honest, principled and orderly way. The Spartacist League has severe differences with your organisation, but we always attempt to abide by the normal rules of order at public meetings held by your organisation. Nevertheless, our politics, and the unity of our members in putting forward these politics, have from time to time caused your organisation some embarrassment. In this the SWL-SYA is not alone, and some tendencies have even attempted to avoid our politics by keeping us out of their meetings. The Socialist Labour League has since February banned us from their public meetings. The Working Women's Group of Melbourne followed suit in April, and the General Meetings of the "Melbourne Women's Liberation Movement" in September. In none of these cases could it be claimed that the Spartacist League had violated the proper procedures for orderly meetings. In each case it was clearly a case of exclusion because of our politics (and because of the disciplined way in which we fight for them). In other words the always unspecific charges that the Spartacist League "disrupts", are but a very shallow cover for the worst kind of anti-communism. We are disturbed that Jamie Doughney, a leading member of your organisation, suggested at the meeting on Africa that the anger of the Spartacist League over the completely unsupported assertion that it was guilty of lying might be used as an excuse for banning us from your public meetings.

One of the important principles of proletarian politics is, as you must agree, that revolutionaries maintain a strict veracity. The accusation that the Spartacist League has violated this principle is of the utmost gravity. You are now obligated to document and prove to the world that the Spartacist League lied, or to make a public retraction of the accusation in your press.

Comradely,

Bill Logan
Chairman
Spartacist League

■

Sydney
25 March 1974

The Organiser,
Socialist Workers League,
Sydney.

Dear Comrade,

This letter is to challenge the SWL to a public debate on the question of the Middle East. It follows a verbal challenge I made at your public forum on 15 March.

On that occasion comrade Jim Percy said of our challenge: "Put it in writing! Put it in a letter!"

We hope you will contact us to make arrangements for a suitable time, place, chairman, speaking times, etc.

Comradely,

Keith Olerhead,
Organiser,
Sydney Local,
Spartacist League.

■

[Sydney]
April 23, 1974

Spartacist League
Sydney

Dear Comrades,

At a recent meeting of the Political Committee of the Socialist Workers League it was decided to exclude all members of the Spartacist League from all future Direct Action Forums.

We took this action in defence of our democratic right to freely present our views (and allow invited speakers to present their views) free from the deliberate and repeated disruptions of members of your organisation. We point out that it is a violation of workers democracy to disregard the legitimate directions of the chairperson, to shout abuse after the close of a meeting, to attempt to take the floor when not called upon and so on. All these things numerous members of your organisation have been guilty of.

To take just two incidents of Olerhead, one of your members. In the first incident in Melbourne Olerhead leapt to his feet at the close of debate and discussion shrieking—"what is it to be—coffee or communism?" Other Spartacist members backed Olerhead in his behaviour. Olerhead was warned that such behaviour violated our rights and could only be regarded as an attempt to create an atmosphere in which new visitors to the forum would be repelled.

Olerhead repeated this behaviour at a recent forum in Sydney. He jumped up and screamed at the end of the debate at the chair and members of the audience. Your disagreement with our political positions can not in any circumstances justify such behaviour.

We reaffirm here our defence of your rights to participate in the mass movement as we have done in our press. Your repeated violations of *our* rights will not make us go against this. However we point out to you that others on the left, (mistakenly in our opinion), seek to curtail your rights because of your blatant disregard for the rights of others.

Fraternally,

Jim Percy
National Secretary
Socialist Workers League

■

Sydney
3 May 1974

Political Committee,
Socialist Workers League,
Sydney.

Dear Comrades,

We acknowledge your letter of 23 April 1974. We protest in the strongest terms against your exclusion of "all members of the Spartacist League" from your public forums as a blatant and disgraceful violation of workers democracy. You have named only two cases, separated by several months, of the alleged "disruption" which you claim gives rise to your action.

It so happens that in each of these cases we had felt it necessary to write you regarding the matters at issue. Neither of our letters, dated 18 October 1973 and 25 March 1974 respectively, have ever been answered.

The first was written after your comrade, Dave Kuren, at a Direct Action Forum in Melbourne on October 11, 1973, accused the Spartacist League of the United States of having lied in a *Workers Vanguard* article. The accusation was without foundation. In a desperate attempt to avoid examination of the charge against our co-thinkers, the chair used his right to control your meeting in order to close it prematurely, and refused to allow members of the SL to reply. Comrade Olerhead made an entirely reasonable protest against this violation of all norms of principled political struggle, which would not have been a "disruption" of the meeting, *even if it had been in progress*. But your charges are rendered entirely ludicrous *by your own account*, which admits that *the meeting had already been closed!*

Our second letter arose out of a forum held by you on 15 March in Sydney. Your comrades repeatedly misrepresented the position of the Spartacist League on the Middle East and *after the close of the meeting* (during which SL members raised the question from the floor, and SWL speakers had responded at considerably greater length) Comrade Olerhead, Sydney SL Local organiser, challenged your organisation to a debate on the question of the Middle East, in an effort to achieve clarity on the different programmes of the two organisations. Our letter put the debate challenge in writing, as requested by Jim Percy, your National Secretary, at the March 15 forum.

While we have received no replies to these letters, your letter of April 23 bizarrely attempts to find in the events which gave rise to our letters excuses to exclude us from all your public forums! Your attempts to describe a protest at the premature cutting-off of discussion by the chair in your own meeting, and a debate challenge following another orderly meeting, as "violation of our rights", "deliberate and repeated disruptions", and "violations of workers democracy", are simply pathetic.

At none of your forums have we disregarded any legitimate demands of the chair, nor attempted to take the floor unless recognised by the chair. These charges have as little validity as your slander in *Direct Action*, (March 29, 1973, No. 38) that at the Melbourne meeting marking International Women's Day in 1973 SL members "Seized the microphone". We pointed out in a letter to *Direct Action* "in fact on those occasions on which they spoke they had been recognised by the chair". You refused to publish this letter, consciously condoning and abetting the same kind of slander.

If the specific charges against us in your letter are somewhat less than substantiated, your vague suggestions of other, unstated, charges are simply hot air rather hopelessly intended to cover your political fear of the SL. You fear that unprincipled slander, your chief weapon against us, is proving ineffective. You fear that if we are allowed to attend your forums your misrepresentations of our positions on, say, the Middle East, will become untenable; and you fear that your groundless charges of lying will be successfully challenged. You are simply afraid of open political struggle.

Your contempt of your own membership, particularly that of your youth section, is of long standing. (We documented one egregious example in the April 1974 *Australasian Spartacist*.) You now hasten to "protect" them against an effective criticism of the revisionist politics of your disintegrating "international" in a desperate effort to shore up your stagnant and politically stymied organisation.

These are the real reasons for our exclusion, and not our imaginary disruptions. This conclusion is confirmed by the fact that when our Melbourne comrades were informed of your decision by Comrade Steve Painter of the SWL, he made no such specious claim about our behaviour. Your comrade simply said that our attendance was making the forums into too much of a political debate, which was not what they were intended to be. Such honesty is to be commended, though it proves beyond all doubt your bankruptcy.

Another confirmation is your refusal to date to respond to our debate challenge. If in addition to your exclusions you continue to refuse a formal public debate between our two organisations as well, the SWL will stand exposed before the Australian workers movement as the most craven political cowards. In any event, we must insist that in the interests of workers democracy, your wholesale political exclusions be reversed.

Fraternally,

Bill Logan
(for the Spartacist League)

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Brandt Falls

in this regard. His diplomatic offensive to establish governmental and economic relations with East Europe (including East Germany) was good business, but the major negotiations are now complete. On the other hand, Brandt's "compromise" settlement of the public workers' strike this February, where he agreed to a 12 percent wage increase, while it was not a victory for the workers, did mean that the corporations have been unable to eliminate inflation by driving down real wages. Brandt's pro-big business Finance Minister (the new Chancellor) Helmut Schmidt called the settlement a "financial and economic calamity" (*New York Times*, 13 May).

In this situation the Guillaume spy affair provided a convenient opportunity for throwing Brandt overboard. The revelation that an East German intelligence officer succeeded in becoming a top personal aide to the head of the West German government, with access to numerous top secrets, meant that sombody's head had to roll. However, the official most responsible happened to be Interior Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher, who succeeded Walter Scheel as head of the Free Democratic Party (FDP) when Scheel was elected West German president last week. Genscher is personally ambitious and, moreover, support of the FDP is necessary for the coalition government's parliamentary majority. So, as the *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* reasoned, since Genscher could not be sacrificed, it had to be Brandt.

In addition to tensions between the SPD and FDP, internal difficulties within the Social Democrats no doubt played a major role in Brandt's decision to step down. According to the liberal weekly *Der Spiegel* (13 May) a key factor was pressure from top SPD leader Herbert Wehner in favor of resignation. Wehner had grown critical of Brandt's indecision in recent months. Worried about the SPD's alarming loss of votes in recent state elections, he and other party leaders apparently felt a shift to the right was in order.

Brandt as Elder Statesman

Brandt intends to remain as SPD party chairman, from which position he will attempt to play an "integrating" role. Though his image is one of conciliation, it was only in the 1960's that Brandt began to aspire to a Kennedyesque role of mediator between left and right in the SPD. Mayor of West Berlin during the 1950's, the future chancellor gained respectability as the cudgel of the right wing of the Berlin Social Democrats against the left. Together with Wehner he was an architect of the ultra-reformist Bad Godesberg Program in 1958, which declared the SPD to be a "people's party" rather than a workers party.

Another element in Brandt's image is the fact that he was during the 1930's a member of the left social-democratic Socialist Workers Party (SAP). However, at the time Brandt's main contribution in the SAP was, as head of the organization's youth bureau, to lead the fight against the Fourth International by expelling Trotskyists.

SPD Right Wing in Power

Brandt appears to have been too tired to carry out the fight against the now militant union ranks and left-reformist Young Socialists (Jusos). The new chancellor, Helmut Schmidt, on the other hand, is eager to take on the task demanded by the bourgeoisie and the party leadership. His career, which began in the Hitler Youth during the 1930's, has carried him through the Luftwaffe to chairmanship of the SDS (at the time the obedient youth section of the SPD) to parliament, where he has sat since 1953.

He is considered a "technocrat" and as a leading member of the Social Democrats' right wing he frankly prefers dealing with capitalists like his close friends Ernest Mommsen (the Krupp trust boss) and financier Valéry Giscard d'Estaing (the rightist candidate for French president) to Brandt's crowd of faded "democratic socialist" cronies (most of whom will probably be purged from the new cabinet after a suitable period).

While Schmidt's politics do not in fact differ significantly from those of Brandt (keeping the unions in line while spouting "progressive" rhetoric) he can be expected to go after the leftists with particular vigor. Brandt already started the offensive with a sharp attack on the Jusos at a press conference last month. "The Social Democratic party will not allow itself to be thrown back to the last century's ideas of class warfare," he declared (*New York Times*, 3 April). Purges, which have been projected for some time—and already begun in some areas—can be expected to intensify in coming months.

With the SPD right wing on the warpath against anything that smacks of leftism, revolutionaries must pay particular attention to tendencies within the Jusos which may break to the left from social-democratic reformism. To the extent that such tendencies appear, it will be crucial not to make an opportunist political bloc with confused centrists, but rather to engage in sharp political struggle for the full Trotskyist program. ■

Continued from page 12

Zionists/Arab Nationalists Trade Terrorist Atrocities

midst of the population they had dispossessed.

Not only is the Israeli ruling class incapable of "cutting off the hands," but the bitter hatred that produces the terrorist politics of desperation can only intensify with each new exchange of atrocities. The Arab and Hebrew worker and peasant masses of the Near East will be forced to pay for their rulers' policies with even more blood than has already flowed.

At the same time, the politics of desperation are also the politics of impotence and of betrayal. Acts of mass terrorism like that at Maalot victimize innocent civilians—undermining, not advancing, the cause of proletarian revolution in the Near East—and should be condemned by revolutionists. This incident is one more indication of the rightward course upon which Nayef Hawatmeh and his "Marxist" DPFLP have embarked toward reconciliation with the bourgeois aspirations of the likes of Yasir Arafat and with the bourgeois colonels and reactionary sheiks who back him.

The shouts for revenge, "Kill the Arabs!", which have resounded throughout Israel were also heard at a demonstration of 10,000 outside the UN in New York City on May 16. Arnold Forster, associate director of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, who has deplored a recent "increase in soft-core anti-Semitism"—an accusation directed against all those opposed to the Israeli government's expansionist policies—commented to reporters: "The world doesn't care too much about Jews being killed. We must make clear that the world is guilty, that the terrorists are sub-human, mindless savages who must be stamped out." Sub-human? Savages? The Nazis thought the same of the Jews, whom they referred to as *Untermenschen* and "stamped out" by the millions.

The logic of nationalism (whether Arab or Zionist) ultimately reduces itself to genocide. The underlying premise of Israel's bombing reprisals is that one Jewish life is worth 20 Arabs, and furthermore that all Arabs are "sub-human"—if Arab babies must die in order that Israel may live, so be it. But the Zionist state is in no position to succeed in such a strategy.

As *Workers Vanguard* pointed out in March 1973, in response to the Israeli Army's shooting down of a Libyan passenger airliner over the Sinai Peninsula:

> "Only the working class—Arab and Hebrew-speaking alike—can transcend this spiral of guilt, fear and revenge through the intersection of the class struggle with the creation of the proletarian vanguard party whose revolutionary Marxist program does indeed uniquely express the most general and historic interests of the working people. For in the real economic and social conditions of life, it is truly only the workers of all lands who have the material basis to unite." ■

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REVOLUTIONARY LITERATURE

CORRECTIONS

In the article "Brandt, Union Tops Stage-Manage Public Workers' Strike," *WV* No. 40, 15 March, there were several errors concerning the organizations IKD, KJO-Spartacus and Spartacus-BL, the remnants of the latter two having recently fused to form the Spartacusbund. The IKD split from the German section of the "United Secretariat" of Mandel & Co. in 1969, not 1970 as reported. The split which produced Spartacus-BL occurred in KJO-Spartacus, not the IKD as reported, and took place in 1971 rather than 1972. Moreover, the IKD did not break with Mandel's rejection of the Transitional Program. A picture caption in the same article referred to Interior Minister Genscher as belonging to the SPD; in reality he belongs to the small bourgeois Free Democratic Party which is in coalition with the SPD.

WV No. 43, 26 April, reproduced part of a leaflet of the Militant Solidarity Committee of UAW Local 906 at Mahwah, New Jersey. Unfortunately, it was mislabeled as being from the Militant Action Committee.

Letter

May 15, 1974

To the Editor:

The May 10 *Workers Vanguard* carried an article on the Fremont UAW elections for convention delegate which contained two inaccuracies. Regarding the 1973 Brotherhood-sponsored motion in the local which required voting machines or outside observers in future elections, you state, "Fujino and Putnam point out that *at the time* (our emphasis) they opposed the motion on the grounds that the unions must clean up their own house rather than calling in others to do it...." When the issue came up over a year ago, we were against outside observers but did not have occasion to take a public stand against it until later. (See our "Elections Sabotaged" leaflet dated 5/30/74.)

Secondly, while it is true that the Brotherhood Caucus omitted their resolution on impeachment in the campaign literature they handed out on election day, they later said that the omission was unintentional and in fact they did subsequently submit it to the Resolutions Committee. However, they actively opposed our resolution on impeachment which called for a workers political party instead of continued support to the Republicans and Democrats. They also voted against our resolution opposing court action against unions—a position which backfired on them in the recent delegate elections.

In general, we think *Workers Vanguard* coverage of our union accurately reflects the political life of the local. By contrast, no active union members would recognize the local from the descriptions of it found in the pages of *Peoples World* and, in particular the *Bulletin* which covers the TUALP branch here as if it were a mass movement when in fact it is a fiction.

As a postscript, the injunction against the elections was dropped, and we enclose the election returns as well as a copy of our press release about the elections.

Respectfully,
Joan Putnam
Darlene Fujino

[According to the enclosure, Fujino received 52 votes and Putnam 48. In a light vote this represented approximately 10 percent of the total.]

Continued from page 1

For New Elections...

chances of surviving were poor indeed. His latest attempt to beat the rap, with yet another "edited" version of the tapes, has totally backfired. In fact, the tapes became the pretext for the Republican leadership to try to escape Nixon's fatal embrace.

The charges arising out of the tapes themselves are not hard proof of Nixon's implication in Watergate crimes (which is obvious in any case), but rather the evidence of vulgarity (!) and his utter cynicism about the niceties of bourgeois legality. The Republicans now demanding his resignation claim to be shocked by the immorality revealed by the tapes. Senate leader Hugh Scott termed the tapes "disgusting, shabby, immoral performances" (*New York Times*, 12 May). One gets the impression that Nixon is supposed to be unworthy of office only because his henchman, Ehrlichman, referred to John Mitchell as "the big enchilada" and he himself allegedly called Sirica a "wop."

While pretending to be shocked by Nixon's language yet asserting that his guilt is not yet proven, Republicans are desperately searching for some kind of device (anything!) to put distance between themselves and the head of their party without going into open revolt. In point of fact, the language on the Watergate transcripts is completely normal in political circles, indeed throughout U.S. society. One can only second Russell Baker's observation that for a group of politicians to dump a president because he talks dirty is like the Malia bumping off the godfather because he doesn't attend church regularly.

However, Nixon's own sanctimoniousness and unctuous hypocrisy do add a touch of irony. Campaigning against Kennedy in 1960, Nixon criticized Truman (and thereby, presumably, Democrats) for the use of profanity:

> "I'm very proud that President Eisenhower restored dignity and decency and, frankly, good language to the conduct of the Presidency of the United States. And I only hope that, should I win this election, that I could [see] to it that whenever any mother or father talks to his child, he can look at the man in the White House and say: 'Well, there is a man who maintains the kind of standards personally that I would want my child to follow'."

The ghost of Harry Truman must be having a big laugh over the Watergate transcripts!

Meany Pushes Jackson/Wallace

It is not often that a government is so completely isolated and its moral bankruptcy so evident. There could be no better time for a working-class political offensive against the administration which froze wages in the midst of rampant inflation, deliberately drove up oil prices, cut thousands off welfare and is responsible for the deaths of hundreds of thousands of Vietnamese peasants and workers. However, the Meany-led labor bureaucracy *supported* Nixon's wage freeze and Vietnam policies. It is not only following the Democratic leadership in seeking to replace Nixon with the arch-conservative, anti-labor Ford, but is actually attempting (so far, successfully) to use the Watergate crisis to move the balance of political power to the right.

The AFL-CIO call for impeachment was partly to help put the skids under Nixon and partly to cover over the fact that just a few years ago, Meany and Co. were ardent backers of his administration. Having issued their call, the labor skates did nothing to bring it about—not so much as a single demonstration—leaving everything in the hands of Congress. As Meany/Woodcock well know, a major labor campaign against Nixon, involving mass demonstrations and work stoppages, would have a powerful tendency to go beyond replacing Nixon with Ford.

The real political activities of the AFL-CIO bureaucracy lately have not centered on forcing impeachment (Meany couldn't care less about that), but on electing the so-called "veto-proof" (i.e., overwhelmingly Democratic) Congress. The end purpose of Meany's present maneuvers is to elect the militaristic, virulently anti-Soviet Henry Jackson in 1976 and re-establish the old Cold War liberal/labor/Dixiecrat coalition. Related to this goal are his efforts to draw the Wallace forces into the mainstream of the Democratic Party.

For New Elections and a Labor Candidate

The response to Watergate by most of the ostensibly revolutionary left has simply been to tail after the liberal Democratic and Meanyite backers of impeachment—except for Tim Wohlforth's Workers League which recently joined the Republicans in pushing for resignation (*Bulletin*, 7 May). Had the left responded instead by demanding that the unions force immediate presidential elections and field a labor candidate, this would have been both a serious attack on the Meany/Abel/Woodcock bureaucracy and on the structural bonapartism built into American bourgeois "democracy." Such a demand could win great popularity, for Gerald Ford is hardly more popular among union ranks than Nixon himself. And rather than feigning heart attacks over Nixon's language, the task of revolutionary socialists is to focus on Nixon's real crimes against the working masses. Impeachment is not enough!

Play the Watergate Tapes in Full on Nationwide Radio!

Abolish the Secret Political Police (FBI, CIA)!

Abolish the Standing Army and its Officer Corps! For a Workers Militia Based on the Trade Unions!

For Labor Action to Force Immediate Presidential Elections! For a Workers Candidate!

Break With the Republicans and Democrats—Dump Meany/Woodcock—For a Workers Party Based on the Trade Unions! Forward to a Workers Government! ■

Boston Chile Protest

WV PHOTO

BOSTON—Some 70 militants joined in a spirited march and protest rally here May 11 in order to publicize the plight of thousands of prisoners languishing in the jails of the Chilean junta.

The Boston demonstration was initiated by the Spartacist League/Revolutionary Communist Youth. Joining together in a Committee to Defend the Endangered Chilean Militants in order to organize the demonstration were, in addition to the SL/RCY, Youth Against War and Fascism (YAWF) and the Revolutionary Communist League (Internationalist). The demonstration was also endorsed by the Cambridge Tenants Organizing Committee, Harvard-Radcliffe La Raza, Boston Mecha and the Haitian Action Committee, along with several stewards and executive board members of the Social Workers Guild and a number of individual endorsers.

Chants raised by the SL during the march included, "Down with the Junta—Power to the Workers," "Chile, Haiti, Vietnam—Free All Class War Prisoners," and "No More Popular Fronts—For Workers Revolution." The marchers also sang the Internationale and Bandiera Rossa.

The United States Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA), led by the Socialist Workers Party, however, claimed that its members were "too busy"—even though its national organization had called for demonstrations on that day—and that the poor attendance at its last demonstration a month before showed that there was not broad interest in Chile actions in Boston.

At a rally at MIT following the march, a speaker from the SL emphasized the need for the workers movement to take up the defense of all imprisoned Chilean militants, and the betrayals of the Communist Party and USLA in failing to emphasize the defense of far-left militants. He criticized the sectarianism of the Boston USLA and the Chile Action Group (a local organization) for refusing to endorse or participate in the demonstration. ■

Continued from page 7

1948 War

livered substantial numbers of arms and an entire airfield. From the U.S. and England the Zionists obtained bombers and fighters.

By the end of the truce period Israel had achieved clear military advantage, and in the ensuing "Ten Day Offensive" it proceeded to maul Kaukji's Arab Liberation Army in the Galilee and capture Ramleh, Lydda and adjacent Arab villages in central Palestine. Wherever the Hagannah advanced into Arab territory the civilian population was expelled and their homes and villages bulldozed and blown up. By the end of October more than 472,000 Arabs had been driven off their land and into exile.

After a second truce which lasted from July 18 to October, the Zionists concentrated on wiping out the Egyptian positions in the Negev and mopping up the Galilee. At the end of the fighting in early 1949 they had occupied all the territory allotted to the Jews under the UN partition plan and, in addition, had taken the eastern Galilee, parts of central Palestine (including the new city of Jerusalem) and parts of the Negev. Egypt took the Gaza strip and Transjordan got the West Bank. Abdullah, despite some battlefield reverses, now fulfilled his lifelong dream and crowned himself King of (a part of) Jerusalem and the (partially) restored Hashemite Kingdom. Not to be outdone, Egypt set up an "Arab Government of Palestine" in the Gaza strip.

Hebrew Nation in Palestine?

The 1948 war established the framework in which the subsequent Arab-Israeli conflicts occurred. For this reason alone it requires careful study by revolutionary socialists. In addition to the obvious question of what position should be taken by Marxists in this conflict, it raises a number of other important political issues: Were the Jews in Palestine a nation? If so, do Leninists support their right to self-determination? Was the 1948 war an application of this right? And, more generally, what is the significance of self-determination for interpenetrated peoples?

Certainly by 1948 the Jewish-Zionist communities of Palestine had achieved one of their goals, having constituted a distinct national entity. (The point at which this occurred can be placed at the defeat of the 1936-39 Arab general strike and uprising, after which the Palestinian Jews had a functioning closed economy, essentially independent of the Arab communities. This separation laid the basis for the development of the Jewish economy during the second World War, when the isolation of Palestine compelled the development of entire new industries.) We say this as recognition of an accomplished fact, not implying "approval" of any kind.

Lenin and Trotsky resolutely opposed the bourgeois ideology of Zionism and opposed Jewish settlement in Palestine. But a nation is not a metaphysical moral category; it is a social category with a material content. Stalin's pamphlet, *Marxism and the National Question*, written in 1913 when he was still a Bolshevik and under Lenin's guidance, defines a nation in the following terms: *"A nation is a historically evolved, stable community of people, formed on the basis of a common language, territory, economic life, and psychological make-up manifested in a common culture"* [emphasis in original]. This definition explicitly denied that European Jews constituted a nation. They were considered by Stalin and Lenin to be either assimilated (as in Western Europe) or an oppressed *caste* (as in Russia and Eastern Europe generally).

The Zionists also understood that for dispersed European Jewry, a "people

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without land," the formation of a nation was impossible without finding a corresponding "land without people"—or one that could be turned into a land without people through forced expulsion of the native inhabitants. This is what they proceeded to do in Palestine, first pushing the Arab fellahin off the land (bought from the feudal landowners), then constructing a closed economy of the Jewish communities and, finally, in 1948 proceeding to conquer the greater part of Mandate Palestine with an army organized prior to Partition, and to expel the majority of its Arab population.

Out of the destruction of European Jewry by Hitler (without whose aid the Zionists would have gone the way of the Shakers and other utopian sects) and at the expense of the Palestinian Arabs, a settler colony was transformed into a nation.

Self-Determination for the Hebrew Nation?

This Hebrew nation came into existence through force and violence, through the suppression, forced expulsion and genocide of other peoples. Communists must oppose this brutal national oppression. Yet once this historical fact is accomplished, we must certainly recognize that nation's right to self-determination, unless we prefer the alternative, namely national genocide.

The United States itself (as well as good parts of Spanish colonial America) was created through the most brutal, and ultimately genocidal, despoliation of the native Indian population. The wiping out of the aboriginal population was almost total in Uruguay, Costa Rica and Cuba, for example. Should Marxists therefore deny the U.S.' right to self-determination, for instance during the war of independence in 1776? Do we deny this right to the Spanish-derived inhabitants of Latin America? Are we to deny Iraq's right to self-determination because it suppresses the Kurds; do we deny this democratic right to Nigeria because of the massacre of the Bialrans, or to the Sudan because the Arab north has wiped out hundreds of thousands of blacks in the south? Do we deny the right of self-determination to modern Turkey because it was forged over the corpses of one million Armenians and Greeks? The oppression and massacre of these subjugated peoples were great historic injustices, but this does not transform irredentism into Leninism. Rather, it underlines the necessity to view the national question within the internationalist framework of the proletariat, recognizing that nationalism—the petty-bourgeois ideology which covers the expansionist and genocidal appetites of the bourgeoisie—is incapable of achieving social justice even on the terrain of bourgeois-democratic national rights.

The ex-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party now denies the right of self-determination to the Hebrew-speaking people of Israel, arguing: "From the point of view of the Leninist concept of the right of nations to self-determination, the key fact is whether the given nationality is an oppressed nationality or an oppressor nationality" ("Israel and the Arab Revolution," 1971 SWP convention resolution). It is one thing to distinguish between the nationalism of the oppressors (which is wholly reactionary) and the nationalism of the oppressed (which, although it too is a bourgeois ideology that must be combatted by socialists, is in part an expression of opposition to oppression). But Marxists do not pretend to sit with the gods on high, majestically rewarding the good but oppressed peoples with the right of self-determination and dispersing to the four corners of the world the bad oppressor peoples.

The SWP claims that Leninism recognizes only the claims of oppressed nations to the right of self-determination. This would have been news to Lenin! In his article, "The Right of Nations to Self-Determination" (December 1914) he approvingly quotes the resolution on the national question from the 1896 (London) congress of the Socialist (Second) International: "This Congress declares that it stands for the full right of all nations to self-determination..." To underline the point, Lenin goes on to remark: "The International's resolution reproduces the most essential and fundamental propositions in this point of view: on the one hand, the absolutely direct, unequivocal recognition of the full right of all nations to self-determination; on the other hand, the equally unambiguous appeal to the workers for *international* unity in their class struggle. We think that this resolution is absolutely correct...." [emphasis in original]

Under normal circumstances the self-determination of oppressor nations is of course not in question. The demand for self-determination for oppressed peoples means that they should have the same national rights already achieved by already established nations, not that oppressed peoples are entitled to national rights while "oppressor peoples" are not.

By granting the right of self-determination to all nations, this does not mean that Marxists support the exercise of that right under all conditions. (Lenin compared self-determination to divorce; by recognizing the right to divorce one does not necessarily advocate dissolution of a particular marriage.) Further, when democratic rights come into conflict, it is necessary to subordinate the particular to the general. This was recognized by the then-Trotskyist SWP in 1948 in its editorial on "The Arab-Jewish War in Palestine" (*Militant*, 31 May 1948): "Haven't the Jewish people the right to self-determination and statehood as other peoples? Yes—but even if we abstract this question from its aforementioned social reality, the fact remains that they cannot carve out a state at the expense of the national rights of the Arab peoples. This is not self-determination, but conquest of another people's territory." The SWP vigorously opposed the UN Partition scheme and called for "a joint struggle against the imperialist oppressors on the basis of a revolutionary socialist program."

Self-Determination for Interpenetrated Peoples?

The SWP was, however, vague in its propaganda at the time, and tended to be unable to reduce its correct sentiments to a line on the war. This was not an accident, but flowed out of the complexity of the situation, the scarcity of hard information on the war itself (the bourgeois press' coverage being largely confined to hysterical propaganda about the plight of the poor beleaguered Jews) and the theoretical dilemma posed by attempting to apply the right of self-determination to interpenetrated peoples.

It was clear that the establishment of an independent nation-state, either by Palestinian Arabs or the Jews, would occur in Palestine only at the expense of the other nation. When national populations are geographically interpenetrated, as they were in Palestine, an independent nation-state can be created only by their forcible separation (forced population transfers, etc.). Thus the democratic right of self-determination becomes abstract, as it can be exercised only by the stronger national grouping driving out or destroying the weaker one.

In such cases the only possibility of a democratic solution lies in a social transformation. For example, the decomposition of the old multi-national Turkish empire precipitated a period of intensified murderous national conflict in the Balkans. The centuries of national hatreds and massacres between for example the Serbian and Croatian peoples exceeded the history of national strife between the Hebrews and Arabs in the Near East. The only basis for the unity of the Serbs and Croats (and other peoples) of Yugoslavia was the triumph of the partisan armies, against all of the nationalists, following World War II in a struggle which broke the bounds of capitalism and resulted in the creation of a deformed workers state in Yugoslavia.

Under capitalism, the right to self-determination in such a context is strictly *negative*: that is, against the abuses of national rights of either the Arabs or the Hebrew-speaking population. Thus, had there been an independent armed force of the Palestinian Arabs in the 1948 war, Marxists could have given it military support in the struggle against the expansion of the exclusionist Zionist state and the onslaught of the Arab League armies, which together suppressed the national existence of the Palestinian Arabs. Likewise, had there been an irredentist onslaught of the Arab states which threatened the survival of the Hebrew nation in Palestine, Marxists would have taken a position of revolutionary defensism of the survival of that nation.

Until recently the Spartacist League has held that the intervention of the Arab Legion following Israel's proclamation of independence transformed the 1948 war into a struggle to defend the survival of the Hebrew people and its right to self-determination. While opposing partition and fighting for the return of the expelled Palestinians, nonetheless we would have called for victory of the Hagannah over the Arab Legion.

The criteria by which we judge such a war have not changed. However, additional revelation of the circumstances surrounding the 1948 war through new factual material, much of which became available only recently, makes it quite clear that at no point in the 1948 war were the Arab armies in a position to challenge the survival of the Hebrew nation. In particular we call the readers' attention to the article by Y. Rad, "On the First Arab-Israeli War," in *WV* No. 35, 4 January 1974.

In light of this and other material, the SL Central Committee on 16 March adopted the following motion:

"The correct Trotskyist policy toward the 1948 Palestinian War was one of revolutionary defeatism (and exercise of self-*defense* by specific villages and settlements when under attack) because:

"1) the democratic issue of self-determination for each of two nationalities or peoples who geographically interpenetrate can only conceivably be resolved equitably within the framework of the proletariat in power;

"2) concretely in 1948—the Zionist-led Jews possessed the social/military organization to achieve and expand their own nation state. The Palestine Arabs were disorganized, ineffectual and betrayed on all sides. With the exception of the battle for Jerusalem, the Trans-Jordan (and British-inspired and backed) war aims were to compete with the Jews for the partitioning of Palestinian Arabs' lands. The role of other foreign Arab armies was essentially to posture, seeking to deflect discontent within their own states."

In 1948 the Revolutionary Communist League, Palestinian section of the Trotskyist Fourth International, while recognizing the right of the Jews to self-determination, resolutely opposed partition and took a revolutionary defeatist position in the Arab-Zionist war. "This war can on neither side be said to bear a progressive character.... *It weakens the proletariat and strengthens imperialism in both camps. The only way to peace between the two peoples of this country is turning the guns against the instigators of murder in both camps*" [emphasis in original] ("Against the Stream," reprinted in *Fourth International*, May 1948). Clearly, a re-examination of the historical evidence confirms the position held by the Trotskyists at that time—that the survival of the Hebrew nation was not in question. There were no effective forces fighting for the rights of the Palestinian Arab nation; none of the Arab forces fought for the national rights of the Palestinians or against imperialism, but rather against the Zionists and each other in order to carve up the Palestinian Arab nation among themselves and/or divert social struggle at home.

While the imperialist powers certainly had an interest in and intervened to shape the outcome of the conflict, it is not possible to consider the struggle on either side as anti-imperialist. Thus the Israelis were aided by the U.S. and the USSR (diplomatically and, at least indirectly, militarily), while the Egyptians, Iraqis and Jordanians all received British military aid. (On the other hand, not only the Israelis but each of the Arab countries involved was assiduously pursuing its own national aims, so that it is likewise impossible to reduce the war to a simple great power conflict.)

Marxists could give military support to neither side in the 1948 Palestine war. Our position for proletarian internationalism requires viewing that war from the necessity of revolutionary defeatism on both sides, counterposing to the victory of either side the perspective of united proletarian struggle, which offers the only possibility for the genuine fulfillment of the right of self-determination—through a socialist federation of the Near East. ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

UPI

Young victims being carried from school in Maalot after clash between Palestinian guerrillas and Israeli troops. Both Arab nationalists and Zionists engage in mass terror: the working people pay the price.

Israeli Planes Bomb Refugee Camps-

Zionists/Arab Nationalists Trade Terrorist Atrocities

MAY 18—On 15 May Israeli soldiers stormed a school building being held by Arab guerrillas in the town of Maalot, Israel, with guns blazing. The result: 24 of the 85 high school students being held hostage there dead; all but a few of the students injured; the three guerrillas dead. In the aftermath: an orgy of murderous bombing raids against the defenseless masses of Palestinian refugees in camps in Lebanon, perpetrated by a shaky Israeli government more piously self-righteous than ever.

Israel's retaliatory air raids, ostensibly to destroy commando stations, were clearly directed toward indiscriminately mowing down the civilian population, destruction of homes, schools, hospitals, playgrounds. In one camp, half the homes were destroyed. So far the death toll is above 50, with hundreds injured. The Lebanese government, which has tolerated such raids by Israel in the past, protested meekly. The pattern is familiar.

Outrageous as acts of indiscriminate terrorism by Arab nationalists (and their supporters) have been in recent years—the Munich kidnappings, the massacre at Lod Airport—they pale in comparison to such Zionist terrorist atrocities, which are never called by their right name in the bourgeois press. The whining and indignation over Israeli casualties is the very height of hypocrisy coming from murderers like Moshe Dayan, whose hands drip with the blood of massacred Palestinian refugees.

The facts of the case have become adequately clear. The commandos (members of the Democratic Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine) entered in the early hours of May 15 and, after murdering a family and some Arab workers, took the students, who were on an outing from their religious school, hostage as they spent the night in the school building at Maalot. The commandos demanded the release of 23 Arab guerrillas held in jail in Israel in exchange for release of the adolescent hostages, threatening to blow up the building at 6 p.m. if their demand was not met.

Golda Meir claimed to acquiesce to the demand, but behind the Israeli government's deliberately confusing references to a "missed" code word is the fact that it does not even claim to have attempted to deliver the guerrilla prisoners to Cyprus. Even as officials went through the motions of attempted negotiation, Israeli soldiers stormed the building at about 5:20 p.m. A question remains as to whose bullets actually massacred the youths. Golda Meir's pious pronouncements have a hollow ring: "...the government of Israel will do everything in its power to cut off the hands that want to harm a child, an adult, a settlement, a town or a village." Hollow—because, no matter whose shots actually killed the school children, the government had decided not to release the terrorists and instead to storm the building whatever the cost in human lives. After all, it could then bomb thousands of Palestinian refugees in "reprisal."

Ruthless as the Zionist expansionists may be, this arrogant belligerance is rather pathetic coming from these chauvinists, whose reactionary aspirations and racist ideology justified their usurping the territory of the Arab population of Palestine and who chose to fortify themselves in isolation in the

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SIPA

Nayef Hawatmeh, DPFLP leader

Cops Slaughter SLA Leaders in L.A.

MAY 18—Yesterday's outrageous storm-trooper assault by more than 300 Los Angeles, county and federal police against a house allegedly occupied by members of the "Symbionese Liberation Army" must be vehemently protested by all labor and left organizations.

The Spartacist League does not defend in any way the "SLA" or its acts of indiscriminate terrorism (kidnapping and murder of individuals who were guilty of no known crimes against the working people). But such massive military "overkill" operations are clearly intended to create a police-state atmosphere, and as such they are a direct threat to the union movement, radical organizations, minority populations and working people generally.

Moreover, the spectacular barrage of heavy weapons fire from the police strongly suggests that the authorities had no intention of taking the occupants alive. Neither did the police take adequate precautions to protect residents of the immediate vicinity when they began the shooting.

AP

SLA hideout goes up in flames during shootout.

The Los Angeles police have a well-earned reputation for such storm-trooper tactics, whether under racist-reactionary Mayor Yorty or black "liberal" Mayor Bradley. But there are additional reasons to suspect that the "forces of law and order" intended to simply murder the alleged SLA leaders.

With the abolition of the death penalty, the FBI and police in many large cities seem to be intent upon usurping the role of judge, jury and executioner for a brand of "justice" that makes the "kangaroo courts" of the Old West appear relatively humane in comparison. The racist dragnet launched by San Francisco Mayor Alioto in response to the recent "Zebra" killings and the April 16 raid on Black Panther Party headquarters in Oakland are additional examples of such police atrocities.

Moreover, there are numerous recent reports (*San Francisco Examiner*, 28 April; *Great Speckled Bird*, 13 May; *New York Times*, 17 May; *Black Panther*, 18 May) that alleged SLA leader Donald DeFreeze (alias "Cinque") was a one-time police informer, supplied arms to the right-wing black nationalist "US" group (which assassinated Panthers Carter and Huggins), and that his escape from the "minimum-security" Vacaville State Prison may have been staged by the authorities. There have been charges that various officials have been pressing for just such a shootout as occurred yesterday in L.A.

We do not know the truth of such allegations; nor do we place any faith in bourgeois justice to clarify the mysteries surrounding the SLA or to arrive at a just verdict in the case of SLA prisoners such as Remiro and Little. But it is an essential duty of revolutionary socialists to protest all violations of bourgeois democratic rights (such as trial by jury) even when the victims are themselves unsavory characters. In the end, such incipient bonapartism will fall most heavily on the working people, their organizations and leaders.

As for the Symbionese Liberation Army, Cinque and his associates apparently went down fighting in a dramatic shootout which must have surpassed anything they ever fantasized. But whatever the SLA may have wanted, its bizarre and bloody story and its fiery ending have accomplished nothing except the waste of the lives of its victims and of its members. ■

CWA Local Hits "Zebra" Dragnet

The following motion, introduced by the Militant Action Caucus, was passed overwhelmingly by the members of Oakland Local 9415 of the Communication Workers of America.

Whereas: Alioto's "Operation Zebra" is a vicious attack on the constitutional rights of blacks in San Francisco, designed to fan racist hysteria, and worthless in attempting to catch the "Zebra" killer,

Be It Resolved: that this local calls on all unions and black people in the area to join in a demonstration at San Francisco city hall on Tuesday, April 30th at 5:30 pm to demand "Stop this racist harassment now!"

Be It Further Resolved: that all organizations participating will be given equal time to address the rally, and will be encouraged to carry their own slogans.

Be It Further Resolved: that the local president be responsible for making the necessary arrangements, notifying all the unions and organizations of black people in the area before Monday, April 29th.

WORKERS VANGUARD 25¢

No. 46 7 June 1974

SYGMA

End the Colonial War!

Demonstration in Lisbon.

African Guerrilla Struggles at the Turning Point

Independence for Portuguese Colonies!

JUNE 2—The "new Portugal," now being avidly proclaimed in airline advertisements and speeches by generals and Communist Party leaders in Lisbon, is in trouble in Africa. As we go to press the London talks with representatives of the PAIGC (African Independence Party of Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde) have been broken off temporarily; meanwhile, according to all accounts a generalized offensive is being waged by nationalist forces in Mozambique. In Lisbon the demand for an end to the colonial wars is being raised not only by leftist workers, but by the ranks and lower-level officers in the armed forces as well.

It was largely as a result of this internal pressure that the rapidly executed coup was carried out on April 25, toppling the 45-year-old Salazarist civilian dictatorship. The African wars, which had been gobbling up some 40 percent of the national budget, had brought the poorest country of West Europe to the brink of economic disaster. This point was emphatically made by none other than General (now President) Antônio de Spínola, who concluded that the "national-liberation" movements could not be beaten by military force.

His solution was to offer (under the guise of "self-determination") membership in a Lusitano-African commonwealth, similar to the post-World War II French Union, as a form of pseudo-independence. He offered himself as the De Gaulle who was to carry out this peaceful transformation. The Communist Party, which in post-WW II France ordered its partisans to turn in their arms and voted for sending French troops to Vietnam to put down Ho Chi Minh's uprising, would act as his left cover.

Important segments of Portugal's "100 families," and a good part of the officer corps, agreed with the general. Faced with the danger of losing everything in Africa, and the certainty of going bankrupt in the process, it was decided to gamble on a dramatic turnabout, toward "controlled democracy" in metropolitan Portugal and coopting moderate nationalists in the colonies. (Former premier Caetano had turned in this direction even before the coup. He supported the Group for the Unity of Mozambique [GUM], a collection of a few hundred "moderate" African professionals and white businessmen who wish to maintain the essentials of their relationship with Portugal.)

The military "Junta of National Salvation" has repeatedly declared its determination to do just this, but the mass unrest in Lisbon and the unwillingness of the main nationalist groups to be sucked into a bogus "commonwealth" scheme has checked Spínola's

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OCI, FCR, LO Vote for Union of the Left

Mitterrand Loses in Close French Elections

The French presidential elections last month brought victory to aristocrat-financier Valéry Giscard d'Estaing by a scant 1.4 percent of the 28 million votes cast (including the undoubtedly fraudulent returns from the French "overseas territories"). Within the framework of bourgeois parliamentary politics, the elections were a standoff between rightist forces and the popular-front Union of the Left (composed of the Communists, Socialists and bourgeois Left Radicals). Most significant is the fact that neither side had anything to offer the workers.

Both groups are zealous defenders of capitalism and the bonapartist Gaullist constitution. In fact, during the second-round campaigning the main dispute was over who best represented the continuity of the late General's policies. The Communist Party shamelessly proclaimed that it shared with Gaullism a commitment to the "grandeur" of the nation (*Daily World*, 9 May). (The Russians, however, demonstrated *their* preferences by dispatching the Soviet ambassador to pay a courtesy call on "Finance Minister" Giscard in the middle of the campaign—an open slap in the face for the French CP, which was the biggest force behind Giscard's opponent, François Mitterrand.)

In the wake of the decisive first-round defeat of the Gaullists, led by former premier Chaban-Delmas, Giscard's campaign (which was basically fueled by anti-communism) focused on projecting a Kennedyesque image of a liberal wealthy intellectual attempting to heal rifts in the nation. The new president sought to reinforce this image by attempting to piece together a supposedly "neutral" technocratic cabinet of non-political "specialists."

The elections did not reveal any important shifts in the class voting patterns. Mitterrand gained only about 6 percent between the first and second rounds. (Of these, it is likely that about half came from those who voted for candidates of the "far left" on the first round, the other half from working-class elements who had voted for the Gaullists.) Moreover, Mitterrand's first-round totals were half a percentage point *below* the vote for the Union of the Left and ostensibly socialist candidates in the 1973 parliamentary elections.

In specific areas, however, there were significant variations. In traditional working-class strongholds, Mitterrand's vote did not increase in general, and in about 10 areas it decreased by over 5 percent compared to 1973. On the other hand, he made gains of over 5 percent in an equivalent number of locations traditionally dominated by the Socialist Party or the populist-oriented Gaullists (such as eastern France). Thus there was a noticeable, but hardly decisive, indication of disaffection of traditional working-class elements (especially CP supporters) and the rallying of a number of right-wing socialists and some bourgeois elements to the popular front as a means for bringing change within a liberal capitalist perspective.

Stalinists Hail "Victory"

As the bulk of the working class considered the election results a defeat, the Stalinist labor bureaucracy feared that resentment would boil over into a chaotic outburst of militancy in the wake of the announcement of the vote. The very evening of the election,

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DAILY WORLD

Leaders of the French "Union of the Left" in 1973. From left: George Seguy (in turtleneck), head of CGT labor federation, George Marchais, head of CP, François Mitterrand, head of Socialists; Jean Fabre, head of the Left Radicals.

NY POST

Joanne Chesimard

Black Liberation Army...6

Letters

The 1948 Arab-Israel War

23 May 1974

To the Editor:

The article on the 1948 Arab-Israeli war in *WV* No. 45 states, "The SWP was, however, vague in its propaganda at the time, and tended to be unable to reduce its correct sentiments to a line on the war." While there was a certain vagueness on the broader questions raised by the existence of two interpenetrated peoples and the role of the demand for national self-determination under such circumstances, the SWP line on the war was clear: for revolutionary defeatism on both sides. The *Militant* editorial of 31 May 1948 comments:

> "The present Jewish-Arab war, far from enhancing reactionary Zionism or imparting to it a progressive mission, exposes in glaring manner that the program of a Jewish state in Palestine and the Jewish war for this end—is reactionary and bankrupt from beginning to end.
>
> "...Neither are the Arab rulers conducting a progressive struggle for national independence and against imperialism. They are, by their anti-Jewish war, trying to divert the struggle against imperialism, and untilizing the aspirations of the Arab masses for national freedom, to smother the social opposition to their tyrannical rule. That is why their war against the Jewish state lacks the progressive characteristics of a national war against imperialism and does not deserve the support of the class-conscious workers."

The modification of our understanding of the 1948 war brings our position into harmony with the position held both by the Palestinian Trotskyists and the SWP at the time. The importance of this should not be lost: in the course of their general abandonment of proletarian Trotskyism, both the SWP and the European majority of the "United Secretariat" have abandoned the position of the Trotskyist movement in 1948, going over to support for Arab nationalism and abandonment of the fight for permanent revolution in the Near East.

Comradely,
Reuben Samuels

Who Were the SLA?

6 May 1974

Dear *Workers Vanguard*,

I'd like to briefly say that I believe your coverage of the SLA has been poorly informed and at times contradictory. While you are totally correct in your criticisms of the SLA's adventurist strategy, you are incorrect when you attempt to read them out of the left.

For example, in your April 26 issue you state that "virtually the entire left knows next to nothing about the origins of the SLA." Perhaps this is true of the New York left, but here in the Bay Area it is common knowledge that the SLA grew out of elements of Venceremos which were critical of the liquidation of Venceremos and decided to continue and accelerate the Venceremos line on armed struggle. The SLA must, in fact, be viewed as the logical consequence of the attempt to apply Guevarist notions to the contemporary United States. To read the SLA out of the left is to abandon the necessary polemical struggle against their line.

Similarly, in the same issue you accept the IRA and Weatherman as part of the left because they "represent a deformed expression of the aspirations of the oppressed masses." This same criteria perfectly describes the SLA, which is an amalgam of Vietnam veterans, oppressed third world people, and women. Whatever may be the level of police infiltration or sheer myopia on the part of the SLA, its members are nonetheless committed revolutionaries engaged in a "deformed expression" of their revolutionary aspirations.

The recent interviews with Little and Remiro in the S. F. *Phoenix* shed valuable light on the origins and politics of the SLA. It would seem that your sources of information are limited to the bourgeois media.

Yours,
Matthew Rinaldi

WV replies: The Symbionese Liberation Army grew out of an intersection of elements in and around the petty-bourgeois radical milieu of the San Francisco Bay Area with convicts involved with the Black Cultural Association at Vacaville State Prison. It is true that some of the individuals who initiated the SLA were at one time or another peripherally involved with Venceremos. SLAers Harris and Remiro had been active in the Vietnam Veterans Against the War. Other SLAers were reportedly associated with the prison reform or gay liberation movements.

But to conclude from this that the SLA "represents the logical attempt to apply Guevarist notions to the contemporary United States" is not only an insult to Guevara, whose politics we in no way endorse, but obscures the nature of the SLA as revealed by its actions. The entire history of the SLA—its victimization of innocent people, its "hit list" of obscure individuals, its threats against the lives of the attorney Hallinan and Panther leader Newton, its "line" (a hodgepodge of megalomaniacal rhetoric, New Left verbiage and downright mysticism) and its antics leading up to its demise at the hands of the storm-trooper Los Angeles police—indicate that this group was an irrational, unstable formation bent on personal vengeance against society. Recent revelations about the SLA members, and particularly those about DeFreeze's unsavory history only confirm our view that the SLA was "an amalgam of former black convicts and guilt-ridden white radicals, with the former predominating under the leadership of one 'Cinque'."

While the spectacular and fiery end of the SLA demonstrated a heroic commitment to their bizarre views (and reveals the bloodthirsty frenzy of the bourgeoisie), the SLA represented not a deformed expression of the aspirations of the oppressed masses, but an expression of personalist lumpen outrage and degenerated petty-bourgeois terrorism that served only to tragically waste the lives of its members.

Is Jewish Assimilation Utopian?

25 May 1974

Dear Comrades,

I am writing you to clear one minor point in your article [Birth of the Zionist State: A Marxist Analysis] Part 2/ The 1948 War\(*WV*; No. 45, 24 May). In the article you state "Lenin and Trotsky resolutely opposed the bourgeois ideology of Zionism and opposed Jewish settlement in Palestine."

Deutscher in *The Prophet Armed* (New York, 1954) does not refute your statement; however, he does have the following footnote on page 75: "In an interview with the American-Jewish *Forward* (28 January 1937) Trotsky stated that alter the experience of Nazism, it was difficult to believe in the 'assimilation' of the Jews, for which he had hoped. Zionism by itself, he went on, would not solve the problem; but even under Socialism, it might be necessary for the Jews to settle on a separate territory."

You further state that "...pogroms in Poland and the Balkans during the summer of 1946 swelled the numbers in ['displaced persons'] camps to a quarter million."

"In the United States, the Socialist Workers Party ... campaigned to force the government to drop its racist immigration quota system ... in order to permit Jews into the U.S." From a Marxist's view of international solidarity this is a proper stance; however, to expect that a quarter of a million Jews would be permitted to assimilate into the society of this country is naive. If "...the working classes of Europe, having through generations listened to the preachings of international solidarity, would, ... be unable or unwilling to prevent or stop the murder of six million Jewish men, women and children in Hitler's gas chambers" (Deutscher, *op. cit.*), and permitted the "...pogroms ... of 1946 ..." how could anyone expect more of the working class of this country with its history of petty sectarianism and very limited international solidarity?

Trotsky's statement in *Forward*, which was made when the events which we are familiar with were only beginning to develop, I do not believe could be construed as "...[opposing] Jewish settlement in Palestine." He was only "...resolutely opposed [to] the bourgeois ideology of Zionism. ..."

Although I can not state that Trotsky was in favor of "Jewish settlement in Palestine" neither can it be stated that "...Trotsky resolutely ... opposed Jewish settlement in Palestine."

In Solidarity,
Don Calvin

WV replies: Trotsky and the entire Trotskyist movement did indeed oppose Jewish immigration to Palestine. For example, in one of the last things he wrote on the subject (dated July 1940) Trotsky stated:

> "The attempt to solve the Jewish question through the migration of Jews to Palestine can now be seen for what it is, a tragic mockery of the Jewish people. Interested in winning the sympathy of the Arabs who are more numerous than the Jews, the British government has sharply altered its policy toward the Jews, and has actually renounced its promise to help them found their 'own home' in a foreign land. The future development of military events may well transform Palestine into a bloody trap for several hundred thousand Jews. Never was it so clear as it is today that the salvation of the Jewish people is bound up inseparably with the overthrow of the capitalist system."
>
> —quoted in *Leon Trotsky on the Jewish Question*

The interview to which Deutscher refers (in which Trotsky is quoted as saying that, "The dispersed Jews who would want to be reassembled in the same community will find a sufficiently extensive and rich spot under the sun") is making the point that this option does not exist under capitalism. Trotsky concludes this interview by stating:

> "The Jewish question, I repeat, is indissolubly bound up with the complete emancipation of humanity. Everything else that is done in this domain can only be a palliative and often even a two-edged blade, as the example of Palestine shows."
>
> —*ibid.*

Thus, so long as capitalism dominated the world economy Trotsky considered Palestine a "two-edged blade" and even a "death trap" for Jews. While he does not explicitly state that he opposed Jewish immigration to Palestine "within the framework of rotting capitalism and under the control of British imperialism," one would have to impute sinister motives to someone who called something a "death trap" and did not oppose jumping in.

On the SWP campaign for the U.S. to open its borders to the Jewish refugees in Europe during and after WW II you write: "to expect that a quarter of a million Jews would be permitted to assimilate into the society of this country is naive." The argument that it was "naive" to think that the U.S. could assimilate 250,000 Jews was precisely the argument used by Zionists to *oppose* repealing or reforming restrictive immigration laws (see David Brody's "American Jewry, Refugees and Immigration Restriction" in *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society*, June 1956).

Zionism was never popular in the U.S. until World War II. The reason for its growing popularity after World War II was the growth of anti-Semitism and fascist movements in this country, as well as sympathy for homeless European Jewry. The middle-class assimilated Jews who made up (and still make up) the bulk of the Zionist movement turned to Zionism because they feared that a massive influx of Jewish refugees into the U.S. would exacerbate anti-Semitism in the U.S. and disrupt their comfortable lives. The more oppressed, working-class Jews (e.g., NY garment workers) remained Socialists and Bundists and fought, alongside the then-Trotskyist SWP, against the restrictive immigration quotas.

Of course, if one believes that the "history of petty sectarianism and very limited international solidarity" of the U.S. working class is an unchangeable quantity, that it can never transcend its narrow, national, racial and ethnic chauvinism, then indeed it was naive to believe that this working class could be mobilized to fight against reactionary immigration restrictions, much less for socialist revolution. This is obviously a position of deep historical pessimism.

This pessimism permeates Deutscher's views on the Jewish question, as well as the rest of his political perspectives. He voted against the formation of the Fourth International at its founding conference in 1938, viewing it as a lost cause; and in his biography of Trotsky he treats the co-leader of the Russian Revolution as a tragic figure, a lone prophet crying in the wilderness.

But if one adopts such a position of revolutionary pessimism, one must accept the corollary: if the world working class cannot rise to its historic responsibilities, then the alternatives are the destruction of European Jewry, the creation of the Zionist ghetto from among its survivors, endless Arab-Jewish warfare, the destruction of the Palestinian nation. But it is not just Jews and Arabs who are affected: on a global scale the conclusion which flows from this position is nuclear annihilation. Truly the alternative before humanity is, as Trotsky wrote, that between socialism and barbarism. The Zionists choose the latter.

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French FCR Leader Resigns Over Popular Front

EDITORS' NOTE: We print below a resignation from the French Front Communiste Révolutionnaire (FCR—Revolutionary Communist Front), the political heir to the Ligue Communiste which was dissolved by government decree in June 1973. As the documents referred to by Comrade Lesueur indicate, he has been a leading oppositionist for several years within the French organizations of the "United Secretariat." He was initiator of the "Bolshevik-Leninist Tendency for Proletarianization," whose documents were published in the SWP's *International Information Bulletin* (No. 6 in 1973), and therefore was elected to the Central Committee of the Ligue at its last regular congress (Third Congress, December 1972).

Although there were occasional oppositions within the Ligue Central Committee (Roger, Jebraq, Beauvais), Lesueur was virtually the only consistent opponent of the line of the leadership. His own positions show a development from the "workerism" of the 1972 minority tendency to his more recent texts which reject the Pabloist revisionism characteristic of the USec, both of its Hansen and Mandel/Maitan/Frank wings.

The comrade refused to join the so-called "Third Tendency" of the USec which formed prior to the Tenth World Congress this February due to its pervasive political ambiguity—in particular, its abstentionism on the question of Pabloism. The Third Tendency nevertheless adopted as one of its basic documents the text which he co-authored, entitled "New Vanguards or Construction of the Revolutionary Party."

The resignation statement of Comrade Lesueur solidarizes with the Revolutionary Internationalist Tendency, an expelled left opposition of the USec with supporters in the U.S. and Australia. His statement points the way for serious militants in the USec, both in France and elsewhere, to generalize their criticisms of the practice of their sections into a fundamental rejection of revisionism in favor of the revolutionary, proletarian, internationalist program of authentic Trotskyism.

After having been a member of the organizations of the United Secretariat of the Fourth International since September 1967, I am resigning due to the political line of this current. Reasons of health have led me to *hasten* my resignation, but my political differences did not begin yesterday. These were illustrated by the document of the Bolshevik-Leninist Tendency for Proletarianization.

...My political break is also illustrated by the text (signed with four comrades) entitled "New Vanguards or Construction of the Revolutionary Party," where we asserted in opposition to the "European" orientation of the USec majority the need to return to a programmatic approach, and therefore to address the class as a whole (and not just its centrist elements) with our program, the Transitional Program. This Program was conceived as an *immediate* program for the masses—not to understand that is to deny its necessity and to revert to the division between a Minimum Program and a Maximum Program.

The break was marked by [my] support to the document on the world situation presented in the name of the international Third Tendency to the Tenth World Congress [of the United Secretariat]. This document was an alternative to the quietist positions of the LTF and to the Majority's mechano-objectivist positions.

Finally, [my break is illustrated by] the document "Only One Solution: A Workers Government" against the

continued on page 5

German Spartacusbund Expels Leading Militant for Trotskyism

On May 17 the second national conference of the newly formed German Spartacusbund expelled Comrade Anton G. for political reasons: his support for the revolutionary Trotskyist positions of the Spartacist tendency. During the past seven years Comrade Anton G. has been one of the leading cadre of the young ostensibly Trotskyist movement in Germany. The comrade has been active since 1968 in several organizations claiming to represent Trotskyism: in 1968-69 in the "Initiating Committee for a Revolutionary Youth Organization" and the GIM (International Marxist Group—German section of Mandel's "United Secretariat"); in 1969-71 in KJO-Spartacus and the IKD (International Communists of Germany —a left split from the GIM). He was one of the editors of the IKD's theoretical magazine, *Die Vierte Internationale*. In 1971 he left the IKD and initiated the GPI (Proletarian Internationalism Group). He also authored a small book, *Ergebnisse und Perspektive* (*Results and Prospects*), which dealt with the degeneration of the Fourth International, attacking the IKD position that the FI never existed. In 1972 and again in 1973 he was active in Spartacus/BL; he has been a member of the Spartacusbund (SB) since its formation in February 1974.

In the documents authored by Comrade Anton before his expulsion from the SB, he insisted on the need for close cooperation with the international Spartacist tendency to push forward the development of an authentic, democratic-centralist Trotskyist International. He also vigorously attacked the Menshevik organizational practices of the Spartacusbund, its economist trade-union work, its explicit reversion to a minimum-maximum program (in the form of raising demands that supposedly are "transitional to transitional demands") and its capitulation to Arab nationalism in the Near East.

The ever more explicit Menshevism of the Spartacusbund was reflected in the reasons for the comrade's expulsion: his programmatic agreement with the Spartacist tendency—and with the decisions of Lenin's Comintern, the International Left Opposition and the Fourth International prior to its destruction by Pabloism.

Comrade Anton was widely regarded as the "left-wing conscience" of the organization. The high respect granted him was reflected in the fact that his expulsion was rammed through by the SB leaders with a vote of only 13 to 6, with 7 abstentions. The delegation from his own local voted unanimously against expulsion; another comrade made a motion for his own expulsion on the grounds that he shared the essential positions of Anton G.

Those leftward-leaning comrades of the Spartacusbund who desire to take up the struggle for Trotskyism and who reject the orientation of the right wing toward fusing with ("entering") the German USec group, will have to come to the harsh realization that only through a relentless struggle against the political liquidationism of the SB leadership can the necessary political clarification be won and the organizational consequences be drawn. The comrades would do well to reflect on Comrade Anton's documents, which will be published shortly in Germany by *Kommunistische Korrespondenz*. ■

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OPEN LETTER OF THE AUSTRIAN BOLSHEVIK-LENINISTS (ÖBL):

Austrian USec Attacks Trotskyists at May Day Demonstration

On May Day four demonstrations took place in Vienna: those of the SPÖ (Austrian Socialist Party); KPÖ (Communist Party); KBW/VRA(ML) (Communist League of Vienna/Union of Revolutionary Workers [ML]); and the united action initiated by the GRM (Revolutionary Marxist Group—the "Austrian section of the Fourth International" [United Secretariat]). Our organization decided to participate in those demonstrations where we were able to carry out the principles of a proletarian united front and where the relationship of forces permitted it (i.e., the CP demonstration and the united-action demonstration). The CP wished to have its demonstration understood as one "for united action," and it upheld this policy. We were able to form our contingent at the assembly point and to participate in the demonstration with our leaflets, literature, banners and chants without any hindrance. Our banners read: "For the Victory of the Proletarian Revolution—Bolshevik-Leninists (Trotskyists)"; "Immediate General Wage Negotiations—For a Sliding Scale of Wages"; "Fight for the Proletarian United Front" and "For the Rebirth of the Fourth International." We consider the Fourth International to have been destroyed both organizationally and in its programmatic continuity by Pabloist revisionism.

The GRM, which we consider Pabloist, felt compelled to disregard the most basic principles of workers democracy, the united front and Trotskyism because of our propaganda, and used its syndicalist friends to carry out its dirty work. The "Open Letter of the GRM for a Militant May Day," dated March 31, which was accepted as the basis of the united action, contains the following: "Also, freedom of criticism is not brought into question through the organizing of a common demonstration. Slogans can be carried which go beyond the minimal platform and don't contradict the character of the demonstration." In spite of this, the formation of our contingent in the demonstration was obstructed by a gangster-like attack. Just as we had formed our contingent, Herrmann Dworczak, editor of the GRM's central organ, along with Herbert Brunner, a well-known leader of the FÖJ-BfS (Free Austrian Youth-Movement for Socialism), approached the comrades holding our banner "For the Rebirth of the Fourth International" and categorically demanded its immediate removal since it was "unpolitical," called for "smashing the GRM" (Dworczak) and because we "held too high an opinion of ourselves anyway" (Brunner). When we refused, Mr. Brunner ripped the banner. A policeman who had been watching from behind our contingent stepped into the scuffle; after we convinced him that there were no reasons for the police to take any measures, a member of the GRM fawned up to him and tried to convince him that the police should forbid the carrying of our banner! (In the meantime it had been stapled together.) His reasons were that the Fourth International already existed and consequently that it was impermissible not to recognize the International as such—apparently it has been registered as a trade-mark!

At the beginning of the demonstration, the GRM felt obliged to drown out our chants with its loudspeakers. During the course of the entire demonstration, another method was regularly used to sabotage our chants. Lacking political slogans, the friend of the police let his megaphone whistle at its loudest with the feedback effect.

The facts speak for themselves. An organization which employs such methods is a cancer on the working-class movement which must be *politically* destroyed. However, even such an organization, as a part of the working-class movement (although harmful), has the right to express its opinions freely. We support this right even for such an organization, since its politics demonstrate ever clearer with each passing day that it holds no perspectives for revolutionary forces.

Vienna
14 May 1974

Sloppy Thinking and Revolutionary Phrase-Mongering

RSL on British Miners' Strike

The Revolutionary Socialist League (RSL), a recent left split from the International Socialists, has set itself the impossible task of trying to maintain that it is Trotskyist while at the same time claiming that the Soviet Union, China and the other deformed workers states are in fact "state-capitalist." This "third-camp" position, which was sharply condemned by Trotsky in the 1939-40 faction fight against Shachtman, is basically a capitulation to the anti-communism of petty-bourgeois public opinion. Unable to make a fundamental break with its Shachtmanite origins (see "A Look at the RSL's Family Tree," *WV* No. 37, 1 February 1974), the RSL exhibits this same adaptationism toward the illusions of the workers in the current crop of reformist aspiring labor bureaucrats.

When substantial layers of the working class or petty bourgeoisie harbor illusions in this or that militant-talking huckster, these centrists invariably find some convenient excuse to fall in step behind the left faker, giving him "critical" support. Thus the leaders of the RSL rushed forward to embrace the campaign of Arnold Miller for president of the United Mine Workers. They spread the illusion that Miller, who was actually the candidate of the U.S. Department of Labor, stood for "union democracy" and was a real alternative to the corrupt Tony Boyle regime. (Now that Miller is busy crushing wildcat strikes in the coal fields the RSL has found it convenient to adopt a different line.)

Conversely, when the events are sufficiently far removed from its immediate milieu (and appetites) the RSL will adopt a very "left" face—which is no less indicative of its political bankruptcy. A good example of this is its latest polemic against the Spartacist League's position on the British miners' strike and general elections earlier this year. According to Bruce Landau, editor of *Torch*: "The main pillars of the Spartacist approach in Britain were... opposition to soviets, brittle separation of defensive from offensive strategies, fetishization of trade unions, opportunist conception of party-building, pacifism" (*Torch*, 16-29 May).

And what are the proofs for these fantastical charges? Defensive/offensive: "Today we are talking about defense. We will talk about offense some other time...." Pacifism: "Today the situation is not yet formally pre-revolutionary.... Why, then, should we raise an urgent call for workers' defense guards?" Trade-union fetishism: "Anyway, so long as we are in this purely and simply defensive stage the trade-union shop stewards' committees will do." The quotes sound damaging enough. But there is only one problem: *they were never uttered by the Spartacist League and do not represent SL positions!* In the tradition of Wohlforthian political banditry which the RSL is avidly aping, they have *invented* their "proof."

The confrontation between Tory Prime Minister Heath and the mine workers clearly posed the necessity for a general strike to bring down the Tory government and to smash the capitalist offensive against the workers' living standards. To this end the SL raised the call for the leadership of the British labor movement, the Trades Union Congress, to launch a general strike organized through the shop stewards committees.

To Landau and Co. this is an expression of "Menshevik formalism" and "opposition to soviets." What do the "critical" supporters of Arnold Miller offer the British workers instead? "...revolutionary forces in Britain must call for Councils of Action to organize a general strike" (*Torch*, March 1974). Further, "for the RSL, Councils of Action are meant to serve as vehicles for mobilizing the broadest layers of the class, ultimately developing into soviets and the basis of the workers' state itself" (*Torch*, 16-29 May).

The Spartacist League, you see, was concerned only with the mundane task of raising a program for victory to the workers in this sharp class battle at a time when there is no pre-revolutionary situation in Britain, no mass revolutionary party nor any effective opposition to the treacherous TUC misleaders who would surely seek to sabotage a general strike. Did the SL separate defensive from offensive? Not at all: "Should such a strike be victorious... it would shatter the stability of bourgeois rule in Britain and open up a pre-revolutionary situation" (*WV* No. 38, 15 February). Was the SL line pacifist? No: "To call on the police... to defend picket lines can only... divert attention from the crucial task of urging the working class to organize armed defense of the picket lines" (*WV* No. 39, 1 March). And what about the famous (but non-existent) councils of action: "Should a general strike actually occur, the organization and authority of councils of action would certainly be posed.... Such councils will not arise out of thin air at the call of revolutionaries.... In their initiation a key role will be played by elements of the traditional leadership, such as the shop stewards councils" (*ibid.*).

On all counts the RSL critique is false and, moreover, dishonest. Nevertheless, these dilettantes have a panacea which solves all the problems posed by a general strike in the absence of a recognized revolutionary leadership: soviets. But if it was criminal for the SL to call for a general strike in Britain launched by the TUC and organized through the shop stewards councils (instead of calling for councils of action/soviets), then how much more criminal was it for the SL to initiate militant demonstrations to support the British miners' strike in Boston, New York, Buffalo, Cleveland, Toronto, Detroit, Chicago, San Francisco and Los Angeles! Clearly, according to the RSL's viewpoint, the correct policy was to call for... soviets.

On paper the RSL's position amounts to formalistic soviet fetishism; in practice it is nothing more than meaningless "left" verbiage bearing no semblance to a serious policy for victory in the strike. Trotsky had some choice words for this kind of "revolutionary" posturing: "I am a Marxist, not a Bakuninist. I stand on the ground of the reality of bourgeois society, in order to find in it the forces and the levers with which to overthrow it. As against the factory councils, the trade unions, parliament, you counterpose—the soviet system. In this connection the Germans have a very excellent verse: 'Schön ist ein Zylinderhut, wenn man ihn besitzen tut.' (Indeed a silk hat is very fine, provided only it is mine.) You have not only no soviets, you have not even a bridge to them, not even a road to the bridge, nor a footpath to the road. *Die Aktion* has transformed the soviets into a fetish, into a super-social specter, into a religious myth. ... There you have the entire policy of the German ultralefts" ("Workers Control of Production," August 1931).

Militants of the RSL who wish to play a role in leading a proletarian revolution—in fact, not in fantasy—would do well to study some history. The creation of councils of action was indeed posed by the 1926 British general strike—but it was the TUC leadership which organized them. On the other hand, shop stewards' bodies have, because of their close ties to the union rank and file in the factories, played a key role in the formation of soviet-like bodies in the countries of West Europe. To take but two examples: The workers councils in Berlin which arose in the course of the 1918 revolution were in large part the result of the action of the Revolutionary Shop Stewards; and in 1919 the Glasgow shop stewards formed a Clyde Workers' Committee which led a local general strike of considerable magnitude.

Far from being some kind of trade-union fetishism the SL agitation for a general strike launched by the TUC and organized through the shop stewards councils was a call not for capitulation to the present misleaders of labor, but rather for battle against the reformists on the concrete terrain of the class struggle. In the summer of 1972 Britain was on the verge of a general strike over the jailing of dockers' union leaders; not just the TUC tops but also the Communist Party-led shop stewards committees were responsible for sabotaging the movement (see "Docks Crisis Provokes Near General Strike in Britain," *WV* No. 12, October 1972).

Every article and demonstration by the SL during the recent British miners' strike was infused with a spirit of unflagging struggle against these fake lefts. However, the group in Britain which raised a program similar to the RSL's—calling for a general strike launched by non-existent councils of action—was the International Marxist Group, which had this to say about the CP mine workers' leaders: "In many ways today's NUM left... are not like the 'limp lefts' of yesterday or today. ... The NUM lefts have, and will, lead real, hard-fought struggles" (*Red Weekly*, 8 February). In theory the IMG, like the RSL, claims to be Trotskyist; in practice it acts as a left apologist for the reformists, just as the RSL gives a left cover to Miller.

In fact the RSL had no perspective of agitating for a general strike in Britain. The key to its position was the statement that, "Whether the proposed campaign succeeds or not, the campaign itself will open up the great-

NEW YORK TIMES

Demonstration during 1973 dock strike.

est possibilities for today's small revolutionary forces to expand in size and influence" (*Torch*, February 1974). You see, by parading around with the most "left"-sounding position, even though it is meaningless as an actual policy to carry the struggle forward, "small revolutionary forces" can build up their militant image among petty-bourgeois radicals who have no direct concern for the outcome of the strike.

As for the elections, the difference between the Trotskyist policies of the Spartacist League and the tailist opportunism of the RSL can be seen simply by comparing the two slogans. The SL called for a "Labour Party/TUC Government Pledged to a Socialist Program of Expropriating the Capitalist Class" and for a continuation of the struggle for a general strike during the election period (*WV* No. 38). The RSL, however, proclaimed stridently: "... revolutionaries will put forward their own interpretation to the slogans Down With the Tories! Labour to Power! They will urge the workers movement to demand an end to the Industrial Relations Act, designed to crush the powerful British shop stewards movement. They will demand an end to wage controls, to 'austerity programs,' to the entire apparatus of Tory repression" (*Torch*, February 1974).

Here is the reality of the RSL position: while calling for non-existent councils of action, to be organized by unnamed "small revolutionary forces," to organize a general strike which will lead to soviets and a workers state, in the next breath it lets the Labour parliamentarians off the hook with a few cheap reforms! The RSL imagines that it can simply bypass the historic leadership of the British proletariat and that soviets will arise as easily as mushrooms crop up after a warm summer rain. By failing to expose the reformist treachery of Wilson and Co., the RSL only exposes its own utter lack of revolutionary perspective. ■

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Indira Gandhi's A-Bomb Test

India's May 18 underground explosion of a nuclear device will accelerate the development and spread of atomic weapons and thus considerably heighten the strong possibility that such weapons will be used in national wars by smaller nations. Previously the exclusive "nuclear club" was restricted to the United States, USSR, China, France and Great Britain, the only nations to have heretofore exploded nuclear devices. The Gandhi bomb serves to escalate already existing antagonisms and mounting national tensions caused by the necessity for capitalist property relations to transcend narrow national boundaries, leading to imperialist expansion and wars and to national hostilities among the backward countries as well.

India's pious protestations that its nuclear device will be used only for peaceful purposes have rightly been universally disregarded. France in the 1950's made the same protestations about its own nuclear research, only a few years before it got its first bombs. And the tremendous excitement and pride of the Indian bourgeoisie can hardly be justified by new advances in "canal excavation" or India's enhanced ability to "understand rock dynamics."

The immediate implications of India's nuclear weapons capacity will be an acceleration by Pakistan of its own plutonium-producing efforts. (Pakistan already has natural-uranium reactors —the more complex and expensive process of producing plutonium is necessary to create a nuclear weapon.) China, too, is another obvious target for Indian bombs.

However, the broader global implications are even more ominous. When nuclear weapons were first produced in the 1940's there was considerable belief that such weapons were "too horrible" ever to be used and would therefore be a certain deterrent to future

Indira Gandhi PICTORIAL PARADE

wars. George Orwell predicted in 1945 that:

> "The atomic bomb may complete the process of robbing the exploited classes and peoples of all power to revolt, and at the same time putting the possessors of the bomb on a basis of military equality. Unable to conquer one another, they are likely to continue ruling the world between them...."
>
> —"In Front of Your Nose," 1945

The "Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty" of 1968, pushed mainly by the USSR and the United States, seemed to bear out this prognosis. In reality, the world economic and military hegemony of the U.S. following World War II did result in an uneasy stalemate, however, given the U.S.' loss of hegemony and the resurgence of inter-imperialist rivalries in recent years, the accelerating development and spread of nuclear weaponry are inevitable.

Japan and West Germany have had the technological capacity to develop nuclear weapons for years, but have been overshadowed by the U.S.' dominance. In the future this will not be so. Other nations with both the technological capacity and appetite for developing nuclear weapons, besides Pakistan, include Israel, Egypt, South Africa/Rhodesia and Brazil.

This proliferation of nuclear weapons in a world wracked by the contradictions of decaying imperialism brings us one long step closer to Trotsky's prediction that "without a socialist revolution, in the next historical period at that, a catastrophe threatens the whole culture of mankind" ("The Transitional Program"). The threat of nuclear war has become not some final apocalyptic vision, but very much an immediate possibility, as shown by India's example.

We reassert the basic Trotskyist position of unconditional military defense of the bureaucratically deformed workers states. We defend the acquisition of nuclear weapons by these states and demand that the "nuclear umbrella" be extended to cover North Vietnam and Cuba against imperialist attack. But the short-sighted parasitic bureaucracies which rule in Moscow, Peking, etc. seek instead to line up with one or another band of imperialists in order to gain "allies" for their internecine bureaucratic feuding.

The danger for the world working class of nuclear proliferation in the hands of increasingly desperate national bourgeoisies is obvious. Only world proletarian revolution (including political revolution to overthrow the bureaucratic misleaders of the deformed workers states) can halt this escalating spiral of militarism and potential nuclear holocaust. ■

Continued from page 3

FCR Leader Resigns

abdication to the 1974 version of the French Popular Front.

[The USec] current was born officially in 1953 as the liquidator of the accumulated experience of revolutionary Marxism and of Trotsky's organization.

> "It is important to note that the crux of the rottenness and unprincipled nature of Pabloism did not lie in its desire to do entry work *per se*. There is nothing in principle wrong with that. Its unprincipled character lay in the following: Pabloism apologized for and objectively served as a left cover for the C.P.s and some Social-Democratic tendencies. In particular it miseducated the working class as to the nature of Stalinism and the C.P.s, holding forth the line that C.P.s *would* make and lead revolutions the world over."
>
> —Al Greengold, "A Spectre Is Haunting the International," *[SWP] Discussion Bulletin*, Vol. 31, No. 30, July 1973

Throughout its existence, the stamp of [the USec] current has been its tailing after all the new vanguards... that it discovered itself!

- *From 1953 to 1968
  - —the new Stalinist or social-democratic vanguard,
- *From 1968 to 1972
  - —the new student vanguard,
  - —the new guerrilla vanguard in Latin America,
  - —the new Stalinist vanguard in Indochina,
  - —the new DPFLP and PFLP vanguard in the Near East.

It suffices to examine the last two years to easily persuade oneself that this current will never build the Bolshevik party that the class needs.

March 1973 Elections

The March 1973 elections were supposed to show something. In order to further the "objective" of class struggle, the Ligue refused to characterize the Union of the Left as a popular front and called for a vote for the Union of the Left. Later, a self-criticism explained that we shouldn't have voted for the Radical-Socialists ...because that wasn't educational for the vanguard! Oh, how difficult education is!

Not only shouldn't we have voted for a bourgeois party because that wasn't educational, but *we shouldn't have voted for the workers parties involved in a popular front either!* The position held by the Ligue, the OCI and LO, of not voting for the Radical-Socialists, could not be expressed in a presidential election because on the second round the only candidate is the candidate of the popular front. The vote for Mitterrand is the verification of the opportunism of the March 1973 slogans.

In this type of election, the function of the popular front leads to stressing the working-class element of the front, without changing the nature [of the popular front]. If Fabre [leader of the Left Radicals] had represented the Union of the Left instead of Mitterrand, our opportunists would probably have abstained or have explained that the elections were "a trap for suckers." In that case, LO, OCI or FCR might wind up calling for a working-class candidate of the popular front!

As for the education of the class in relation to the popular front, it would (as it was now) have been passed over in silence.

The arguments made against the popular-front characterization are illuminating:

- *fascism is not a threat,
- *the Radical-Socialists represent only themselves,
- *the Gaullist constitution is not that of the Third Republic,
- *the social situation is different.

What then is one to say about the nine tenths of the countries of the world in which the social, legal, political situation has never been and will never be that of the France of 1936? That popular fronts are impossible there?! We have to add that now there is something else different from 1936: then there was a Trotskyist policy, today there is critical support to the popular front.

Here is what Trotsky wrote to the Dutch group of the Fourth International in July 1936:

> "The question of questions at present is the People's Front. The Left Centrists seek to present this question as a tactical or even as a technical maneuver, so as to be able to practice their little business in the shadow of the People's Front. In reality, the People's Front is the *main question of proletarian class strategy* for this epoch. It also offers the best criterion for the difference between Bolshevism and Menshevism."
>
> —*Writings, 1935-36*

Lip Strike

The Lip strike was also supposed to show something. *Rouge*'s whole line was to pump for the action committee, whose presence prevented the workers from taking the strike in hand, and the election of a strike committee. The other side of *Rouge*'s policies was to "forget" to put forth slogans capable of mobilizing the class in support for Lip and against the government.

> "Thus on the whole we were out of step, for one thing because of our own weaknesses on using transitional slogans, for another (and especially) because of *tailending* the Lip workers, which was a corollary of the tailism which we already discussed concerning the negotiations.... We should have put forth [the general strike] propagandistically, not by asking our comrades in the unions to stop work locally, but to put the unions' leaderships 'up against the wall'...."

But this self-criticism, like all the others, was forgotten—the same "mistakes" were committed in the bank strike [in the spring of 1974], for example.

Action Program

Rouge's action program contains all the transitional demands... except the most important one: for the workers government. That means that the action program could be anything, except a transitional program. This demand points to the necessity of centralizing the struggle of the masses to overthrow the bourgeois state. A smattering of transitional demands, plus the refusal to characterize the Union of the Left as a popular front, will culminate in the demand for a Class-Collaborationist-Reformist-Mass-Dynamic-Front-of-the-Left (or one of struggle, or armed, with a *Mirista* flavor). Taking up the slogan "el pueblo armado jamás será vencido" ["the people armed will never be defeated,"] is already a good indication of this tendency.

...The elections of May 1974 are (provisionally) the last stage of adaptation to the popular front, as much by the FCR as by LO or the OCI. These three organizations have a good start on the road to being tomorrow's French POUM or MIR.

USec World Congress

The Tenth World Congress was the latest farce. This "Fourth International" no longer exists. Neither of the two factions is fighting for the Transitional Program, for the construction of a Trotskyist International.

...On this point I coincide totally with the "Declaration of the Revolutionary Internationalist Tendency" of the SWP:

> "Both tendencies within the world movement offer us two forms of the same substance: political liquidationism. In the case of the SWP, liquidation into petty-bourgeois milieus and the subordination of the vanguard role of the revolutionary party to the reformist leaderships of the petty-bourgeois movements, and in the labor movement its support to government-tied reformers—like the UMW's Miller and the NMU's Morrissey. In the case of the IMT, liquidation into guerrillaism and the 'new mass vanguard' of Europe, which also represents a subordination of the role of the vanguard party. Therefore, both tendencies are unsupportable."
>
> —*[SWP] Discussion Bulletin*, Vol. 31, No. 22, July 1973

...I now believe that to be consistent the end of the text "New Vanguards or Construction of the Revolutionary Party" has to be modified. The time has passed to rectify this "International"; it must be reborn in opposition to all the epigones, be they of the USec Majority or Minority, or of the Organizing Committee [the OCRFI, sponsored by the French OCI]. Today in France the forces exist to do this....

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Postscript on Revolutionary Black Nationalism

Cops Sentence Black Liberation Army to Death

The current court trials of alleged members of the Black Liberation Army (BLA) represent a postscript to that period in American history, roughly 1967-71, when radical politics was dominated by so-called revolutionary black nationalism. Faced with the non-existence of a black nation in the U.S., and the consequent impossibility of a real nationalist perspective for the doubly oppressed racial/ethnic minorities, the right wing of the nationalists (typified by Huey Newton, Imamu Baraka and Ken Cockrel) has retreated into social workerism and Democratic Party politics. The guerrillaist "left" wing (Cleaver, George Jackson) has largely disappeared.

The combination of brutal racial oppression and a sizeable urban lumpen population guarantees that the black ghettos will again spawn groups dedicated to violent confrontations with the police. However, effective repression has, for now, thoroughly routed the Maoist-Castroist guerrillaists of the Cleaver/Jackson stamp. The remnants of the BLA are the only active surviving representatives of this current, and at this point their struggle is limited largely to staying alive.

Between the BLA's aim of urban guerrilla war based on the black lumpens and genuine Leninism, centering on working-class revolution, there exists an enormous gulf. Nevertheless, the murderous police/FBI campaign against the BLA is a direct threat to the labor movment and is part and parcel of the daily terrorization of the black masses. The workers movement must defend the surviving members of the BLA against the government's vicious frame-up conspiracy.

NYPD Launches Nationwide Conspiracy

Following a series of killings and woundings of New York cops in 1971-72, the NYC Police Department launched a national campaign to wipe out the Black Liberation Army. Defying orders by the Lindsay administration *not* to publicize a black terrorist conspiracy, the police hierarchy used its considerable power to picture the BLA as a nationwide conspiracy of fanatical cop-killers.

Robert Daley, then the NYPD Deputy Commissioner of Public Relations, retired from the force to better publicize the "BLA threat" in a book entitled *Target Blue*. His hatred of the BLA alfecting his sense of public relations (evidently believing no one would defend the "extremist" wing of the Panthers accused of cop-killing), Daley openly stated what black militants already knew—if the juries let the accused BLAers off, the police would murder them:

> "Seedman [NYPD Chief of Detectives] talked about vicious criminals such as these beating the law over legal technicalities and he foresaw the day when the *cops* would take matters into their own hands. If they cornered men like Herman Bell or Andrew Jackson and were really convinced the guys would get off in court, they would go in there guns blazing." [emphasis in original]

Since the cops were determined to murder the BLAers regardless of "law and order," they could hardly be expected to respect legal niceties even in dealing with those non-BLAers involved. The police and FBI systematically harassed the relatives of suspected BLAers. Andrew Jackson's sister was visited by the NYPD every week for three years.

Concerning the BLA itself, the nationwide police manhunt has been totally successful. An NYPD "intelligence report" last year referred to "25 to 30 hard-core members" of the BLA. With the gunning down of Twymon Meyers by police and FBI agents last November a total of seven of the alleged BLAers had been killed by the authorities and another 18 "suspects" were in jail facing numerous charges. Police Commissioner Cawley boasted that "just about all the principals in the Black Liberation Army are either dead or in custody" (*New York Times*, 16 November 1973).

The actual legal cases against the BLA are so shaky that in two of the major ones, that against Joanne Chesimard and Fred Hilton for bank robbery and against Henry Brown for murdering a cop, the defendants were found not guilty by juries that couldn't possibly be sympathetic to self-avowed black revolutionaries. The only conviction so far is of Clark Squire for killing a state trooper in a shootout on the New Jersey Turnpike May 1973 (he received a life sentence—plus 24-30 years, the judge's means of assuring he cannot be paroled until 1996). Given the fate of other BLA suspects who had been cornered by the cops, it is hardly surprising that Squire and his companions opened fire when stopped. Chesimard, allegedly the leader of the BLA, was aquitted because the prosecution's case was patently fraudulent: the two "eye-witnesses" were bank-robbery convicts who could not describe what Chesimard was wearing and claimed to have met her one day and collaborated in robbing a bank the next! In the Brown trial the witnesses

George Jackson

were on a Florida tomato farm on the day of the incident.

The Myth of Urban Guerrilla Warfare

The leadership of the BLA appears to stem from that of the old New York Black Panther Party. James Costan (who was killed in the turnpike shootout), Richard Moore and Clark Squire (who are in prison) were among the "New York 21"—the local Panther leaders who were finally aquitted on charges of planting bombs in department stores, alter having been held in jail for almost two years. Thus, the origins of the BLA go back to the 1968-71 internal struggles of the Black Panther Party, which was the highest expression of black "nationalist" militancy in recent decades.

The main historical events giving rise to the Black Panther Party for Self-Defense were the ghetto anti-cop upheavals which swept the nation between 1964 and 1968. The Panthers saw in these struggles the willingness of the black masses to go from non-violent protests for reform to insurrectionary action against the government, which only had to be given correct military leadership.

In reality, the ghetto anti-police riots were spontaneous explosions of violent protest, lacking conscious revolutionary purpose. The ghetto outbursts marked the end of a period of mass reformist struggle rather than raising that struggle to a new, higher level (they never took place in the same city twice). Despite considerable radicalization the ghetto masses never broke politically from liberal reformism. Most of those who hurled Molotov cocktails at police cars in Watts, New-

Joanne Chesimard NEW YORK POST

Henry Brown AP

ark and Detroit would have voted for Humphrey in 1968 or McGovern in 1972. Most of them probably did vote for black liberal Democrats Bradley, Gibson and Young. While sympathetic toward and even admiring radicals like the Panthers, the black masses remained cynical and loyal to the Democratic Party as the only conceivable lesser evil.

The ghetto masses did not rally to the cause of urban guerrilla war because they knew they could not win. The isolated ghetto riot, no matter how well-organized or militantly led, could not defeat the armed forces of the capitalist state. Against this bitter truth the Panthers banged their heads until their organization was shattered.

Newton Wing Returns to "Pork-Chop" Reformism

By 1968 most of the Panther leadership were either dead or in jail on capital charges. The military defeat of the Panthers was so overwhelming that *all* tendencies within the party recognized the need to adopt new policies. The most immediate and visible change was a broad right turn aimed at increasing the Panthers' respectability in the black community (e.g., the free breakfast program which first led to the Panthers' cooperation with the churches), raising defense money from the liberal establishment and mobilizing the left and radical student movement (for example, the ill-fated Peace and Freedon Party and still-born "United Front Against Fascism").

The top leadership of the Panthers had developed out of a circle of students grouped around the Afro-American Association at Oakland's Merritt Community College. But from early on they were able to attract a membership of street-wise youth who had been in and out of prison, recruited primarily on their willingness to shoot it out with the cops. The Panthers in this period tended to romanticize those members who came from lumpen backgrounds and were distrustful and somewhat contemptuous of the petty-bourgeois intellectuals who made up the civil rights and cultural nationalist organizations.

The Panthers' right turn in 1968 drew in large numbers of shidents and experienced radical activists who knew how to work the liberal fund-raising circuit and maneuver factionally in the "white left." These new recruits formed the basis of the Oakland apparahs led by David Hilliard until Newton got out of prison in 1970.

Many of the original lumpen members were dead, in prison or underground. They didn't like the right turn and were a source of internal friction, resulting in numerous expulsions. However, those fighting to maintain the "lumpen-militarist" orientation lacked leadership and were waiting for Newton to be released, believing he would soon straighten out the party.

In fact, when Newton got out of prison he deepened the right turn. He used a realistic argument to justify shelving the concept of military struggle. He asserted that without mass support, which the Panthers did not have, neither open nor underground revolutionary violence could be successful. Thus Newton treated the "party-as-military-vanguard" as the pre-World War I Social Democrats treated the maximum program—something to be attained in the distant future.

Cleaver and the Lumpen-Militarists

The long-smoldering internal frictions blew up when Eldridge Cleaver, in exile in Algeria, chose to become the spokesman for the lumpen-militarist opposition. No less than Newton, Cleaver admitted that open confrontation with the police was a bankrupt strategy. He, therefore, advocated a dual-party structure with an underground guerrilla force. This idea was developed even before the open split:

> "I feel that we have now reached the point where we have to develop the other aspect of a classic structure of a revolutionary movement; that is, the distinction between a political arm and a military arm that is necessary in order to develop people's war...."
> —quoted in Lee Lockwood, *Conversation With Eldridge Cleaver*, 1970

And again like Newton, Cleaver realized that the failure of the black masses to rally to the cause of "people's war" was rooted in the Panthers' hostile isolation from the rest of American society. To overcome this Cleaver projected a multi-vanguard, "Third-Worldist" military alliance:

> "This is what I'll be working on henceforth: to establish the North American

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Purge Attempt in L.A. AFSCME

LOS ANGELES, 1 June—For the second time in six months an attack is under way against the basic democratic rights of the Militant Caucus of Local 2070 (UCLA) of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees. A raging controversy over an incident at a recent stewards class boiled to the surface in the Local meeting today. The Local leadership argued for a motion to censure the Militant Caucus for a simple statement of its view of the incident, which had been printed in the Caucus paper, *Workers Solidarity*.

The stewards training class late in April had been open to all union members, according to members of Local 2070 interviewed by *Workers Vanguard* after today's meeting. A somewhat inebriated former vice president of the small AFSCME unit had tried to enter the class, but was stopped at the door by one of his opponents in the present leadership who claimed that the member was going to "disrupt" the meeting. A fight ensued as the official tried to prevent the member from attending; however, the International Representative, who was at the meeting, reportedly urged that the member be allowed to come in.

Subsequently, he did come in and sat in the back, not disrupting anything. At that point the official, who had absented himself, returned with an L.A. city police officer. The official pointed out the member to the police officer, who then took him away.

Hearing about this incident later, members of the Militant Caucus strongly disapproved of the deliberate, despicable act of the Local officer in fingering a union member to the armed thugs of the bosses. The Caucus, however, limited itself to a simple statement of political opposition to such acts in its paper, for the purpose of calling the attention of the membership to the basic class principle which had been violated. The statement did not mention any names, to avoid handing "evidence" to either side which might be used in any legal actions between union members.

So shaky and defensive is the Local leadership that it could not tolerate even this simple statement of opinion. A motion of censure of the Caucus for printing "damaging and untrue information," and going to the intolerable extent of demanding that the Caucus apologize and print a retraction of its true statement, was introduced at the May meeting and again today. Each time it was tabled to the next meeting, pending completion of a report by a special union committee set up to investigate the incident.

So far, the committee has been unable to complete its report. Both the Caucus and Local officials had collected depositions from the union members who were present to ascertain the facts. The union exec board issued an official warning to the Caucus that it was bypassing official union channels by collecting its own depositions on the facts. But the union official who fingered the member to the police is himself *withholding the officially-collected depositions* from the official committee, reportedly in the interests of pursuing legal action against the member!

The membership is increasingly fed up with this unprincipled behavior on the part of its elected leadership. A Militant Caucus petition defending union democracy and the right of opposition groups to express their views has already been signed by 82 members—more than voted for the present leadership in the last election! (The Local has only about 300 members, having not fully organized the campus workers.)

At today's meeting, a motion by the Caucus to table the censure motion indefinitely failed by only one vote, but another Caucus motion urging early completion of the committee's report passed. This annoyed the leadership, which is stalling, since it knows that the depositions will verify the few simple facts mentioned by the Caucus in its paper, and thus expose the censure motion for what it is: a blatant attempt to beat a militant and vocal opposition into silence. This attempted railroading has reportedly included behind-the-scenes threats of a Stalin-style purge; however, in view of the obvious membership opposition, these two-bit schemers have (not surprisingly) lacked the courage to come out in the open with their real motives.

Although its early leaders are no longer working at UCLA, having gone on to organize elsewhere, the Militant Caucus has a proud history, virtually as long as the Local itself, as some of the best early builders of the union. The present members have continued that tradition. In addition to gathering signatures on their petition, Caucus members have in recent weeks signed up many new union members on the largely unorganized campus. The leadership's campaign against the Caucus is an inexcusable attack on the democratic rights of any and every union oppositional group and union member to defend their opinions and programs. It is the responsibility of every loyal union member to denounce the censure motion and the motives behind it, and furthermore to reject all use of the cops and courts to settle disputes which should be internal to the labor movement. It is the use of these anti-labor outside agencies, not the expression of opinion by the members, which is subverting the proper functioning of the union. Only recognition of the class-struggle principles espoused by the Militant Caucus can provide the basis for building and strengthening the unions in their struggle against the employers, their class and their government. ■

Continued from page 1

Portuguese Colonies

plans. Already, while the provisional government officially speaks only of negotiations, its colonial minister has declared that a referendum on independence will be held permitting illiterates (the vast majority of the African populations) to vote on an equal basis (*New York Times*, 22 May).

Guinea-Bissau in Rebel Hands

The position of the Portuguese army in Africa has been deteriorating for years. By 1967 the PAIGC claimed control of half of Guinea-Bissau, a small enclave on the west coast of Africa. The governor at the time (the infamous, Nazi-trained Schultz) recommended abandoning the colony to the rebels. He was replaced and more troops were sent in.

In 1973 the nationalists, now claiming to control three fourths of the area outside of the cities and most of the population, declared the independence of Guinea. (The influence of the PAIGC in Cape Verde is minimal, despite the fact that many of its leaders originate there, and it is not likely that any negotiations will free the islands—an important refueling point for military planes flying to South Africa—from Portuguese rule.) The declaration came little more than six months after the assassination of Amilcar Cabral, leader and founder of the PAIGC. ("Democratic" General Spinola was governor of Guinea-Bissau at the time.)

Independence for Guinea-Bissau is probably inevitable by this point and, while it would represent something of a humiliation to the Portuguese army, the latter has little in the way of heroic exploits to boast of anyway (other than massacres of hundreds, perhaps thousands of villagers, massive defoliation, systematic torture—in short, the full panoply of U. S. Vietnam-vintage "counterinsurgency" techniques). Economically, the region is insignificant, producing mainly peanuts and being run as a fief of the CUF trust; it only has 2,500 Portuguese settlers.

FRELIMO Advances in Mozambique

Of much greater importance is Mozambique, located on the southeast coast of Africa. The Liberation Front of Mozambique (FRELIMO) has made dramatic military gains during the last 18 months. Previously confined to a narrow area in the northern provinces, it has extended its activity south to the key port and railhead city of Beira and the roads leading west to Rhodesia. The threat to white-dominated Rhodesia's main outlet to the sea has prompted the covert intervention of Rhodesian mercenary army units against FRELIMO in the Tete province.

FRELIMO is clearly the only viable African political force in Mozambique at this point; a rally by the "moderate" GUM in the capital city of Lourenço Marques was reportedly dominated by a handful of FRELIMO hecklers. But the nationalists are far from having hegemony. When the Portuguese colonial minister tried to stave off demands by striking dock workers in Lourenço Marques for a $12 daily wage (they now receive $2.60) with the offer of a $1.20 raise and the promise that "your brothers are coming to govern you" pandemonium broke out; the 3,000 strikers refused to return to work, obviously unconvinced that promises of a black government would solve their problems (*New York Times*, 23 May).

The 200,000 Portuguese settlers in Mozambique are an obstacle to any settlement which promises independence to the black majority (8 million). Already various groups of rightist settlers have been formed similar to the Algerian *pieds noirs'* OAS. No doubt

DER SPIEGEL

Portuguese soldiers display trophy.

they could count on the sympathy of some officers for a breakaway white-dominated regime. But the key to the situation in Mozambique is South Africa; without its military support a settler regime would soon fall.

South Africa already has 2,000 troops in Mozambique (mainly around the Cabora Bassa dam which is being constructed with South African capital) and has, since 1965, been part of a secret common defense agreement with Portugal and Rhodesia to protect southern Africa "against nationalist and communist subversion" (Eduardo Mondlane, *Struggle for Mozambique*). According to an article in the 10 May *New York Post*, NATO officials confirmed that a plan has been developed "to go to the aid of our potential allies in southern Africa if the need should arise," under the guise of protecting the sea lanes. South Africa also has an interest in continuing the flow of contract laborers (100,000 to 150,000 annually, mostly from Mozambique) for the low-paid dangerous work in its mines. Taken all together, these factors make South African intervention to preserve white rule in southern Mozambique a distinct possiblity.

Rival Nationalists in Angola

Angola is by far the richest of the colonies. While all the colonies together provided Portugal with a $40 million net trade surplus in 1963, the royalty payments by Gulf Oil alone on its production in Cabinda (a small enclave to the north of Angola) totaled $61 million in 1972 (Africa Research Group, *Race to Power: The Struggle for Southern Africa*). High quality iron ore, diamonds and coffee are also lucrative and growing industries. Yet it is in Angola that the nationalist guerrillas' struggle has been least successful.

The largest group in Angola is the Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA), which was formed in 1956 by Agostinho Neto, along with Cabral of the PAIGC and several others. Armed struggle was initiated in 1961, but from the beginning the struggle in Angola has been characterized by internecine rivalry between the nationalists. A Front for the National Liberation of Angola (FNLA) led by Holden Roberto has had a base of support among the Bakongo tribe of the northern provinces and received support from the rightist President Mobuto of neighboring Zaïre (former Belgian Congo). Several times during the 13 years of bitter rivalry members of one group who fell into the hands of the other were executed. Despite a reported agreement between the two organizations in December 1973, some 40 MPLA militants arrested by Mobuhi were reported still in jail as of last November (*Southern Africa*, February 1974). A third group, the National Union for Total Independence of Angola (UNITA), a 1966 split-off from the FNLA, is also sporadically active.

The problems of the Angolan nationalists are compounded by the fact that much heavier investment of foreign capital and a higher percentage of Portuguese settlers (500,000 out of a total population of 6 million) mean a more determined resistance to independence under black rule. This and the weakness of the MPLA/FNLA militarily (areas actually under their control do not appear to be extensive) reinforce the possibility of a continuation of some form of dependent relationship with Portugal (perhaps disguised by local elections of governor or similar measures).

Turn From the Workers to the Peasants

The history and political perspectives of the MPLA, PAIGC and FRELIMO are all similar. All three began by organizing intellectuals and workers in the urban centers, later turning to the peasants after bloody defeats at the hands of the Portuguese authorities. Cabral's PAIGC started by recruiting dock and transport workers and claims to have led a number of strikes in 1958, culminating in the dockers' strike in Bissau (the capital) in August of the following year. The strike was crushed by the Portuguese army which opened fire on the workers, killing 50.

Mondlane, head of FRELIMO from its founding in 1962 until his assassination in 1969, describes a similar process in Mozambique:

> "...the radical discontent of the labor force combined with political agitation, produced in 1947 a series of strikes in the docks of Lourenço Marques and in neighboring plantations, which culminated in the abortive uprising of 1948. ...In 1956, again at Lourenço Marques, there was a dock strike which ended in the death of 49 participants. Then in 1962-63 the Frelimo underground... helped plan the series of dock strikes which broke out in 1963....This last effort also ended only in the death and arrest of many participants."
>
> —*The Struggle for Mozambique*

Similarly, the MPLA's early efforts to build an urban-based movement were discouraged by systematic persecution of radicals by the PIDE (Salazar's savage political police) and the army.

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Portuguese Colonies

In February 1961 several hundred militants attacked a police station and prison to free MPLA members held there, in the process reportedly killing seven Portuguese police. The plan failed and the following days saw a full-scale massacre of blacks in the capital (Luanda) leaving hundreds of dead at the hands of cops and vigilantes. These experiences led to a common decision to retreat to the countryside and organize the peasantry, with varying degrees of success.

Under the influence of Maoist/Castroist myths, many radicals in the West believe that the more leftward-leaning African nationalist movements are building a movement for socialist revolution based on the peasantry. Aside from the fact that FRELIMO and the MPLA do not even claim to be socialist (the PAIGC does), nothing could be further from the truth. Cabral, who despite his nationalist/reformist politics also had a good deal of honesty, openly admitted that "the peasantry is not a revolutionary force." It is culturally backward, steeped in tribalism and its aspirations are those of petty-bourgeois small commodity producers everywhere: to own their own property and be rid of outside control (e.g., the Portuguese army...or a proletarian state).

The peasantry, particularly one ground down by the harsh conditions of Portuguese rule, can be mobilized for a revolutionary struggle against the colonial power; but this alliance can set the stage for a further advance to socialism only if it is led by the working class and achieves the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The working classes of Mozambique and Angola are perhaps not large (5 to 10 percent of the economically active population), but they already have a considerable history of militant struggle, recently reconfirmed in the strike wave in Lourenço Marques. The proletariat in Russia in 1917 was only about 8 percent of the population and suffered similar brutalization at the hands of the tsar.

The retreat to the peasantry has also had an effect on the politics of the "national liberation movements," namely leading to the contention that "all social strata" will carry out the revolution (Cabral) or that there will be "an identification of everyone" (Marcelino Dos Santos, vice-chairman of FRELIMO)—in other words, class antigonisms will not exist.

The Sorry History of "African Socialism"

Africa has already had a considerable experience with such political ideologies which deny the existence of class antagonisms, in the form of the theory of "African socialism" popularized by such figures as Senghor (Senegal), Touré (Guinea), Nkrumah (Ghana) and Nyerere (Tanzania). "African socialism" essentially maintained that "the African social system is communistic" and does not display "antagonisms of class against class" (Kwame Nkrumah, "The Old and the New: Law in Africa," 1962).

The most common use of this "theory" was, naturally, in the realm of the relations between the newly independent bourgeois nationalist governments and labor. Nyerere's book, *Ujamaa—The Basis for African Socialism*, warns trade-union leaders to seek no more than their "fair share," implying, like Fanon, that workers are privileged compared to the starving peasantry. In 1964 Nyerere put teeth in this warning by dissolving the Tanganyikan Federation of Labour.

Sékou Touré, once regarded by *U.S. News and World Report* as a second Castro and Russian agent, declared in the early 1960's: "Communism is not the African way. The class struggle here is something impossible because there are no classes, but only social strata. The fundamental basis of our society is the family established in conformity with the village community" (quoted in B. Ameillon, *La Guinée, bilan d'une independance*). When Guinean teachers struck in November 1961 for higher salaries Touré arrested the union leadership and sentenced them to 10 years in prison as part of an alleged Franco-Soviet plot.

Perhaps the verbally most radical of all the African left-nationalists in the 1960's, and the one best known in the U.S., was Nkrumah of Ghana. But, despite his socialist pretensions Nkrumah moved in 1958 to take control of the unions by his Convention People's Party through passing an Industrial Relations Act which empowered the government to dissolve any union, freeze union funds and ban strikes.

When transport workers (particularly the railwaymen) struck in September 1961 against a government-imposed 5 percent compulsory savings deduction from wages, Nkrumah's minister of transport Edusei ordered the workers to return to their jobs and lectured them on austerity. This same Edusei later achieved notoriety as the importer of the first solid gold bed in Ghana. He once remarked: "Socialism doesn't mean that if you've made a lot of money you can't keep it" (quoted in Bob Fitch and Mary Oppenheimer, *Ghana: End of an Illusion*). After Nkrumah had forced the exhausted workers to abandon the strike the government launched a massive mop-up campaign, firing local union leaders and railway workers.

Touré, Nkrumah and Nyerere were more radical (verbally) than the leaders of the MPLA, PAIGC or FRELIMO today. Eduardo Mondlane (FRELIMO) was admittedly not a socialist. Of his successors Marchal is rumored to be pro-Chinese, Marcelino Dos Santos to be pro-Russian. But if their language occasionally sounds like the Stalinists' "two-stage" theory of revolution, speaking of an initial stage of "national democratic" or "new democratic" revolution, it is a two-stage theory *without the second stage*. The most FRELIMO and MPLA have asserted in the field of social policy is a vague commitment to end exploitation of man by man. According to Dos Santos, FRELIMO "is a front because it groups together all the social groups or social classes with the one aim of eliminating the [foreign] oppressor" (*South African Communist*, 4th Quarter 1973).

National Liberation Through Proletarian Revolution

While the "African socialists" deny the existence of classes in Africa, the Stalinists call for a unity of all classes against imperialism. In practice there is little difference. In Portugal the Stalinist line is expressed by servilely participating in the junta's puppet "provisional government" as a left cover to Spínola, campaigning against strikes and dropping the demand for immediate independence for the colonies. In Africa the same policies are expressed by political support to various left nationalists (and some not so left) under the guise of a "non-capitalist road of development" à la Nkrumah's Ghana.

Revolutionaries must place no faith in the reformist social-democratic and Stalinist (including Maoist and Castroist) theories of two-stage revolution. Once in power the petty-bourgeois nationalists of MPLA, FRELIMO and PAIGC will behave no differently than their predecessors and mentors in Conakry, Lusaka and Dar es-Salaam. They will not hesitate to smash the unions, jail Marxist revolutionaries and fatten their purses with the spoils of the bureaucracy. Only through a relentless fight to create Trotskyist parties commited to the proletarian program of permanent revolution can this be reversed. Africa is not exempt from the laws of Marxism-Leninism and the class struggle.

There is no "non-capitalist road to development" other than proletarian revolution! The Stalinists and remnants of the New Left have bamboozled many radicals into believing that the main enemy in Africa is "neo-colonialism" and that states such as Algeria, Guinea or Tanzania have somehow managed to escape the imperialist net. Far from it.

There is no qualitative difference between these states and those ruled by more rightest regimes such as Zaïre or the Ivory Coast. One indication of this is the ease with which the leftist regimes can be overthrown as in Ghana and Mali, or their policies reversed as in post-Nasser Egypt.

It is true that the native bourgeoisie is weak in many black African countries. But it definitely exists, if only on the fringes of the state bureaucracy, and is constantly growing. Moreover, it is wrong to see these weak, often totally artificial states in isolation from the capitalist world as a whole. Through the officer corps and top bureaucrats, the native bourgeoisie and the tremendous power of the imperialist corporations and governments, effective control of even the most radical nationalist African states remains in the hands of the capitalist class. There can be no talk of

Amilcar Cabral addressing PAIGC troops. D.R.

ACTUALITY

GAMMA

Top: FLNA head Holden Roberto (left), PAIGC leader Aristides Pereira. Bottom: FRELIMO's Marcelino Das Santos (left), MPLA chief Agostinho Neto.

FRELIMO leaders Eduarda Mandlane (left), and Samora Machel in 1968.

socialist revolution until the bourgeoisie is destroyed as a class and the ties to imperialism broken.

A victorious proletarian revolution, especially in backward regions such as Portuguese African colonies, must spread internationally or else degenerate and perish. Above all it is necessary to join the struggle in the economically backward countries with the class struggle in the advanced imperialist centers. Never have the Angolan, Mozambican and Guinean nationalists made any attempt to fuse their struggles with those of underground socialist oppositionists in Portugal itself. Yet today key decisions about the future of the Portuguese African territories are being made in Lisbon under the direct impact of mass demonstrations.

The economic backwardness of the African colonies has a tremendous impact on the revolutionary struggle there: 95-99 percent illiteracy, an overwhelmingly peasant population, semi-feudal conditions in some regions. So, too, does the heritage of Portuguese colonialism: the struggle for national independence, the absence of any labor and socialist organizations, the 700,000 Portuguese settlers.

But, as Trotsky declared in his theory of permanent revolution, in the backward countries it is only the proletariat supported by the peasantry that can solve the tasks of national liberation and agrarian revolution. Together with the working class of metroplitan Portugal and the several hundred thousand black industrial, transport and mining workers in neighboring South Africa, Rhodesia, Zaïre and Zambia, proletarian-led revolutions in Mozambique and Angola could overthrow the tottering colonial power and sweep before them the apartheid, settler, "neo-colonial" and nationalist regimes of southern Africa.

In Portugal a pre-revolutionary situation requires that the democratic demands of immediate elections for a constituent assembly and independence for the colonies must be combined with proletarian demands growing out of the workers immediate struggles and leading to the urgent immediate task at hand: organizing the socialist revolution. Expropriation of industry under workers control; organizing workers militias; forming soldiers and sailors committees in the armed forces; forming a central council of democratically elected strike and factory committees, the seeds of future soviets and the base for a workers government which would destroy the bourgeois state—these are the tasks of the hour in Portugal. But above all, both in Lisbon and the colonies, the key is the struggle to build Trotskyist parties as part of the struggle for the rebirth of the Fourth International. ■

Continued from page 12

Beirne Maneuvers to Prevent Telephone Strikes

a seven-month strike of New York telephone workers in 1971-72....
"Today's agreement between the communications workers and the Bell System is the latest in recent efforts by labor and management in major industry to find ways to reach collective bargaining agreements without strikes or lockouts."

Opposition to Beirne Sellouts Mounts

Beirne's national bargaining scheme will be an issue at the national convention beginning in late June, since many locals correctly see it as a thinly-disguised attempt to destroy their democratic rights. Local 9415 of Oakland, California, passed a motion at its April meeting condemning Beirne's agreement as "a direct attack against the rights of all CWA members." The motion, put forward by the Militant Action Caucus, a class-struggle opposition group, characterized the scheme as "an attempt to take the issue of bargaining completely out of the hands of the membership and to squash any militancy." A special letter to the local from Beirne and a new effort on the part of local officials afraid of getting in Beirne's path before the convention led to this motion's being rescinded at the next Local meeting, but it nevertheless expressed the concern of many members, which will no doubt make itself felt at the convention.

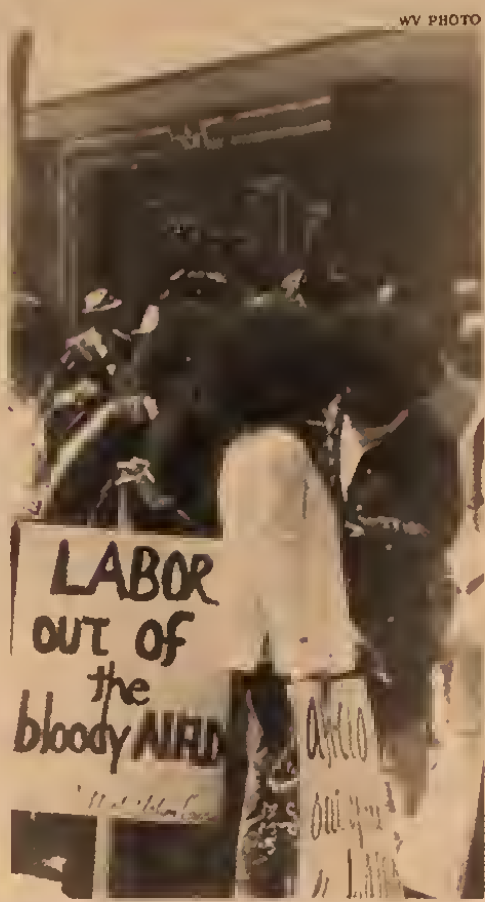
Militants must not be misguided into counterposing simple militancy or local separatism to Beirne's fake "national bargaining." One good reason why not was given at a January meeting of the large Local 1101, New York Telephone, a key center of rank-and-file militancy during the 1971-72 strike. Local President Dempsey backed Beirne's plan despite its undemocratic character and Dempsey's own "militant" rhetoric during the last Local election campaign, in 1972.

The two major opposition groups in the Local, the United Action Caucus and supporters of the paper *Final Warning*, concentrated on pushing a joint resolution for a Local rank-and-file contract committee instead of offering a comprehensive program for a democratically arrived-at national contract which would answer telephone workers' needs. Given Dempsey's capitulation to Beirne's plan to rob the Local of its power to reject the national terms, proposals for a rank-and-file Local committee were correctly seen by many of the workers present as meaningless.

The Inevitable Betrayal of Dempsey

Despite the fact that United Action is supported by the left social-democratic International Socialists

WV PHOTO



Militant Action Caucus supporters protest Meany/Beirne's AIFLD. This CIA-backed and corporation-financed outfit organizes scab unions in Latin America. Currently it is setting up pro-junta "unions" in Chile.

while *Final Warning* usually reflects Maoist views, the coming together of these two groups around a common reform program was natural. Both groups emphasize rank-and-file shop-floor militancy in place of the conscious, long-term political struggle necessary to *defeat and remove* the pro-company union bureaucracy. Without this, no amount of militancy will suffice, as the 1971-72 strike should have proved, even to the social-democratic IS and Maoist groups like the Revolutionary Union.

The failure of these two groups to effectively oppose Dempsey's capitulation to Beirne was also natural, since both of them capitulated to Dempsey in the last election! Both gave him critical support on the grounds that he was a militant trade unionist who had not (yet) sold out, unlike his two opponents. They were probably not fooled by him themselves, but they consciously created illusions that he represented "a chance for us to build a strong local" (*Final Warning*, November 1972). Now the "militant" Dempsey, having confused and misled the ranks, has become Beirne's chief defender in one of the most important and militant CWA locals. Once again it should be clear that simple trade-union militancy *must* betray. With systematic and wide-ranging reforms impossible in the epoch of decaying capitalism, only a revolutionary leadership can provide an alternative to the shameless sellouts of Beirne & Co. and the demagogic fake militancy of liberal bureaucrats like Dempsey.

A genuine national contract, including a uniform national wage scale and other provisions, would be an important gain for telephone workers and labor generally, since it would help equalize wages and conditions of all workers throughout the country. The Teamsters' uniform national wage scale, which was initiated in the late 1930's under the leadership of Trotskyists in the Upper Midwest, was accomplished by sharp class struggle. The drawback of Beirne's plan is not its national character, but its undemocratic substance: instead of instituting real national conditions, it simply makes it impossible to vote down a "pattern" sellout.

To Beirne's bureaucratic proposal, militants must counterpose demands for a genuine elected bargaining committee; a uniform national wage scale; and adequate time for democratic discussion and voting in the locals before the old contract expires and/or before a return to work. The slogan "no contract, no work" must be reinstituted and made real. Local agreements (settling grievances, etc.) must be linked to the national agreement to bring maximum pressure on local companies and avoid the dumping of vital issues into the hands of isolated local bargainers. No one should go back to work after a strike until the national contract is approved by majority vote *and* all local disputes are settled.

Beyond these obvious demands it is necessary to build a nationwide class-struggle opposition caucus not only against the present sellout CWA tops, but with a program which would outline the tasks ahead and expose the impotent and treacherous reformism of would-be bureaucrats of the Dempsey stripe who are lurking in the wings to take over from the more conservative Beirne regime should the latter be unable to keep the lid on any longer. ■

Continued from page 12

Class-Struggle Opposition in Oakland CWA Local

of which are leaders of "Patria y Libertad," a Chilean fascist organization. MAC demands the immediate severing of all ties with this reactionary, CIA-backed organization.

During her campaign, Burnham pointed out that Beirne's support to AIFLD and other schemes of Jay Lovestone's AFL-CIO International Department is simply a reflection of the same class collaborationism which led to the "national bargaining" scheme: Beirne and his cronies are committed to defend capitalism, whatever the inevitable conflicts this position produces with the real interests of the workers.

During her campaign, MAC's candidate for delegate debated three other candidates, most of whom had little or nothing to say in counterposition to MAC's program. One of them was Manja Argue, whose views often reflect those of the reformist International Socialists. (For instance, she is for militant defense of the UFW—but within the confines of Chavez' pacifist, defeatist policy and without any criticism of the latter.) Argue had more to say than others, but when pressed as to her differences with the MAC program, she said she had none. She objected instead that MAC supposedly refused to get involved in day-to-day problems and work of the union. At that point a MAC shop steward who was in the audience got up and exposed Argue's phony objection. She added that Argue's presence on the Local legislative committee without waging a constant fight for a break with all capitalist politicians was lending a left cover to the rabid supporters of the Democratic Party who ran the committee.

Burnham received 103 votes, or 15 percent of the total vote, for her class-struggle program and MAC received support from many union members who hadn't previously supported the Caucus. (The top vote-getter got 233, and the other winner for the two open posts got 192, out of 673 votes cast. Argue got 28.) Thus while the vote was not enough to elect Burnham to the convention, the campaign introduced the Caucus to new members of the union and made a strong impact in the Local. MAC represents the only kind of opposition capable of accomplishing the replacement of Beirne's reactionary bureaucracy, by creating an alternative leadership based on a full class-struggle program. ■

Spartacist Local Directory

BAY AREA
Box 852, Main P.O., Berkeley, CA 94701 . . . . . (415) 653-4668

BOSTON
Box 188, M.I.T. Sta., Cambridge, MA 02139 . . . . . (617) 282-0866

BUFFALO
Box 412, Station C, Buffalo, NY 14209 . . . . . (716) 837-1854

CHICAGO
Box 6471, Main P.O., Chicago, IL 60680 . . . . . (312) 728-2151

CLEVELAND
Box 6765, Cleveland, OH 44101 . . . . . (216) 651-9147

DETROIT
Box 663A, General P.O., Detroit, MI 48232 . . . . . (313) 921-4626

LOS ANGELES
Box 38053, Wilcox Sta., Los Angeles, CA 90038 . . . (213) 485-1838

NEW ORLEANS
Box 51634, Main P.O., New Orleans, LA 70151 . . . (504) 866-8384

NEW YORK
Box 1377, G.P.O., New York, NY 10001 . . . . . (212) 925-2426

SAN DIEGO
P.O. Box 2034, Chula Vista, CA 92011

TORONTO
(Committee of Toronto Supporters of the International Spartacist Tendency)
Box 6867, Station A, Toronto, Ontario, Canada

Continued from page 1

...French Elections

George Marchais, head of the French Communist Party, felt compelled to issue a call for law and order:

> "I say to my Communist friends and others: we must greet this evening's results in serenity and tranquillty. There must not be any tempestuous demonstrations on either side. I am sure that work will begin tomorrow in the factories with some bitterness; but the workers should leave their bitterness aside because it was a success nevertheless, because the future is with us."
>
> —quoted in *Informations Ouvrières*, 22 May

(In the Stalinist tradition the CP has in the last year been very busy making "serenity-and-tranquility" speeches, having ordered Chilean workers to give back occupied factories to their "rightful owners" last July, and now ordering Lisbon workers to abandon their strikes!)

The labor bureaucracy's fears are well-founded. For, if the working class in France today feels neither the popular enthusiasm of 1936 nor the fervor of 1968, a slow process of radicalization continues nonetheless. In recent months strike struggles have spread to banks and small industries while, for the first time in two years, workers in heavy industry (Thomson CSF, among others) and other important sectors of the economy such as construction (St. Nazaire) are taking up the fight.

With inflation rising to a rate of perhaps 20 percent this year as well as no evident lessening of the combativity of French workers and widespread discontent over what the bulk of the class considers a defeat in the elections, the possibility of a sudden crystallization of the class struggle is ever-present. In such a charged situation the urgent task of revolutionists is to offer a clear alternative to the bankrupt popular-front politics of class collaboration being preached by the Stalinists and social democrats.

Betrayals of the Ostensible Trotskyists

But none of the groups in France which claim to represent Trotskyism has been presenting such a program to the working class. We have already analyzed the craven capitulation of the OCI, which called for votes to the candidate of the popular front on both rounds (see *WV* No. 43, 26 April). Not only did the OCI capitulate to the illusions of the working class, but it even boasts of the fact. Pierre Lambert, head of the OCI, justified the vote for Mitterrand by proclaiming (in an election rally at the Mutualité):

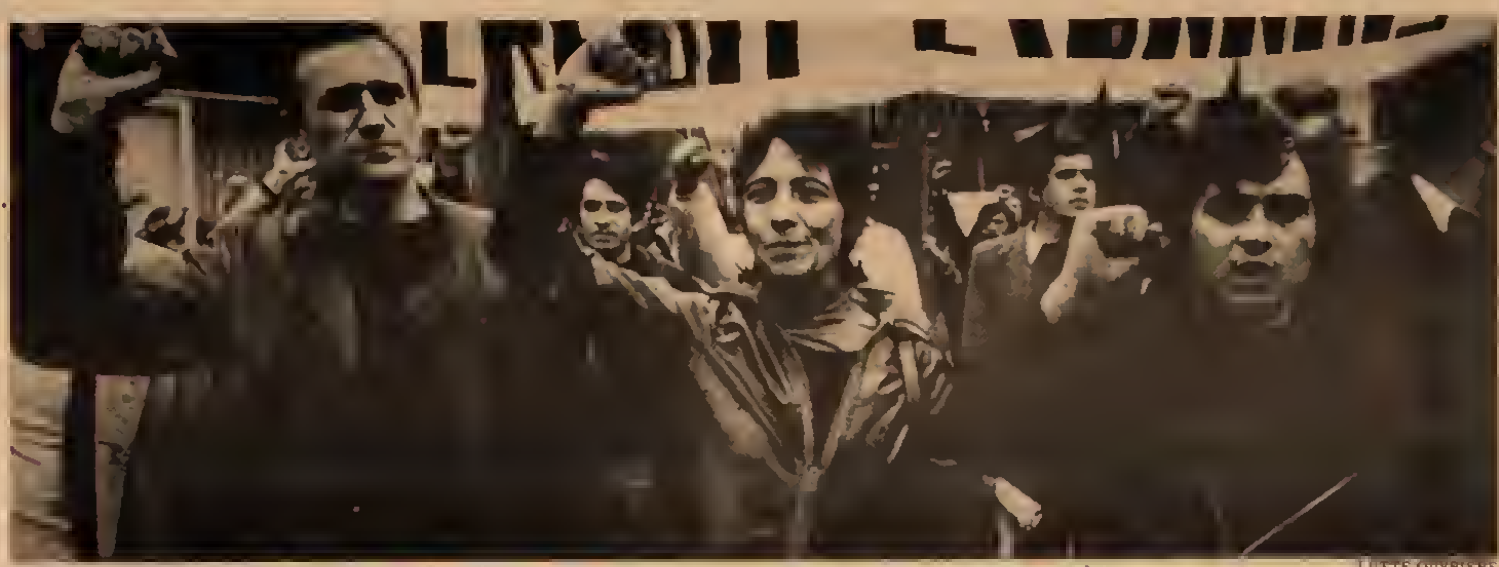
> "This class, with all its illusions, with all its weaknesses, its lack of culture, is the historical class, the one that will make the proletarian revolution.... And this is our class, and we don't judge it. We are not going to judge it. It is what it is."

Lambert went on to suggest that it would have been correct to vote for Allende in Chile in 1971, even with the knowledge that Allende would lead to Pinochet!

On the basis of the earliest election statements of the various candidates and organizations, the Spartacist League/US called for critical electoral support to the candidacy of Arlette Laguiller, put forward by the Lutte Ouvrière group, and no support to the candidate of the newly formed Front Communiste Révolutionnaire, Alain Krivine. At the time the newspaper of the FCR, *Rouge*, was pushing for Charles Piaget, a Catholic trade-union leader who led and then sold out the Lip strike, to run as "sole candidate" of the "revolutionary left."

As the campaigns of LO and the FCR developed, however, it became clear that there was no qualitative difference between them and that, if anything, Krivine's campaign was nominally to the left of that of LO. While verbally warning against placing confidence in Mitterrand, both campaigns amounted to a form of critical support to the Union of the Left, and neither denounced it as a popular front whose purpose is to tie the workers to the bourgeoisie.

In the first-round balloting Laguiller received almost 600,000 votes to Krivine's 93,000. The votes for both Laguiller and Krivine were of a mixed nature, representing opposition to or fear of the popular front, suspicion of Mitterrand and opposition to reformism. However, despite the fact that neither campaign attempted to awaken *revolutionary* opposition to the *popular front* as such (as LO and the OCI had attempted, although in a distorted and partial way, during the 1973 legislative elections), their independent candidacies, at least formally opposing Mitterrand, offered the possibility of a class vote against all sections of the bourgeoisie. Consequently a policy of *critical* (very critical) support for both Krivine and Laguiller would have been justified.



Lutte Ouvrière presidential candidate Arlette Laguiller marching in May Day demonstration.

LUTTE OUVRIÈRE

"Vote for a Woman, Vote for Arlette Laguiller"

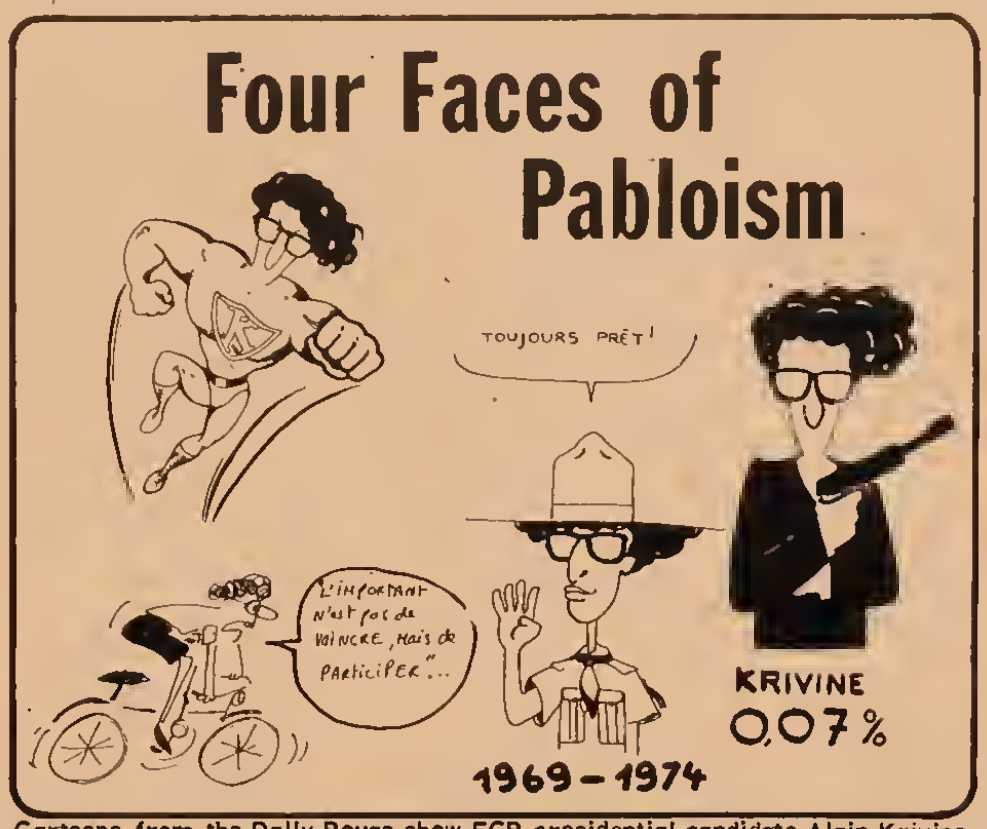
Lutte Ouvrière explained its critical support for the election of Mitterrand "because he is supported by the parties and the organizations which enjoy the confidence of the majority of the workers...because we are in solidarity with what the workers as a whole want" (editorial in Lutte Ouvrière, 16 April). LO insisted on this point: "If we, Lutte Ouvrière, support Arlette Laguiller's candidacy, it is not to try to make the slightest obstacle to Mitterrand's election" (*ibid.*).

In its main election tract, of which it printed some 31 *million* copies, LO failed to mention that Laguiller was a Trotskyist and, at least in the version printed in its newspaper, that she was sponsored by Lutte Ouvrière. Voters should cast their ballot for Laguiller, it proclaimed, because (1) she was a woman, (2) she was a woman worker and (3) she was part of the "extreme left." And who is that?

> "Well, revolutionaries are simply people who are for progress. But for social progress, that is, progress which improves the living conditions of the whole of the population and, in the first place, of the workers."
>
> —*Lutte Ouvrière*, 23 April

Furthermore, on her last television appearance before the elections, Laguiller appealed to the 53 percent of the population which is female to vote for her on the grounds that, as the only woman candidate, only she could represent women. The other main slogan offered by LO was "Vote against the right without giving Mitterrand a blank check": that is, cast a token vote for the "extreme left" as a form of support (but not too much support) for the popular front.

Lutte Ouvrière's capitulation to the popular front is but an extension of its consistent economism and workerism. In the face of such opportunist politics which masquerade as "Trotskyism," LO has had a number of split-offs in the last 18 months which, beginning from correct empirical criticisms of LO, have drawn ultra-left conclusions and rejected Trotskyism. It is under such circumstances that the policy of *critical* support can greatly aid the revolutionaries to demonstrate to LO militants who disagree with their party's blatant opportunism that it is only by fighting for the full Trotskyist program that the revolutionary mobilization of the working masses can be achieved.



Cartoons from the Daily Rouge show FCR presidential candidate Alain Krivine. On the bicycle he is declaring: "The important thing is not to win but to participate."

"Super-Krivine"

Once Piaget definitively declined to run at the invitation of his "revolutionary" hangers-on, the FCR geared up a frenzied campaign for Krivine which was characterized by the publication for almost a month of the *Daily Rouge*, undoubtedly one of the worst, most electoralist, campaign papers ever produced by ostensible socialists. It was aimed primarily at youth (which, since 18-year olds do not have the vote in France, is probably why Krivine did so poorly in relation to Laguiller) and featured a series of "funny" cartoons of Krivine: Krivine as Superman, Krivine as a cowboy, Krivine as James Bond 0.07 percent, Krivine as a gangster saying "even heroes sometimes need the ballot box," etc.

Aside from "revolutionary" posturing, the basic thrust of the FCR campaign was the same as that of LO: critical support for Mitterrand. In the programmatic interview published in the first issue of the *Daily Rouge*, Krivine declared his support for the candidate of the Union of the Left on the second round:

> "To a certain degree the election of Mitterrand would remove an obstacle. ...it could be the point of departure for a new surge forward."
>
> —*Intercontinental Press*, 13 May 1974

Mitterrand, claimed Krivine, has not concluded "any pact with significant sectors of the bourgeoisie." According to another leading supporter of *Rouge*," the socialist and Stalinist bureaucrats would like to consolidate their base by transforming the Union of the Left into a real popular front through an alliance with significant bourgeois forces" (quoted in *Informations Ouvrières*, 1 May).

So if the Union of the Left is not ("yet") a popular front, then what is it? The "theoreticians" of the ex-Ligue explain that "It would be more correct to speak of a workers' and people's government. This formula asserts the dominant role of the proletariat and explicity indicates the problem of the alliance" (*ibid.*).

And so Trotskyism is flushed effortlessly down the drain: François Mitterrand, candidate of the bourgeois popular-front Union of the Left, is supported ("critically") because the workers support him (OCI and LO), because he will open a "necessary stage" in the struggle against capitalism (OCI), or increase the possibilities for revolutionaries since he has not "yet" succeeded in allying with "significant bourgeois forces" (FCR).

What about Trotsky's warnings that a coalition even with the "shadow of the bourgeoisie" would tie the workers to the preservation of capitalism ("The Lesson of Spain—Last Warning," 1937) or his statement that "the People's Front is the main question of proletarian class strategy for this epoch" (letter to the Dutch RSAP, 1936)? And what of his admonition that the "workers and peasants' government" for the Bolsheviks represents "nothing more than the popular designation for the already established dictatorship of the proletariat" ("Transitional Program," 1938)? "Ultra-left babblings!" latter-day Pablos, Bukharins and Kautskys would reply. The struggle for authentic Trotskyism and for the rebirth of the Fourth International can go forward only by means of a bitter struggle against such renegades and revisionists. ■

Continued from page 6

Black Liberation Army...

Liberation Front, which will include revolutionary forces in every community. It will not be an all-black organization... The experience we have gained in the Black Panther Party, particularly for developing our coalition for working with revolutionaries in other communities, must now be transferred over, not into the political arena, but strictly into the military arena where politics have become transformed into warfare." —*ibid.*

While Newton was unquestionably the leader of the new, reformed Panthers, Cleaver was merely the most prominent spokesman for the lumpen-militarist wing. Most of the anti-Newtonites were not interested in Cleaver's sophisticated (and fantastical) Third-Worldist strategies, but only in his reassertion of the need for armed struggle today.

For the lumpen-militarists, the function of "Marxism-Leninism" was to justify picking up the gun. As one of their number, Elmer "Geronimo" Pratt, put it, "We start from the practical half of the guerrilla because practice is primary and only through revolutionary practice can we derive a correct revolutionary theory."

The lumpen-militarist elements shared a narrow social outlook. They believed that the only real revolutionaries in the U.S. had to be drawn from prison-hardened ghetto youth, and that the only friendly terrain was the black communities.

A little-known pamphlet put out in 1971 provides a valuable insight into the origins of a group like the BLA and the outlook of its members. Written largely by "Geronimo" Pratt, a leading anti-Newtonite then imprisoned in Los Angeles, the pamphlet announces the formation of the Afro-American Liberation Army:

"The Afro-American Liberation Army is a revolutionary military organization. It grew out of the contradictions caused by the criminal direction that Huey P. Newton and the rest of the "Peralta Street Gang" has taken the Black Panther Party.... The Afro-American Liberation Army is not a regular army but a guerilla army. Consequently it has no central headquarters that directs. It is directed by revolutionary principles and is made up of small units that are knowledgeable of the particular area in which they operate.... The major requirements for membership are adherence to progressive, revolutionary principles and above all, *action*." [emphasis in original]

George Jackson's Way

George Jackson was won to revolutionary black nationalism and joined the Panthers after being in prison for several years. Shortly before he was shot to death by prison guards in 1971 he solidarized with the Newton wing of the party and openly attacked Cleaver. Jackson, like many martyrs who die when their ideas are rapidly changing (e.g., Rosa Luxemburg or Malcolm X), has been claimed by all interested parties.

In reality, Jackson stands solidily in the lumpen-militarist current of Pantherism and can be regarded as an ideological inspirer of the BLA. Running through Jackson's writing is an obsession with violence that goes beyond reasoned strategic aims—a display of strength through vengeance:

"There are many thousands of ways to correct individuals. The best way is to send one armed expert.... Slay him, assassinate him with thugee, by silenced pistol, shotgun.... The counter-terrorist, faceless, nameless specialist in all martial arts is the first soldier of the people! His violence will be swift, surging, explosive and tied into a clearly political matrix."
—Jackson, *Blood in My Eye*, 1972

At his most political Jackson projects an underground armed force as an imaginary defense contingent for an open party:

"I'm convinced that any serious organizing of people must carry with it from the start a potential threat of revolutionary violence. Without it, the establishment forces will succeed in isolating the political organizer and closing down his project before the people can feel its benefits. Self-determination requires a small, hidden, highly trained army..." —*ibid.*

This conception turns out to be terrorism in the service of social workerism: the "project" Jackson is referring to is like the Panthers' free breakfast program. It is a peculiar, militarist-bonapartist conception of the revolutionary dynamic whereby the armed wing of the party first defeats the state apparatus and then the loyalty of the masses is gained by providing material benefits.

At the heart of Jackson's outlook is the concept of symbolic or exemplary revolutionary violence. The people must see that the cops can be killed, disorganized and frightened—the classic anarchist-terrorist "propaganda of the deed":

"All intellectual arguments against the necessity of counter-violence, even in the opening stages of a People's War against an industrial establishment such as the one in the U.S.A., are false. We must stop the debate; prestige must be destroyed. People must see the venerated institutions and the 'omnipotent administrator' actually under physical attack." —*ibid.*

From the Panther 21 to the BLA

The original cadre of the Black Liberation Army derived from the old New York Panther leadership which, in the main, went with the anti-Newton wing. Some of its members, like Richard Moore, probably visited the Cleaverite center in Algeria. However, the BLA does *not* conform to the concept of an underground armed force laid out by Cleaver or Jackson. Cleaver's and Jackson's concept of a black liberation army was the underground, armed *wing* of a hopefully mass party engaging in selected actions organically connected to popular struggles.

In contrast, the BLA was a loosely organized group, isolated from mass struggle and engaging in random, arbitrary acts for purely symbolic effect. Joanne Chesimard stated that the BLA purpose was simply to keep alive the spirit of black rebellion:

"The main function of the Black Liberation Army at this time is to create good examples to struggle for Black freedom and to prepare for the future."
—*Observation Post* [CCNY], 24 January 1974

The BLA's failure to conform to the Cleaver/Jackson program of an underground army tied to a potentially mass party is not one of conscious choice. Rather, the link could not be made because such a party could not be created.

The political conditions in the ghetto are now far worse for lumpen-militarism than they were in the Panthers' heyday of 1968-71. The "pork-chop" nationalists, which now include the present-day Panthers, have overwhelmingly defeated the "revolutionary" nationalists.

The political beneficiaries of the civil rights agitation, the ghetto anti-police upheavals and of "revolutionary nationalism" with its martyrs have been the Tom Bradleys, Coleman Youngs and Kenneth Gibsons. Because the ruling class is increasingly employing black politicians to administer the ghetto the need to destroy liberal reformist illusions as a precondition for even defensive violence against the government is far greater than it was five years ago.

We do not know the precise political development of the BLA from its origins in the New York Panthers. However, the conditions of the BLA's existence could only lead to degeneration—isolation from political life and mass struggle, recruitment of lumpen elements who do not need "Marxism-Leninism" to be willing to shoot it out with cops, the recourse to lumpen methods of financing. The whole tendency of the BLA's politics (such as they are—which is to say, very limited) is toward an ideological facade for lumpen rage, lacking any political character.

Not Urban Guerrilla War, But Proletarian Revolution

The Black Panther Party was formed in 1966 to transform the spontaneous outpourings of lumpen rage into an organized revolutionary war. With that prospect, the Panthers opposed "pork-chop" nationalism, that is, Democratic Party ethnic, reform politics. Both wings of the Panther split have subsequently betrayed this original Panther program.

This is obvious in the case of the present-day Oakland Panthers, but it is no less true of the BLA. The BLA has abandoned any attempt to organize a guerrilla war based on the ghetto because it could not be done. It has instead reduced itself to keeping alive the spirit of Watts 1965 and Detroit 1967 through individual heroics.

That all elements of the Panthers have turned against its founding principals is not the result of individual corruption or adventurism, although undoubtedly that is involved. Revolutionary black nationalism failed because black people do not constitute a nation and cannot liberate themselves separately from the rest of the oppressed sections of American capitalist society. Equality and freedom for black people can be achieved only under socialism, the result of racially united working-class revolution. The working masses will liberate themselves, organized around their class interests under the leadership of a Leninist combat party, without need for "guerrilla struggle" waged by self-appointed "liberators" speaking in the name of the "people." As long as they do not recognize this truth, black militants will always remain trapped in that dead-end between Kenneth Gibson and George Jackson, between liberal careerism and "revolutionary suicide."■

CORRECTIONS

In the article "Birth of the Zionist State, Part 2/The 1948 War," in *WV* No. 45, 24 May, it is stated that Jordanian King Abdullah explained to the Zionists that he "had no interest in occupying the Jewish districts." Rather, he declared his disinterest in occupying the areas allotted to the Jews under the UN partition plan. In the article "Balaguer 'Wins' Rigged Dominican Elections," in the same issue, one sentence reads, "By forming a political bloc with sections of the bourgeoisie these Marxists are paving the way for their own destruction...." The word "Marxists" should have read "Maoists."

Black Panthers at Marin City, California, August 1968.

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Beirne Maneuvers to Prevent Telephone Strike

Soaring inflation and a sharp decrease in jobs due to automation have left the poorly-paid telephone workers hard-pressed as the Communication Workers of America goes into 1974 bargaining. Even CWA President Joseph Beirne, who successfully resisted the efforts of militant New York phone strikers to improve the terms of the last contract, admitted that the terms of that sellout had failed to protect his union's members from the 17 percent inflation of the intervening three years: "Who could have imagined," he asked rhetorically in the April *CWA News*, "that the menace of inflation, which was then [1971] stealing heavily from the workers' paychecks, would virtually run amuck for another three years?"

Beirne, too, has been running amuck lately, but not in the sense of a militant struggle for telephone workers' needs in 1974. Like I.W. Abel of the Steelworkers, who recently extended his autocratically imposed no-strike pledge until 1980, Beirne has been devoting his creative energy not to curbing layoffs and inflation but to finding ways of eliminating strikes. His latest ploy, an announcement in January that AT&T had agreed to national bargaining with CWA, is a new smokescreen for his long-standing advocacy of company/union cooperation and the replacement of the strike weapon with more "up-to-date" methods.

"National Bargaining" Scheme—a Hoax

Beirne's main concern is to eliminate nagging local strikes, such as the wildcats in Michigan over the 1968 contract and the seven-month-long New York strike in 1971-72. In 1968, locals were given about 72 hours to ratify the "pattern" set by a selected bargaining unit and get the results into CWA headquarters.

Since this didn't prevent local strikes then, the next time around (1971) Beirne ordered members back to work before the voting (despite his so-called "rule" against doing just that) and held a nationwide mail referendum (despite earlier complaints about the union's being broke). This bureaucratic atrocity led to widespread discontent and formal rejection of the terms in New York State locals. Since the locals still had the right to reject the contract settlement Beirne had to grudgingly recognize the strike as official. Now this will be changed.

The new "national bargaining" formally institutionalizes the mail referendum, eliminating ratification by locals, and lends more authority to Beirne's "pattern," taking away the power of rejection by individual locals.

CWA President Joseph Beirne's "national bargaining" scheme eliminates locals' right to reject contract.

Bargaining for the union will be by six hand-picked national officers. Referendum approval of the terms, as in 1971, will no doubt be held after members are ordered back to work (if they are called out at all, which is doubtful). This virtually ensures approval of the terms as a fait accompli.

Furthermore, local agreements involving working conditions are settled separately under Beirne's plan, which means that the locals will be isolated and key issues will be sold out by powerless local bureaucrats. Working conditions are not "local." In particular, rectifying the lack of any sick leave provisions and eliminating the company's vicious "absentee control program" should be given top *national* priority. An operator in New York City who was on "final warning" for being out sick recently collapsed and died of a heart attack while on the job.

The real purpose of Beirne's measure, and the reason AT&T agreed to this "first" in CWA's "proud 36-year history," was candidly summed up in the *New York Times* (17 January) report:

> "It is hoped that the national bargaining approach will eliminate regional dissatisfactions of the kind that produced

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Class-Struggle Opposition in Oakland CWA Local

The Militant Action Caucus (MAC) in Oakland CWA Local 9415 ran a candidate, Kathleen Burnham, in elections for convention delegate this spring, on the basis of its class-struggle opposition to Beirne's bargaining plan and many other issues, including its call for expropriation of the phone companies and oil industry under workers control, for a general strike to oust Nixon and force new elections and for a workers party and a workers government.

The Caucus has a four-year history of struggle for its program in the Local. MAC fought last summer for a united labor defense for the Farm Workers against the Teamster/grower alliance, including demands clearly counterposed to the pacifism and liberalism of the Chavez leadership of the UFW: MAC called for "hot-cargoing" of struck goods by other unions and a California-wide general strike to defend the Farm Workers.

MAC has also been in the forefront of the struggle against racial and sexual discrimination. Its campaign program called for putting an end to discrimination through the struggle for a shorter workweek at no loss in pay to end unemployment and for equal access to all jobs and promotions through non-discriminatory, union-controlled hiring. MAC counterposed this program to divisive "Affirmative Action" quota systems, which do not make more jobs and invite government intervention to undermine unionism.

During the recent "Operation Zebra" program, in which San Francisco Mayor Alioto instituted a racist round-up of black males in the city, MAC raised a motion condemning this "vicious attack" which was "designed to fan racist hysteria." The motion passed overwhelmingly in the Local.

MAC injected another issue into the campaign, which it alone has been raising in the union. The Beirne regime has been notorious as a major supporter of anti-communist union-busting operations by the AFL-CIO in foreign countries, particularly Europe and Latin America. A Caucus leaflet issued during the Local campaign points out:

> "The American Institute for Free Labor Development is supposedly a private organization to support the development of 'free unions' in Latin America. Joe Beirne was the brains behind the idea of AIFLD and its treasurer. ... George Meany is its president. Its Board of Directors, however, reads like an international investors list—representatives of ITT, Kennecott and Anaconda Copper, Chase Manhattan Bank—22 corporations in all. With such a board of directors it should be apparent what kind of 'free unions' AIFLD wants—those free of workers control."

The leaflet goes on to expose AIFLD's activities in Chile. "Unions" affiliated to AIFLD in Chile include an organization of the same naval officers who were instrumental in leading the reactionary military coup that overthrew the Allende government, and a hodgepodge grouping including shopkeepers and professionals, some of the officers

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For Clothing Workers' Strike Victory!

For the first time in over 50 years the Amalgamated Clothing Workers has called a strike against the Clothing Manufacturers' Association. The clothing workers, largely black and Spanish-speaking women, have suffered even more from the runaway inflation than most other unionized workers in this period. Faced with import competition the Potofsky-Finley leadership has collaborated with the clothing companies to keep out Far-Eastern imports and hold down the wages of U.S. workers. The 1971 contract was so bad that clothing workers in Philadelphia wildcatted and assaulted local union bureaucrats. In this strike the clothing workers must win a substantial wage increase with a full cost of living escalator! A nationwide clothing workers' strike could be an impetus to unionization of the Southern textile industry, one of the bastions of the low-wage South. Organize the Southern textile industry with secondary boycotts of non-union goods! In an industry in which union leaderships historically capitulate to employer demands to cut wages to maintain profits, clothing workers must demand: Nationalize the clothing industry under workers control! For an international union of clothing workers!

WORKERS VANGUARD 25¢

No. 47 21 June 1974

Demonstrators in Portugal demand freedom for Saldanho Sanchez, editor of Maoist paper, Luta Popular, arrested by army for printing appeal for desertion.

Stalinism in Action

Portuguese CP Allies with Spínola, Opposes Strikes

Speaker at the Maoist rally in Lisbon's Rossio Square.

FROM OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

LISBON, June 9—The provisional government installed May 16 by General Spínola and the Movement of Armed Forces is a stopgap measure to preserve capitalist rule in Portugal. Despite the inclusion of representatives of various bourgeois center parties and the two largest workers parties, Communist and Socialist, already in its first days the new regime has been facing a grave threat to its continued existence. The Portuguese working class, suddenly released from half a century of stiff repression under the Salazarist dictatorship and now permitted to freely organize and to hold meetings for the first time, seized the opportunity to bring forth its grievances.

Factory and office meetings led to demands for higher wages, better working conditions, shorter hours, workers' participation in industry and an immediate end to the colonial wars. Soon strikes spread to the telephone system, railways, airlines, post office and public utilities. Workers at Lisbon's biggest shipyard, Lisnave, occupied the plant, calling for a doubling of wages and workers control. Plants belonging to Firestone, International Telephone and Telegraph and Timex were struck and occupied by workers demanding big wage raises, as well as the removal of at least part of the management accused of complicity with the "fascists" of the old regime.

The situation reached a high point in the last week of May when the city of Lisbon was paralyzed by a transit strike and the bakers walked out. Workers marched and demonstrated under red banners, hammer-and-sickle symbols and signs proclaiming "Down With Capitalism!" The country was placed in the throes of a pre-revolutionary situation with the working class defying the provisional government's urgent appeals for "calm" and order. For a period of days the government was incapable of stemming the long pent-up discontent of the working masses.

In the last days of May Portuguese workers undertook an offensive which could have led to a revolutionary mobilization of all the exploited masses. But the movement did not reach the point of dual power, characteristic of a revolutionary situation. What was lacking was a revolutionary leadership capable of raising the necessary demands to transform the massive seething dis-

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Canada: NDP Must Break with Liberals...4

Shea (left) and attorney Evserhoff following announcement of verdict.

DAILY NEWS

Killer Cop Acquitted in New York

Spectators in the Queens courtroom gasped in disbelief as a verdict of "not guilty" was returned in the murder trial of police officer Thomas Shea on June 12. The aquittal was an outrage—a blatant demonstration of the class and racial bias of bourgeois "justice," and of the vicious arrogance of the guardians of "law and order" toward the population they supposedly protect. At no point was there any doubt that the cop had cold-bloodedly murdered a defenseless 10-year-old black youngster.

"You Black Son-of-a-Bitch!"

At 5 a.m. on 28 April 1973 Shea, on plainclothes patrol in the predominantly black neighborhood of South Jamaica, jumped from an unmarked car to confront 51-year-old black mechanic Add Armstead, who was on his way to work with his stepson Clifford Glover, screaming "You black son-of-a-bitch!" Young Glover was shot in the back by Shea as he and Armstead fled in fear of being robbed and assaulted.

The jury—all white males except for one black female probation officer—found "reasonable doubt" as to Shea's guilt because of the possibility that he had seen Glover pull a revolver, as he claimed. Thus Shea shot a fleeing child in the back supposedly "in self defense"! The cop's story was patently false. No gun was ever found near the scene of the murder, though the area was thoroughly combed in search of one.

Moreover, Shea claimed he had stopped Armstead and Glover as possible suspects in a taxi holdup, described in a police alarm broadcast as "two male Negroes in their early 20s." He testified that he ignored their age and height and never looked at their faces because, "I was just looking at their skin."

Defense lawyer Jacob Evserhoff's presentation dripped with racist bigotry and innuendo. In his summation he shouted to the jury at the top of his lungs: "Add Armstead is not stupid. He is not a sad, pathetic, 51-year-old worker. He is a clever, clever, man who takes 10-year-olds out on the street at 5 a.m. to do whatever he does." According to the 11 June *New York Post*'s account:

> "'Add Armstead plays dumb for you' Evserhoff went on, dropping his voice to shade his words with scorn. Is 'the testimony of a man of this type and of this ilk,' he asked, 'to convict a policeman of murder? in South Jamaica? (voice rising) at 5 a.m.?'"

Replace the Cops with Workers Militias

The acquittal of Thomas Shea is an unspeakable atrocity against all working people and minorities. The unadulterated racism in this case was so gross that the setting could easily have been the Deep South of thirty years ago. And once again we see demonstrated and condoned the growing tendency of the bourgeois judicial system to reduce itself to simple "cop justice": the functions of judge, jury and executioner are carried out on the spot according to the arbitrary whim of trigger-happy armed savages.

Despite an openly racist defense this animal has now been turned loose on the streets again although he still awaits departmental trial for the pistol-clubbing of a 14-year-old boy outside a bar in March 1972. The news of Shea's release produced a wave of anger which rapidly spread through the black sections of Queens. The following night riots broke out with crowds numbering as many as 300 to 400, and the area was flooded with cops. (Similar outbreaks followed the original murder incident last year.)

The ruling class should have been terrified to death of the consequences of pulling such a "miscarriage of justice." Unlike ghetto riots, easily put down by the heavily armed police and armed forces, and even desirable at times for the bourgeoisie in order to maintain a useful level of "racial strife," united action by the labor movement can effectively put an end to such arbitrary "cop justice." The failure of the trade-union movement, including allegedly "progressive" unions with a high percentage of minority members such as District 65 or Hospital Workers' Local 1199, to take any action relegates the seething discontent of the black masses to expression in desperate and self-defeating ghetto outbreaks, as opposed to effective, organized struggle against their oppression.

Neither the police review boards pushed by liberals nor the "community control" of the police favored by various fake radicals can effectively control the cops, who are, after all, the hired guns of the capitalist class. Racially united workers militias can keep the streets "free from crime" far more effectively than the graft-ridden, drug-trafficking, murderous police, whose real job is to protect the interests of the ruling class. And by further uniting the working class in the struggle to overthrow capitalism this demand will hasten the day when the cops, like Nixon and the bourgeoisie that employs them, can be swept from power and brought before a real jury, not of their peers but of their victims, for judgment. *Dissolve the police—for racially united workers militias based on the trade unions!* ■

Shachtmanite Hypocrisy:

The RSL and Workers Democracy

In its *Torch* No. 11 (6-20 June 1974) the Revolutionary Socialist League (RSL) devotes a full page to a sanctimonious and thoroughly dishonest "Open Letter to the Spartacist League" which alleges that the SL "disrupted" an RSL forum held in Detroit on June 8. The "Open Letter" is a pathetic attempt to whitewash the anti-democratic and provocative conduct of the RSL.

About twenty supporters of the SL attended the RSL forum, along with perhaps an equal number of RSL supporters and a handful of independents. The RSL *Torch* alleges that "Through prolonged and repeated heckling, baiting and shouting—making it impossible for any other speakers to be heard—your supporters finally succeded in forcing a physical confrontation and their own expulsion from the forum." This is a shameful distortion, and nonsensical to boot. It should be obvious that, given the balance of forces, had the SL had any intention of disrupting the meeting, the meeting could not possibly have taken place. What did happen was that after protesting the RSL's bureaucratic limitation of speakers during the discussion period, the SL succeeded in walking out of the meeting despite the physically provocative conduct of the RSL.

After the RSL main speaker had given her long presentation, SL supporters as well as others in the audience raised their hands to participate in the discussion period. Despite the large number of SLers present and wishing to speak, only two SL speakers were recognized by the chair. After an RSLer from the audience was called upon for the second time when others who had raised their hands still had not been recognized, one of the SLers who protested this flagrant violation of workers democracy was immediately grabbed by RSL leading spokesman Bruce Landau and told, "If you don't shut up you'll go out on a stretcher." In the midst of general confusion an SL supporter stood up to announce that the SL was leaving the meeting. Apparantly anxious to escalate the confrontation, RSLers attempted to drown out this announcement with clapping, and an SL comrade was grabbed by two goons. When other SL comrades sought to move to his defense they were grabbed by RSLers in the audience. Finally the SL succeeded in leaving the meeting hall.

It is laughable for the RSL to now pat itself on the back for its alleged "great restraint," and ludicrous to charge that the SLers who protested the suppression of their views "tried to take control of the meeting themselves." But what is most absurd is the RSL's attempt to foist off on the working-class movement a new "theory" of workers democracy. The *Torch* treats us to an exposition of this "theory": "The sponsoring organization may decide to allow opponent tendencies to speak at its forums. If so, it will also reserve the right to decide how many representatives of those tendencies may speak." This is simply absurd! Supporters of the Spartacist League have the same rights as any other member of the working-class public. If the RSL wishes to hold politically monolithic harangues in meeting halls it is free to do so, but it can hardly claim that the "discussion periods" of its "public forums" partake of the principle of "workers democracy" when RSLers who have already spoken are recognized in the discussion while SLers who have not spoken are not.

Nor is this bizarre "theory" a local aberration. In Los Angeles the RSL has announced that only two SL supporters will be permitted to speak in any RSL forum regardless of how many SLers are present wishing to speak. In Chicago the SL was compelled to walk out of a forum where the RSL insisted on allowing only one oppositional speaker from the several groups present and then moved to physically exclude a member of the Revolutionary Socialist Group who protested this fraudulent "interpretation" of workers democracy. In Detroit the SL had previously sent a formal protest to the RSL over similar incidents.

Political cowards will always seek to hide behind bureaucratism and ultimately physical intimidation. The rotting corpse of the Workers League stands as a harbinger of things to come for the RSL. The Workers League, having stifled all internal political life and consistently "protected" its membership from exposure to external criticism by excluding opponent tendencies from its "public" meetings, is now left with the empty shell of an organization as the vast majority of its experienced and leading cadres have dropped out into apolitical cynicism. Unable to defend its positions in free and open political discussion, the RSL seems anxious to embark upon the same voyage of ever more blatant bureaucratism.

In contrast, the Spartacist League is justly proud of its long and unblemished history of defense of workers democracy. In the Detroit area, for example, serious militants will recall the SL's vigorous efforts to bring about a united front of all left groups to defend salesmen of left periodicals against UAW bureaucrat goons following the Mack Avenue wildcat. The Detroit SL was also the initiator of a united-front demonstration in defense of the imprisoned far-left militants in Chile. The Detroit SL is currently engaged in a vigorous campaign to defend Progressive Labor supporters at Wayne State University against administration harassment. Such examples give the lie to the *Torch*'s claim that the SL is interested simply in "invoking [workers democracy] in its own defense." But let us make this clear: we are interested in invoking workers democracy on our own behalf too. We reassert the right of our comrades to participate in forum discussions on an equal footing with everyone else. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

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Oppose Zionist Expansionism!

Israeli Trotskyists Call for Hebrew/Arab Workers Revolution

Editors' Note: The following is a leaflet distributed by the Spartacist nucleus in Israel at a June 5 demonstration in Jerusalem protesting the Zionist occupation of Arab territories in the 1967 war.

As every year since the 1967 War the left groups are holding a demonstration against the occupation [of Arab territories]. But this year the demonstration is taking place against the background of a governmental crisis, already several months old, the results of the recent [October] war and the efforts to arrange an imperialist deal.

The last elections for the Knesset, which took place in December 1973, proved that the Ma'arakh [the coalition of the Zionist "labor" parties] has been weakened—receiving only 54 representatives (in the previous elections they received 56)—and the strength of the Gahal [the rightist Zionist bloc headed by Menachim Begin] increased. This vote reflected a lack of confidence in the government, which was seen as inefficient in organizing the war. The governmental crisis is occurring under pressure from American imperialism to retreat from the Sinai and from the Syrian Heights.

The usual partner of the Ma'arakh for its coalition governments, the Mafdal [the National Religious Party], prefers not to participate in the new Rabin government but rather to set up a "wall-to-wall" coalition with the Likud [a rightist bloc which includes the Gahal]. As in 1956, under the pressure of American imperialism to retreat from the "Third Israeli Kingdom" (Ben Gurion's expression), the present line of division between the different wings of Zionism runs between those who accept retreat under U.S. government pressure (to be sure, giving up as little territory as possible)—the wing represented by Rabin and his possible partners in the next government, the Independent Liberals and the Civil Rights Movement (the liberal bourgeoisie)—and those who oppose any kind of retreat, the Likud-Mafdal, who pin their hopes on the replacement of Nixon by the Meany/Jackson wing of the Democratic Party.

The Terrorist Action at Ma'alot Pushed the Jewish Masses into Begin's Arms

The terrorist action at Ma'alot, for which the DPFLP [Democratic Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine] took responsibility, was the result of a desire to hit at the present imperialist deal, and that after Hawatmeh declaring three months ago his desire for a "peace" (i.e., capitulation to imperialism). This action pushed the Jewish masses into the arms of the Gahal and gave the Israeli government an excuse for its mass murder in the Palestinian camps of Lebanon.

As Leninists, the international Spartacist tendency of course opposes the imperialist deal and supports the right of self-determination for the Palestinian Arab nation. But a new reactionary war could not obtain the right of self-determination for the Palestinian Arab nation; only a proletarian revolution in the Near East under the leadership of a multi-national Bolshevik party [can accomplish this].

As Leninists we are prepared to give military support to the Palestinian masses, even when they are temporarily under petty-bourgeois leadership, if this leadership will undertake independent struggle against the Zionist state or the Hashemites, or the other Arab states. But we cannot defend in any way measures such as hijacking or murdering of children—even when the Israeli government has a heavy responsibility in this matter as well, by refusing to exchange the political prisoners for the children. Not even the Israeli government's vicious mass murder in the Lebanese Palestinian camps can provide any retroactive justification for the terrorist action at Ma'alot.

The War and the Israeli Left

The new situation, in which the Egyptian bourgeoisie has become a serious competitor with Zionism as the keeper of imperialist order in the area, must lead to repercussions not only among the supporters of Rakah [the pro-Moscow Communist Party] who believed in the myth of a "non-capitalist road" in Egypt, but also among all militants of organizations such as Matzpen (Marxist), Matzpen (Tel Aviv) and Struggle, which consider themselves revolutionary while holding the oversimplified theory that the Zionists are the imperialist fortress in the area against the Arab nations. This theory is used to help them justify their support to the Arab bourgeoisie in the last war. Among all the left groups only Workers Alliance (Vanguard) correctly defined the character of the last war as a reactionary war on both sides. But this fact is explained as a result of being influenced by Zionist pressure instead of that of the Arab bourgeoisie. This was proved by its refusal to adopt the internationalist position of turning the reactionary war into a civil war, turning the Jewish workers against Zionism and the Arab workers against the Arab bourgeoisie. By this act [the Workers Alliance] proved to be part of the same camp of those who block the way of the working class to reach Marxism.

Pacifist Illusions and Anti-Fascist Hysteria

The new situation in the area, which has resulted in the growth of pacifist illusions on the one hand and the strengthening of the [rightist] bourgeois Gahal party in Israel on the other, has caused the left groups to oscillate between chasing after pacifist illusions and hysteria, seeing the danger of fascism everywhere. No matter to which side they are pushed, they are serving the Rakah and the petty-bourgeois leadership of the Palestinian and Jewish protest movements.

Rakah is connected with the Russian bureaucracy, which believes that "peaceful coexistence" is possible with imperialism, and has as its perspective support for the Zionist wing which agrees to go to the Geneva talks (Ma'arakh). It leads the anti-fascist hysteria, arguing that whoever opposes the imperialist deal is responsible for the fascist danger in Israel.

But Gahal is not a fascist party, and its strengthening is the reflection of the increasing hold of the Zionist bourgeoisie over the Zionist petty bourgeoisie. There is no fascist danger today in Israel. Fascism, a movement of petty-bourgeois despair, can appear only in a situation of social crisis, not merely a governmental crisis as now in Israel, in a situation in which the working class is advancing but blocked by its traitorous leadership. In such a situation, the petty bourgeoisie turns to fascism against the working class.

We need only recall that [Jewish Defense League leader Meir] Kahane's slate received only 0.8 percent in the elections to be convinced that there is no fascist danger in Israel. What is more, if there were a fascist danger, no wing of Zionism could stop it, only the independent mobilization of the working class, only the workers militias could play this role.

DAVID RUBINGER

Israeli Premier Yitzhak Rabin

The Struggle group has since the war remained firm in its Stalinist politics by supporting the new imperialist re-division of Palestine as "a step forward." So also did Matzpen (Tel Aviv). The Matzpen (Marxist) group is connected with the revisionists of the United Secretariat, which for years has tailed after Nasserism and the petty-bourgeois Palestinian leadership (Hawatmeh) as part of the strategy of petty-bourgeois guerrillaism. (Guerrilla war is certainly not the proletarian path.) With the appearance of the Jewish protest movement, under the leadership of Moti Ashkenazi and with the slogans of "Ministerial Responsibility" and "Removal of Those Responsible for the Failure," [Matzpen (Marxist)] jumped onto this bandwagon.

Tailing after the leadership of this petty-bourgeois movement, it published the shameless leaflet entitled "Moti, Be Careful," in which it spread illusions about the possible "progressive" character of the movement instead of struggling sharply against the protest movement leaders in order to bring potential militants into the revolutionary movement (which requires propagandizing the full revolutionary program). Why should any sane person join a grouplet like Matzpen if he can be a member of a mass "progressive" movement?

The political line which guides this group [Matzpen (Marxist)], expressed in its action proposal for the June 5 demonstration [against the occupation of Arab territories], is cooperation with the liberal bourgeoisie (Moked, Ha Olamhaze) utilizing the argument of the "fascist danger." This line is, of course, the line of the "anti-fascist front," i.e., the popular front. The only reason why [Matzpen (Marxist)] does not already have support for or entry into a popular front on its record is the political situation in Israel and not its political line. It is a fact that it accepts the [Front Communiste Révolutionnaire] in France as a model, while the [FCR] supports the popular front of Mitterrand.

The Workers Alliance (Vanguard) is doing its part to spread pacifist illusions by publishing the leaflet "Let's Hear the Voice of the Youth for a Truly Just Peace Between Nations." This Stalinist formulation hides from the working class the fact that peace is possible only after the working class takes power. In the center of its propaganda is the organization of a reformist labor party and a democratic constituent assembly as the solution to national oppression, an approach which is nothing but open Menshevism implying the possibility of a bourgeois solution to the national question.

Lately, it has jumped into the swamp of "Arab revolution" theories, the horse whose tail it is grabbing being Habash (PFLP) in contrast to Matzpen (Marxist) which was tailing Hawatmeh [DPFLP]. These two "Trotskyist" groups together are ready to spread any kind of illusion, but not to raise the central issue of the unification of the working class against the state power. Behind the pacifist illusions that the left (from Rakah to Vanguard) is spreading hides the danger of a new war that no kind of halfway measures, no kind of class collaboration will be able to avoid. Only the united struggle of the Arab and Jewish working class under the leadership of a multi-national proletarian vanguard party, which will take power in all the Near Eastern countries and which will build a Near Eastern socialist federation as a part of a socialist world, can put an end to

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BLACK STAR

Palestinian refugee camp

Canada:

NDP Must Break with Liberals

On May 8 the minority Liberal Party government of Canadian Prime Minister Elliot Trudeau was toppled when it lost a vote of confidence in parliament by a vote of 137 to 123. Joining hands to bring down the Trudeau government over the issue of the 1974 budget were the Canadian Tory party, the Progressive Conservatives and the small social-democratic Canadian labor party, the New Democratic Party.

New federal elections for the Canadian parliament are scheduled for July 8, and pose the question of what attitude communists should take toward these elections, and especially toward the candidates of the NDP.

The last federal elections in Canada, which took place over 18 months ago, presented the New Democrats for the first time in their history with the balance of power in parliament. The Liberals won 109 seats to the Conservatives' 107 and the NDP's 31 in the 264-seat House. The NDP, true to its reformist, social-democratic perspectives, promptly entered into a tacit alliance with the Liberals, trading its support to the Trudeau government for minor concessions on such things as welfare spending, price controls on oil, etc.

All along the aim of the NDP was to maneuver for petty reforms, while proving its respectability to the bourgeoisie by not bringing down the government. As NDP leader David Lewis candidly remarked,

> "You cannot condemn the government for some of those things that you feel you ought to condemn it, in a way in which you'd like to do it, when you're refusing to vote it out of office."
>
> —*Labor Challenge*, 10 June 1974

In fact, the only occasions on which the NDP opposed the Liberals were those instances when it was clear that the Liberals and PCs would vote together, thus allowing the New Democrats to vote against the government for purposes of publicity and image-building without bringing it down. Hence the NDP broke with the Liberals to oppose a measure granting tax concessions to corporations, over a bill dealing with housing mortgages and legislation breaking the railway strike (after the NDP collaborated in drafting it!!).

The NDP Must Repudiate Its Bloc with the Liberals

While the NDP has been busy over the last 18 months in keeping Trudeau in power, it has also been replenishing its campaign chest and preparing for new elections at a time when it could hope to increase its relative weight in parliament. Thus the NDP vote of May 8 reflects not a repudiation of class-collaborationist coalitionism, but is simply a maneuver by Lewis and Co. to improve their position in striking up a new bargain with the bourgeoisie.

This is clearly revealed by the NDP's current campaign. The NDP proudly presents its record as a model of "making Parliament work," pointing to minor concessions allegedly "squeezed" from the Liberals, such as slightly increased old age pensions and family allowances, an income tax cut, controls on foreign investment, an export tax on oil and a bill requiring publication of sources of campaign contributions ("Look What the NDP Has Squeezed Out of Parliament," NDP 1974 campaign pamphlet).

While the NDP's "corridor coalition" with the Liberals has not been the focus of an organized opposition within the Canadian labor movement, there is, nevertheless, widespread disgruntlement with Lewis' craven capitulation to the Liberals. Indicative of this was the opposition of NDP MP (Member of Parliament) John Rodriguez, from the nickel-belt riding in Northern Ontario, to the NDP-Liberal coalition. Rodriguez twice broke party discipline to support motions condemning the government (*Toronto Globe and Mail*, 5 June 1974). In addition, reflecting a more general disgruntlement with the NDP, the number of local unions affiliated to the party has tumbled from 809 to 743 over the past two years.

The Spartacist League urges a policy of conditional opposition to the NDP in the current elections until such time as the NDP repudiates its past practice of entering into a tacit coalition government with the Liberals. While it is true that the NDP has not formed an electoral bloc with the Liberals and is in fact running candidates against the Liberals, it is equally true that it is doing this in order to better its parliamentary position against the Liberals—only in order to be in a better bargaining position to form a new tacit coalition. (If Lewis is successful in his maneuver and significantly increases the number of NDP seats he might even be able to force Trudeau into a coalition government, an authentic popular front between bourgeois and workers

Letter to an RMG Supporter:

Origins of the "New Mass Vanguard"

[Dear Comrade,]

Since being back in Toronto I've had a chance to reread Mandel's pamphlet "The Leninist Theory of Organization" with a view to corresponding with you about our discussion of it. In this letter I'll try to outline my conclusions.

Lenin's theory of organization is the theory of the necessity of the creation of a party of professional revolutionaries, welded to the proletariat, with the political programme of the proletariat—revolutionary Marxism. Lenin holds that this party must raise its programme in every partial struggle of the working class, and other oppressed sections of society; and fight for hegemony for itself and its programme in those struggles.

> "... our task, the task of Social Democracy, is to combat spontaneity and to ... bring [the working class movement] under the wing of revolutionary Social Democracy."
>
> —V.I. Lenin, *What Is to Be Done?*

Although Lenin's theory of consciousness clearly understands that the working class is composed of many different layers, with differing levels of political consciousness, there are only two essential categories in his theory of organization—the party and the masses. The struggle for proletarian revolution is precisely the struggle of the revolutionary party for the leadership of the masses.

Mandel, however, in "The Leninist Theory of Organization" has a *fundamentally different* model of the working class. He describes three distinct categories: the party, the advanced workers, and the masses.... It is the intermediary category of "advanced workers" which is peculiar to Mandel's analysis.

> "... The category of advanced workers ... is a function of their distinct historical origin, as well as their distinct position in the social process of production and their distinct class consciousness..."
>
> —E. Mandel, "Leninist Theory of Organization," p. 30

> "Without the conscious intervention of advanced workers, who inject transitional demands into the workers' struggles, there can hardly be the experience of revolutionary struggles on the part of broad masses. Without the spreading of transitional demands on the part of a revolutionary vanguard, there can be no possibility of advanced workers influencing struggles in a truly anti-capitalist sense."
>
> —*ibid.*, p. 18

Mandel's third category ("advanced workers") is an entity distinct from both the party and the rest of the class, with its own "distinct class consciousness," over which hegemony must first be won in order to be able to win the working class to revolutionary action. This conception lays the basis for the theory of the "new mass vanguard" or the "broad mass vanguard" or whatever its current designation.

Elsewhere in his document, however, Mandel also makes more "orthodox" formulations. For instance, in discussing the Bolsheviks' successful seizure of state power, we read that: "... the crystallization of a revolutionary workers cadre schooled in two decades of revolutionary organization and revolutionary activity was instrumental in making this decisive strategic turn [the struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat] a success" (*ibid.*, p. 12).

But what was the role of the distinct social grouping of "advanced workers" with their own "distinct class consciousness" in all of this??

The Leninist conception of the centrality of the struggle for programmatic clarity in the revolutionary movement is based on the understanding that to the extent that one's programme is not that of revolutionary Marxism it is bourgeois.

> "Only short sighted people can consider factional disputes and a strict differentiation between shades of opinion inopportune or superfluous. The fate of Russian Social Democracy for very many years to come may depend on the strengthening of one or another 'shade'."
>
> —*What Is to Be Done?*

(No comment is required on the recent withdrawal of the RMG [Revolutionary Marxist Group] from the scheduled debate with the Spartacist tendency here in Toronto.)

Mandel does not share this conception. Rather he implicitly holds an "empty vessel" theory of programme to be true for the "advanced workers"; i.e. to the extent that its "distinct class consciousness" (programme) is not Trotskyist it is "incomplete." Thus Mandel tells us that a revolutionary's orientation towards "advanced workers"... should be to try to spread some transitional demands among them. A Leninist orientation towards those workers is to wage a hard political struggle to win them to *our* programme, the Transitional Program, while engaging in joint activity with them to fight for the immediate needs of the class. (Mandel however, unlike Lenin, considers those who believe that "only those who accept our doctrine are revolutionary" to be "extreme sectarians" ("Leninist Theory of Organization," p. 13)....

The Spartacist tendency does not try to "fuse" with "the advanced workers" (or the "new mass vanguard") as a blob. Rather we seek, through hard political struggle, to polarize these heterogeneous layers and win the best elements to our programme (i.e., to incorporate them into our party). Mandel and the USec [the fake-Trotskyist "United Secretariat of the Fourth International," of which the RMG is a sympathizing organization], however, in their constant search for some instrument of revolution *besides* a Trotskyist party (the Communist Parties, the [Algerian] FLN, Castro, the [South Vietnamese] NLF, the New Mass Vanguard, etc.) seek an "organic union" with the advanced workers. This is reflected in the different types of trade union caucuses which are supported by the Spartacist League/US and the RMG. Compare our article "Class Struggle in the Phone Company," *Women and Revolution* No. 5 with B. Smiley's article on the Post Office in *Old Mole* No. 10.

In real life "advanced workers" are not at all a homogeneous layer but concretely are composed of Stalinists, Maoists, Social Democrats, trade unionists, etc. The role of Trotskyists in relation to these elements is to seek to split elements of them from their false programmes and construct a Bolshevik leadership—not [as Mandel suggests] to be helpfully suggesting "transitional demands" to them in order that the "broad mass struggles" can be extended "beyond the level of immediate demands":

> "The development of revolutionary class consciousness among the broad masses is possible only if they accumulate experiences of *struggles* that are not only limited to the winning of partial demands within the framework of capitalism. The gradual injection of these demands into mass struggles can come about only through the efforts of a broad layer of advanced workers who are closely linked to the masses and who disseminate and publicize these demands..."
>
> —"Leninist Theory of Organization," p. 17

This is *not* the Leninist method of winning the masses to revolutionary class consciousness. The "gradual injection" of "transitional demands" is really only the old economist s--- dressed up in new "Trotskyist" clothes. Trotskyists do not suggest "appropriate transitional demands"—we raise the communist programme for our era—the Transitional Program. We seek to construct a revolutionary leadership for the working class by winning the most advanced workers to that programme. As a comrade in the RMG recently remarked to me: "The Transitional Program is not a tool kit—it's a tool!" When Mandel ridicules "those who learn by heart a list of such demands culled from Lenin and Trotsky" he is talking about those who raise the Transitional Program. Instead of having to get by on the stale, old Transitional Program Mandel is prepared to dish up some of the "new" and "creative" Marxism that brought us Castro the "unconscious Marxist," i.e. the "creative" liquidation of the Trotskyist programme in favour of tailing whatever motion already exists.

Our criticisms of Mandel's pamphlet demonstrate both our fundamental political differences with the United Secretariat over the role of the Trotskyist party in making proletarian revolution and the profoundly revisionist character of that entire rotten bloc which is the USec.

If you reread *What Is to Be Done?* and compare it to the "Leninist Theory of Organization" I'm confident that you will conclude that whatever the merits of Mandel's theory of organization, it is not Lenin's.... ■

Tom

parties—in which he can "squeeze" even more.)

By adhering to a perspective of coalitionism, the NDP effectively throws up an absolute barrier to adopting any policies opposed to the interests of its bourgeois Liberal allies.

But for Lewis and Co., coalition with the Liberals acts as a buffer, protecting the NDP brass from demands by the ranks to carry out policies in the interests of labor. To any serious demand for a class-struggle policy they would logically reply, "But that would be unacceptable to our coalition partners and would bring down the government." And they are right. It is for this reason that popular fronts, even though often accompanied by an upsurge in mass struggle, tie the workers to the class enemy and represent a barrier to the emancipation of the working class instead of a step forward. This is the tragic lesson of Chile.

Militants in the Canadian trade unions must take up the fight to pass motions in their locals demanding that the NDP repudiate its past practice of coalitionism as a condition for labor support in the elections. Only those NDP candidates who repudiate and promise to vote against the NDP-Liberal "corridor coalition" should be given labor support in the current election. While the NDP remains dependent upon the unions for both electoral and financial support, its practice of coalitionism undercuts the very principle of independent working-class political action.

LSA, RMG Call for Votes to New Democrats

Two ostensibly Trotskyist organizations in Canada, the League for Socialist Action/Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière (LSA/LSO), sympathetic to the reformist Socialist Workers Party in the U.S., and the Revolutionary Marxist Group, sympathetic to the SWP's factional opponents within the "United Secretariat" (the European majority of Mandel and Frank), both urge a policy of "critical support" to the NDP in the elections.

At the same time, while neither of these two tendencies has in the past found it expedient to comment upon the NDP-Liberal bloc in their respective presses, both now denounce this coalition in a ritualistic manner. Hence, after sarcastically wondering why the NDP "was so proud to be the sole prop of the Liberals," the RMG hastens to add, "But one should not judge these gentlemen on the basis of past associations alone" (*Old Mole* Election Special, June 1974).

One can easily understand why the RMG would not want to judge the NDP "on the basis of past associations alone"—because if you judge from the New Democrats' actions in the last year and a half, then the RMG is in effect calling for votes for a new "corridor coalition" or worse! But where is the evidence that the NDP leadership has in any way changed its orientation and broken from the Liberals and coalitionism? There is none. Lewis' intentions to continue in this path are blatantly obvious from his campaign, which is based on his achievements in "squeezing" Trudeau for the last 18 months.

The LSA for its part is more graphic:

> "In the federal parliament, the NDP caucus kept the Liberals in office for a year and a half. They supported increases in the price of oil; they called on railway workers to obey the government's strikebreaking law; they voted for legislation to maintain the army and police forces. They subordinated the independence of labor to 'making parliament work'—while even Lewis admits that big business, not parliament, rules Canada."
>
> —*Labor Challenge*, 10 June 1974

But for the LSA this is simply a "mistake." Hence they have written a long article on "Why NDP Erred in Supporting Liberals."

Both the RMG and the LSA are running candidates in the current elections. What is striking is the similarity of the programs of these two factional opponents within the "United Secretariat," and the fact that these two affiliates of the purportedly "democratic centralist" USec (the LSA is the official section, the RMG a sympathizing organization) have maintained an utter silence about each other's campaigns.

The RMG, of course, tries to project a "leftist" image. "For the Working Class There Are No Parliamentary Solutions!" bellows the *Old Mole* Election Special. But the electoral program of these international partisans of "armed struggle" turns out to be no more than a hodgepodge of militant trade-union demands spiced up with a few slogans lifted from the Transitional Program, capped by the RMG's vague "maximum program"—a "revolutionary transformation of Canadian society" and the need "to re-orient the labour movement towards *socialist* objectives: that is, the exercise of political power by the working class and the creation of a socialized, planned economy" (*Old Mole* Election Special, June 1974 [original emphasis]). To top it all off, the RMG issued an election disclaimer dissociating itself from the Stalinist varieties of "socialism" in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, while curiously "neglecting" to add that it stands for unconditional military defense of the deformed workers states in the face of imperialist attack. RMG candidate Bret Smiley justified this at a press conference, stating that defense of the USSR was not "posed" at this time and justified the disclaimer by pointing to Toronto's large East European population who would misunderstand the call for socialism. The most generous thing that can be said of this young man and his close supporters is that someday they will likely be prominent leaders in the NDP—à la Willy Brandt.

Amusingly enough, the RMG's ostensible rivals for the mantle of Pabloite revisionism in Canada, the LSA, managed to come up with an electoral program, which while not qualitatively different than that advanced by the RMG, was nonetheless in some aspects to the left of the RMG's. Thus, the RMG speaks vaguely of the need to "re-orient the labour movement towards *socialist* objectives," just like any self-respecting Sunday socialist of the Second International. For Lenin and Trotsky the demand for workers control was a slogan to mobilize the workers for a struggle leading to the seizure of power. But for the RMG, workers control means only "No automation without full disclosure of the plans to the workers before implementation" and "Workers veto power over speed-up, changes in production technique and automation.". The LSA, however, at least calls for nationalization of chemical, communications, food and transport industries under workers control.

Yet the political bankruptcy of the LSA is evident in its call to "Elect an NDP Government," when it is perfectly aware that the current leadership of the NDP is firmly committed to the policy of forming a coalition government with the bourgeoisie; is firmly committed to subordinating the independence of the labor movement to "making parliament work." The LSA call for an NDP government committed to socialist policies is not a call directed at exposing the NDP as an obstacle to the realization of the socialist revolution, but reflects the illusion of the LSA that the road to socialism lies precisely through an NDP government "committed to socialist policies." Indeed, the LSA reduces the Transitional Program to approximately the same watered-down formulae advanced by the RMG in the hope that they will prove acceptable to any "left-wing" members of the NDP and aid in pressuring a rotten right-wing social-democratic party to the left.

But in spite of the programmatic eclecticism and opportunist intent of both the RMG's and LSA's electoral campaigns and in spite of their advocacy of support to the NDP in the current elections (notwithstanding the NDP's policy of coalitionism with the Liberals), the SL urges a policy of highly critical support to the candidates of these formations in the current Canadian elections as they represent an attempt to present an alternative, wretched to be sure, to the explicit class collaboration of the NDP.

One thing at least, these fake-Trotskyist groups do demonstrate: the utterly unprincipled character of the Mandel-Hansen "United" Secretariat and the urgent necessity to construct an authentic Canadian Trotskyist organization, section of the reborn Fourth International. ■

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...UAW Convention

Edith Fox to the convention, called for union reform and support for the Farm Workers. However, it also endorsed CLUW (Coalition of Labor Union Women), which is both highly bureaucratic (headed by former UAW vice president Olga Madar) and anti-Farm Worker (in order to appease the Teamsters). The Fox group called for "30 for 40" and a labor party in its convention election campaign, but dropped both of these demands in its campaign for local office, during which it joined forces with an incumbent financial secretary whom it had earlier criticized.

Phony Brotherhood Demonstration

A demonstration was called on the first day of the convention, ostensibly by the Brotherhood Caucus, which is currently in power at Fremont General Motors, and the UNC. This was strongly supported in a special "auto supplement" of the *Call*, paper of the Maoist October League. However, when they found that it was backed by "radicals," most of the UNC and Brotherhood leaders boycotted the demonstration. About 100 picketed.

According to the *Call*, one of the purposes of the demonstration was to raise the issue of layoffs. The *Call* supplement opposes Woodcock's demand for quotas on foreign imports, despite the fact that the Brotherhood leadership itself actively supports reactionary protectionist legislation!

This reflected a growing split in the Brotherhood. The elements supported by the OL cling to the conception of the Brotherhood as a "people power" opposition, when in fact the latter is simply a bureaucratic clique which no longer has need of the hypocritical "left" image that got it elected. The Brotherhood played no active oppositional role on the convention floor.

The demonstration was more of a side show than a serious opposition because of its lack of any real programmatic alternatives. The organizers of the demonstration refused to allow supporters of the Spartacist League to join the line, giving no grounds other than hostility to the Spartacist League itself.

It was left to the CMUAW to provide meaningful programmatic alternatives. Members of the Committee picketed with signs calling for a union hiring hall to combat racial and sexual discrimination, for international working-class solidarity instead of import quotas and a workers party to fight for a workers government. The Committee also supported the demand for a break with the Histadrut, and called for victory to Arab and Israeli workers.

CP-Backed Caucus Votes for Woodcock

The Auto Workers Action Caucus, a newly-formed grouping backed by the Communist Party, demonstrated conclusively that it is not any kind of opposition but a servile pressure group. In opposing Woodcock's three-year term proposal, Caucus chairman Lasker Smith pointed out specifically that he opposed the proposal but not the leadership. In the elections for officers, both Smith and Norman Roth, President of Local 6 (Melrose Park, Illinois) and another AWAC leader, voted for the "Woodcock Team"! ■

Continued from page 3

Israeli Trotskyists...

the national oppression as well as break the bloody chain of reactionary wars.

The National Question and the Permanent Revolution

Despite the reactionary nature of the Israeli state, it is clear that there exists a group with a common culture, common political economy and territorial concentration which fulfill the Marxist criteria for a nation. Recognizing the right of self-determination for the Hebrew-speaking Jewish nation (not all the Jews in the world) is necessary to any democratic solution of the national question.

The Palestinian nation must not pay the price of the tragedy of fascism in Europe, just as the Hebrew-speaking nation must not pay the price of the Zionist crimes. Two nations with the same equal rights exist in the same geographical territory. Any denial of the equal rights of the two nations only aids the spread of the nationalist poison.

Socialists must call for a bi-national workers state as part of a multi-national socialist federation of the Near East. But we cannot force this solution. The Arab and Jewish masses must be convinced that this is the correct answer. And although Leninists must argue that a solution of two separate *workers* states would be foolish and even reactionary, in the case that the masses choose a solution of two different workers states we would support this as well. It is clear that in such a situation the Jewish workers state would be smaller than the present Zionist Israeli state.

At the same time Jewish workers have a special responsibility, since their ruling class is responsible for the oppression of the Palestinian masses, to demonstrate solidarity with their Palestinian brothers through a political struggle against the reign of colonialism, racialism, religious nationalism and territorial expansion. Any kind of economist approach which avoids this struggle is the best help that socialists can give to the Zionists or Arab nationalism.

We must struggle against Arab nationalism to the same extent as against Zionist nationalism. As Leninists we understand that the nationalism of the Palestinians is a deformed expression of opposition against national oppression, but any kind of nationalism is reactionary because it hides the cutting line between the classes, between the oppressors and the oppressed. Any kind of support for Arab nationalism is simply supporting the oppression of the Arab masses by their rulers.

The conclusions of the theory of permanent revolution are completely clear in the Near East. There is no national solution under capitalism; a truly democratic solution for the national oppression, not only of the Palestinians but of the Kurds and the blacks in south Sudan, is possible only under a victorious proletarian revolution. The struggle against national oppression must lead to a revolutionary overthrow of capitalism. Any other approach, in the name of any kind of "tactics," is no more than a barrier to the revolutionary path of the international working class.

DOWN WITH REACTIONARY ZIONIST AND ARAB NATIONALISM!
FOR THE MULTI-NATIONAL BOLSHEVIK PARTY OF THE NEAR EAST!
FOR THE REBIRTH OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL!
FOR NATIONAL LIBERATION THROUGH THE PERMANENT REVOLUTION!
FOR THE RIGHT OF SELF-DETERMINATION OF THE PALESTINIAN ARAB NATION AND THE JEWISH HEBREW-SPEAKING NATION!
FOR A BI-NATIONAL WORKERS STATE IN PALESTINE!
FOR A MULTI-NATIONAL SOCIALIST FEDERATION OF THE NEAR EAST!

18 May 1974

Vicious RU Attack on Union Militants

Maoists in a Muddle

Rumors are flying fast and thick among U.S. Maoists nowadays. Two years ago one group would accuse the other of "waving the Red Book against the Red Book." Now that the compiler (Lin Piao) of the good book has been unmasked as a secret agent of "Soviet fascist social imperialism" and a purveyor of Confucius Thought, the pages of the Maoist press, particularly the *Guardian* and *Revolution*, are filled with charges of "PL mentality" and of outright Trotskyism.

What is going on? It would be difficult for even an insider to figure out, since the Stalinist idea of political "discussion" consists of boundless innuendo and slander. Rather than political struggle to draw the line between revolutionary Marxism and various reformist and centrist fakers, the heirs of the liquidator of the Communist International prefer more "edifying" methods: denunciations of opponents as "cop agents" and physical violence against those who are out of step with the General Line.

Judging by public polemics and the statements of recent defectors from the Revolutionary Union (RU) in particular, the current vitriolics apparently center on three crucial issues: when and how to build the vanguard party, the Leninist position on black nationalism and the fundamental lines of communist work in the trade unions.

These are central questions for serious revolutionists. The fact that U.S. Maoists have been functioning for years without a serious discussion of them is an indication of their political bankruptcy and thoroughgoing opportunism. But this is not the heart of the matter. More revealing is a recent comment by the RU:

> "... it must be stated frankly that at this point in the development of our movement, there is a certain amount of pessimism and demoralization.
> "This seems to stem primarily from the fact that many of us have learned through experience that it is easier to read Marxism-Leninism than it is to apply it to developing the revolutionary movement....
> "... Have all of us made many mistakes, some of them pretty serious? We certainly have. Have we been plagued by a tremendous amount of sectarianism in our ranks that has made unity a hard thing to achieve? We certainly have. Have we also been plagued by opportunism of all stripes that has succeeded somewhat in confusing some people and has also made unity hard to achieve? Yes, we have."
>
> —*Revolution*, May 1974

The RU's Fake Left Turn

It is this demoralization which is driving several of the Maoist groups into a frenzy, producing a dizzying merry-go-round of changing political positions. Most affected has been the Revolutionary Union, which has suffered a recent split by most of its black members (reportedly in the direction of the Black Workers Congress). In the complex jockeying between the October League (OL), RU, BWC, Puerto Rican Revolutionary Workers Organization (PRRWO), Communist League (CL) et al., Avakian & Co. are attempting to take up relatively left positions. For instance, recent issues of *Revolution* have published articles critical of the trade-union bureaucracy, against black nationalism and for the creation of a Leninist party now.

A couple of years ago Avakian would have denounced such positions as "Trotskyite" and "racist." Today the RU proclaims "it is essential to establish the vanguard Party as soon as possible" (*Revolution*, May 1974). But in 1970 it argued that "work to begin building the united front should not wait for the formation of a Communist Party" (*Red Papers* No. 2). In *Red Papers* No. 1, the Panthers were the vanguard; today "all nationalism is nationalism," and a bourgeois ideology besides.

What has happened to produce such reversals is that Avakian & Co. have been outflanked to the right by the Klonsky Family's October League. The RU's lack of success in worming itself into the labor bureaucracy is due only to its brainlessness at opportunist maneuvering. Its new "left" positions simply reflect the verbal militancy displayed by any out-bureaucrat until he latches on to a "piece of the action." Moreover, they have nothing to do with the RU's cravenly reformist practice. Thus the RU criticizes the OL for the latter's support to Arnold Miller, who is currently crushing mine workers' wildcats and enforcing gangster Tony Boyle's sellout contract. But at the time of the Mine Workers' elections in December 1972, the RU gave "critical support" to Miller!

Another example: the May issue of *Revolution* contains an article mildly critical of pro-Meany "UFW leaders" (who do you suppose they might be ?). But last summer when it counted, the RU did exactly *nothing* to oppose Chavez' criminal liquidation of the farm workers' strikes. On several occasions it attempted to get SL supporters, who did criticize the UFW tops' defeatist policies, expelled from picket lines (see "Meany/Chavez Abandon Strike, Turn to Boycott," *WV* No. 30, 12 October 1973). The RU's "opposition" to the Meany/"UFW leaders" policy is just so much toilet paper!

The RU's "Support" for Workers Democracy

When the Revolutionary Union was itself undemocratically prevented from handing out a leaflet stating its position on the Equal Rights Amendment (it opposes the ERA) at a Chicago International Women's Day demonstration this March, it suddenly discovered that:

> "... each participating organization in a coalition has the right to disagree with certain slogans, demands, etc. and to put forward these disagreements during the event itself, probably in the form of a leaflet, as long as it is done in a way that doesn't disrupt the overall unity of that event."
>
> —*Revolution*, April 1974

However, lest anybody jump to the conclusion that these Stalinists had suddenly rediscovered Leninist principles of a united front ("unity of action, freedom of criticism"), a gang of RU goons recently assaulted five members of the Militant Action Caucus, an opposition group in the Communications Workers of America (CWA), after an RU-dominated rally for women's rights in San Francisco on June 1. These militants' "crime" was to have handed out a pro-ERA leaflet! A MAC leaflet later described this vicious assault:

> "As we left the demonstration to return to the afternoon session of the CLUW [Coalition of Labor Union Women] conference, we were followed by about 20 or 30 people. There were only five of us. Hearing shouts from behind, we turned around. RU supporters and people from the Committee for Better Working Conditions viciously began tearing our literature out of our hands and shoving us down on the pavement. Serious injury was avoided *only* because a number of people from the demonstration saw what was happening and ran to defend us. A Stanford campus worker received minor injuries; two *Workers Vanguard* salesmen were hurt, one seriously. Vern Bown, a well-known speaker at RU sponsored rallies ... and a member of ILWU Local 6 *bit off the ear lobe* of one of our defenders. This savage mutilation gives an accurate idea of the savageness of the attack. The police arrived and attempted to arrest a black man who had joined in the defense effort. Thus, the RU attack almost gave the cops another victim to subject to Operation Zebra-style harassment. After arguing with the cops for a few minutes we secured his release. At the afternoon session of the CLUW conference there was general horror at the assault, which some participants in CLUW had witnessed, and almost everyone at the afternoon session signed a petition protesting the attack.
> "... CWA members know that we are not pacifists. Union members have a duty to defend themselves and their unions against gangsterism, scabs, police attacks on picket lines, and against all forms of company attack and strike breaking. But inside the workers movement discussion, not physical violence, must be used to resolve disputed questions and make decisions...."

WV PHOTO.

Bob Avakian

The Spartacist League calls on all tendencies in the workers movement to sharply condemn this thug attack against union militants. (The RU assault was denounced by the Socialist Workers Party in the June 21 *Militant*.) A good example of how united action can put a stop to such anti-labor hooliganism was given by Fremont, California, UAW members last year. During the summer and fall of 1973, supporters of the RU-backed newspaper *Bay Area Worker* repeatedly harassed and on several occasions attacked salesmen of *WV* and the Workers League's *Bulletin* outside the Fremont GM and Milpitas Ford auto plants. However, after the third such attack, the members of UAW Local 1364 (Fremont) voted overwhelming for a resolution affirming the right of all "labor-socialist" groups to sell and distribute literature at the plant. With its gangster-like behavior roundly condemned by the workers, the RU temporarily dropped its attempts at intimidation and slunk off with its tail between its legs (see "Fremont UAW Upholds Workers Democracy," *WV* No. 32, 9 November 1973).

Political Bankruptcy Leads to Gangsterism

The RU's "left" posturing and thug attacks are the expression of a frenzy growing out of its own internal turmoil. RU-brand Maoism can hardly be satisfying to any halfway serious revolutionary militant these days: support for "peaceful coexistence" with Nixon, the murderer of hundreds of thousands of Vietnamese; apologies for the "anti-imperialist" butchers in power in Ceylon and Pakistan; support for the Arab bourgeoisies who are now hobnobbing with Kissinger; occupying the Statue of Liberty for a few hours to demand, in effect, Nixon's replacement with the arch-conservative Ford; and fighting to retain the University of California Criminology School in Berkeley!

In the unions, having been rebuffed by the Chavez regime in the Farm Workers and the leaders of the Brotherhood Caucus at Fremont UAW, the RU now warns against giving support to "opportunists out of office." Yet it has no intention of organizing the necessary political struggle in order to replace the present hidebound reactionary union bureaucracy with a truly revolutionary leadership.

Its contradictions and political bankruptcy may lead the RU zigzagging from disaster to disaster along the path to oblivion, but its supporters would do well to avoid hastening its demise through inexcusable hoodlum attacks on its political opponents, which will not be tolerated by the workers movement. ■

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Phone Workers and the '74 Contract

WEDNESDAY, June 26
8:00 p.m.
Wayne State University
UCB—Hillberry

DETROIT

Guest Speaker: KATHLEEN BURNHAM
CWA Local 9415
Oakland, California
Militant Action Caucus

Auspices: SPARTACIST LEAGUE
Phone: 921-4626

Hot-Cargo Military Goods to Chile! Labor Out of the AIFLD!

One way in which the Socialist Workers Party and Communist Party attempt to direct Chile protests exclusively toward winning over bourgeois public opinion is by refusing to raise anything beyond even the most minimal liberal demands. Immediately after the coup last September, the CP and various Chile Solidarity Committees which it leads focused their protests around calling for intervention by the United Nations and U.S. non-recognition of the junta. Aside from the utterly reformist perspective implied by such demands, they are patently absurd—relying on an imperialist den of thieves to discipline one of their number, and calling on Nixon to rebuff the military dictatorship he helped place in power!

The SWP, which claims to oppose popular fronts such as Allende's class-collaborationist UP coalition, never mentions this in its Chile defense activities. Instead, all Chile work is conveniently liquidated into a wholly owned subsidiary, the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA), which never raises anything more frightening than a call for cutting off aid to the junta. Going beyond the demand of freedom for all victims of the generals' repression, this slogan purports to be a means of combatting the Pinochet regime. However, it leaves unanswered the fundamental question of which class can put an end to such bonapartist dictatorships. The implicit perspective behind the demand for cutting off aid to the junta, when raised in the absence of any explicitly revolutionary slogans, is that of toppling the Chilean butchers by pressuring Nixon.

For Independent Working-Class Action

In contrast, the Spartacist League has raised the Marxist perspective of a *working-class* defense of the endangered Chilean militants. Thus, while uniting even with bourgeois liberals to demand the release of the junta's prisoners (among them high-ranking military officers), the SL also raises demands of "No Popular-Front Illusions," "For Workers Revolution in Chile" and "For a Trotskyist Party in Chile."

In its Chile defense work the SL has placed particular emphasis on the "far-left" prisoners and calls for "hot-cargoing" of all military supplies to Chile, as well as demanding that labor break from George Meany's CIA-backed "American Institute for Free Labor Development." The AIFLD has been active since 1962 in setting up anti-communist unions in Latin America with U.S. government and corporation money.

The purpose of such demands is not to create the illusion that the Chilean junta can be overthrown by outside protests nor to engage in moralistic yet ineffective trade boycotts (such as the UN "embargo" of Rhodesia). Rather, we seek to realize concrete goals which would aid Chilean workers while emphasizing the need for independent working-class struggle as the only real alternative to Pinochet & Co.

The demand for labor action to prevent the delivery of military goods to the junta has been raised by Chilean workers themselves. In an appeal which was smuggled out of Santiago and published in the French CP newspaper *L'Humanité* (9 January 1974) underground militants call on their working-class brothers and sisters around the world: "The Chilean people calls on port workers to refuse to load arms and munitions to be used against their brothers, the workers of Chile" (see "No Arms for the Murderous Junta!").

In the U.S. the call for labor action against the reactionary junta was raised immediately after the coup by the Militant-Solidarity Caucus of the National Maritime Union. In a resolution printed in a supplement to the M-SC newspaper, the *Beacon*, this class-struggle union opposition group demanded:

> "RESOLVED, that the NMU membership at this September N.Y. Port meeting go on record as supporting Chilean workers against the military junta, through such appropriate measures as economic and other assistance to Chilean workers' organizations and political refugees, and a boycott of Chilean ports."
>
> —reprinted in *WV* No. 29, 28 September 1973

British Workers "Black" Arms to Chile

An indication of the powerful potential impact of efforts by militant unionists to undertake labor action against the junta is the recent partially successful agitation by left-wing British Labour Party and trade-union leaders to impose a "black ban" on military goods for Chile. In order to prevent a revolt by Labour backbenchers in Parliament (130 of whom had signed a petition calling for a total ban of arms exports), the government was forced to announce on March 27 the cancellation of economic aid, a ban on new arms contracts and a review of existing military contracts with Chile (*Manchester Guardian Weekly*, 6 April).

However, two weeks later Foreign Office Secretary James Callaghan announced the government would deliver four ships (two frigates and two submarines) which had been previously ordered. Callaghan's excuse was the need to uphold contractual obligations in order not to jeopardize orders for military equipment from other Latin American countries (Brazil, Mexico and Venezuela have current orders totalling $485 million), the loss of $121 million due for the Chilean ships and the fact that the Chilean order had been placed some years ago (*Le Monde*, 12 and 17 April).

This decision was protested by a leading Labour left winger, Minister of Industry Eric Heffer. Even more important was the action undertaken by shop stewards of the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers (AUEW) at the Rolls Royce plant in East Kilbride, Lanarkshire. After the recent elections the Rolls Royce workers had sent telegrams to AUEW headquarters and the Labour Party demanding that they implement Labour's call for an arms embargo (issued when it was in opposition last fall). Then, shortly after the March 27 announcement, Rolls Royce stewards announced a black ban on any work on eight Hawker Hunter aircraft engines which had been sent by the Chilean military for overhauling (*Militant* [London], 10 May; *Workers Press*, 15 May).

Under pressure from a militant rank and file, AUEW president Hugh Scanlon was forced to back up this initiative; the union's national council passed an emergency resolution requesting that all work on arms and military equipment for Chile be ended. The order was implemented by workers at one Clydeside shipyard who immediately stopped work on the two frigates. At that point the British Defense Ministry hired scab labor to finish the job and one of the ships was turned over to the Chilean ambassador on May 25, in a ceremony marked by strict security measures. (AUEW members at another yard, however, voted not to stop work on the submarines, concerned that they might face unemployment as a result.)

SL Initiates Picketing of Chilean Ships

In the U.S. there has to date been no significant union action against the Chilean junta. However, outraged by the murder of six longshore labor leaders by Pinochet's butchers, the San Francisco dockers local of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) passed a resolution last November calling for a boycott of Chilean shipping:

> "Local # 10 goes on record to boycott all goods and cargo to and from Chile until such a time that the junta or government in Chile restores full rights to the trade unions, their membership and leaders and until the junta permits a delegation of trade unionists from the U.S. to visit Chile and determine for themselves the status of the unions and their members in Chile. We refer this matter to the International and the Coast Committee with a strong recommentation for positive action."

The Bridges leadership and CP supporters in the union have ignored the Local 10 resolution, effectively turning it into a dead letter. Yet it is their own comrades and co-thinkers who are being murdered in Chile. Six dockers' union leaders are shot in Chile; CP head Corvalàn is brought to "trial" in Santiago—and CP supporters in the ILWU do nothing! The defeatist and counterrevolutionary character of Stalinism could not be clearer.

The SL gives critical support to the ILWU Local 10 resolution and calls for its enforcement. A total embargo of trade with Chile was a correct and necessary step in the immediate aftermath of the coup. Today, however, it cannot substantially aid efforts to overthrow the junta. A more selective boycott halting all military supplies bound for Chile could be imposed with considerable impact. But even if the Local's call for a total trade boycott could now be interpreted in a moralistic or utopian manner, its implementation would certainly be an important demonstration of international proletarian solidarity.

continued on page 9

Appeal from Chilean Workers:

"No Arms for the Murderous Junta!"

The Chilean people, its women, its youth, its children, call on the workers and democrats of the entire world to prevent industrialists and governments from delivering arms and munitions to the criminals.

The Chilean people calls on port workers to refuse to load arms and munitions to be used against their brothers, the workers of Chile. The generals have assassinated the labor leaders of the port of San Antonio: Nestor Rojo, Samuel Munez, Armando Jimenez, Guillermo Alvarez. Other dock workers were shot in Antofagasta and Iquique.

In the name of the 100,000 shot in the greatest premeditated genocide in Latin American history, the Chilean people calls on workers and democrats of the entire world to repudiate the usurping junta and to vigorously condemn its crimes.

No arms to Chile! Not one single bullet for the assassin generals! Not one single tank, not one single helicopter. No arms of any type for the fascist tyrants, murderers of the Chilean people!

We must prevent the blood of the Chilean people from being further spilled by the dictatorship!

—reprinted in *Política Obrera*, 2 February 1974

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CWA's Militant Action Caucus and Militant-Solidarity Caucus of NMU call for labor action against Chilean junta.

Clothing Workers' Strike Wins Nothing

The recent eight-day strike by the Amalgamated Clothing Workers against the Clothing Manufacturers' Association (producers of men's and boys' suits, sport jackets and topcoats) is the union's first industry-wide strike in over fifty years, as well as the U.S.' largest strike (involving roughly 150,000 workers) in many months. The Amalgamated strike represents in a concentrated form all the pressures now besetting American workers—conditions of runaway inflation and recession; the special oppression of black, Spanish-speaking and women workers; increasing industrial imports; and an entrenched, conservative bureaucracy confronting an economically desperate membership.

For the clothing workers this unprecedented strike was an attempt to reverse more than half a decade of falling real wages. But for the Amalgamated leadership the action was a device now commonly employed by bureaucrats feeling pressure from below: a quickie walkout to cut the edge of rank-and-file militancy, and then a settlement for minimal gains that could have been negotiated with no strike at all. (The spring 1973 Rubber Workers' strike is a similar case.)

The originally stated bargaining goals were $1.10 per hour, spread over three years, plus a cost-of-living escalator clause. If this had been won, clothing workers would have *partly* recovered the wage cuts suffered through the last two contracts. As it turned out, the strike settlement was for $1.00 (roughly 9 percent a year, or less than the current rate of inflation) with a cost-of-living adjustment only in the *third* year and with a maximum of *10 cents*. At best this pact freezes clothing workers' wages well below what they were making a decade ago; more likely, however, is that their wages will continue to fall as inflation out-races the money increases.

Paverty-Level Wages

The women sewing-machine operators in the Amalgamated Clothing Workers (ACW) and International Ladies Garment Workers (ILGWU) are the poorest section of unionized industrial labor. Largely black and Spanish-speaking, many of these women are the sole support of large families and probably earn less than the official government poverty standards. Situated in a relatively competitive industry, facing increasing imports and with many non-union shops, apparel manufacturers are committed to poverty-level wages.

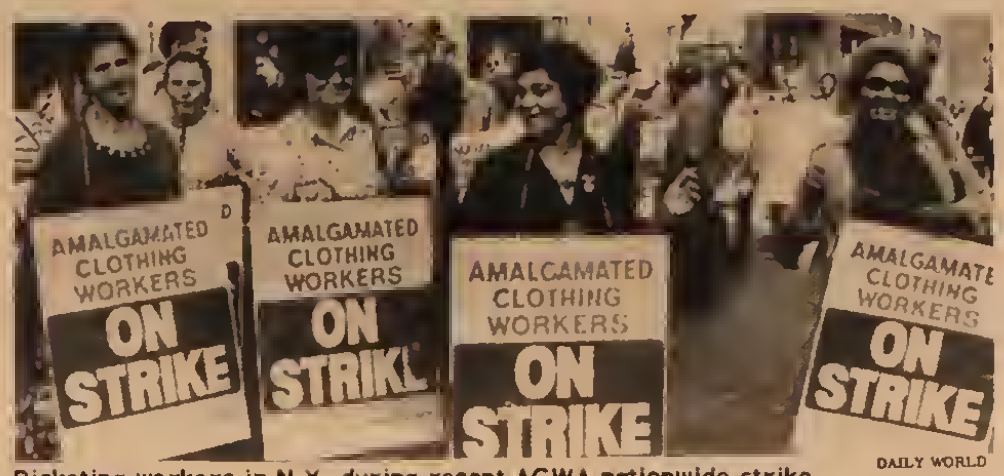
Fearing that a wage offensive would drive its organized shops either out of business or out of the union contract, the Amalgamated bureaucracy has for many decades accepted near-sweatshop-level wages. The apparel trades are, in fact, the home town of the sweetheart contract. (ACW leaders pioneered binding arbitration in the 1920's.) Never having faced a serious internal opposition, the union's leadership from Hillman to Finley has not even pretended to try to maximize its members' incomes.

Rather its goal has been to maintain a high enough rate of exploitation—and, therefore, low enough wages—to ensure "healthy" industry profits. This is common knowledge in the labor movement. As a *New York Times* (6 June) editorial on the strike commented:

> "... the average of $3.50 an hour in the clothing industry is far below those in steel, autos and most other manufacturing industries, a reflection in part of the Amalgamated's recognition that the competitive position of companies operating under union contract, and therefore the security of their workers' jobs, would be jeopardized if wages ran too far ahead of non-union shops."

(The *Times* is wrong to attribute the ACW "restraint" in wages bargaining in the tailored clothing contracts to non-union competition. This particular industry, unlike other segments of apparel production, is 95 percent union-shop.)

The clothing workers have never had a cost-of-living escalator in their contracts. During the 1950's and early 1960's, small wage increases kept slightly ahead of inflation while leaving clothing workers at the bottom of the industrial working class. However, when the Vietnam war inflation began in 1967 real wages began to plummet. The 1971 contract, which continued this pattern, produced the first major crisis for the union leadership since the early 1930's.



DAILY WORLD

Picketing workers in N.Y. during recent ACWA nationwide strike.

Philadelphia 1971: The Dam Cracks

The 1970-71 recession hit the men's tailored clothing industry fairly hard. Trying to offset bad business conditions, the Amalgamated leadership of Potofsky and Rosenblum negotiated a contract that was a new low even by their abysmal standards. There was to be a 60-cent wage increase over three years, all of *six cents* more than the wage gain in the 1968 contract. In return for this munificent sum the union gave up all control over automation, allowing a major cutback in the employment of cutters.

This time the ranks exploded. A major wildcat began in the smaller cities of eastern Pennsylvania. Busloads, mainly composed of cutters, spread the strike to Philadelphia, the second largest center of the industry. Many, if not most, of Philadelphia's men's suit factories were shut down. As many as 2,500 enraged clothing workers picketed the local Amalgamated headquarters for more than a week. Forced to call a special meeting, Anthony Cortigene (head of the Philadelphia local) was well protected by goons as he attempted to convince the angry membership that it was a good contract given the economic conditions. Nevertheless, he was shouted off the platform.

In the absence of a strong organized opposition, the strike petered out after a week. The June 1971 walkout changed the attitudes of the more union-conscious Amalgamated members, yet did not and could not pose an immediate threat to the entrenched International machine. Nonetheless, for one tense week a union leadership which has always been more concerned about satisfying the Hart, Schaffner and Marx stockholders than its own members was forced to regard the face of class hatred.

The Bureaucracy Against Black and Spanish-Speaking Women

The American labor bureaucracy is divided from its base not only in terms of interest, but increasingly in terms of social composition as well. The Internationals' leaderships consist of older white males (the average age of the AFL-CIO Executive Board is roughly that of a World War I veterans association) facing a membership that is distinctly younger and with a much higher percentage of minorities and women.

This social isolation of the bureaucracy from the ranks is particularly pronounced in the Amalgamated. Whereas most union bureaucracies originated in the 1930's, the ACW leadership—Hillman who died in 1946, Potofsky and Rosenblum who retired within the past two years—came out of a strike in *1910!* The Amalgamated bureaucracy is so divorced from the ranks that the current leaders, Murray Finley and Jacob Sheinkman, were never clothing workers but rather labor lawyers who chose careers as union functionaries. The top echelons of the union are largely Jewish, reflecting the early ethnic composition of the industry, while local leaders in the main East Coast centers tend to be Italian.

The membership is itself sharply divided between the skilled male cutters, who are Italian and to a lesser extent Jewish, and the black and Spanish-speaking female sewing machine operators. The cutters are the most union-conscious; it was they who provided the backbone of the 1971 wildcat. However, the cutters have generally supported the old Hillman-Potofsky regime, partly out of traditional loyalism and partly for reasons of ethnic solidarity.

The apparel trades have the single largest concentration of black and Spanish-speaking unionized women workers in the U.S. and are, therefore, a focus of the relationship between this most oppressed layer of the proletariat and the labor bureaucracy. The poverty-level wages and extreme class collaboration of the Amalgamated are solidly rooted in racial and sexual oppression. This oppression is reflected in the political and cultural backwardness of the sewing machine operators, who have to date been unable to generate from within their own ranks any significant opposition to or even pressure groups on the bureaucracy. In turn, the more union-conscious, militant cutters have not appealed to these minority women workers or seen their potential as an enormous reser-

DAILY WORLD

New York clothing workers picket Amalgamated headquarters in Union Square in 1971 to protest sell-out contract.

voir of combativeness against the worst kind of business unionism.

Finley and Sheinkman have used the strike to project an image of a renovated militant leadership. Actually, the fact that there are new top officers for the 1974 contract negotiations is essentially an accident of biology (Potofsky and Rosenblum couldn't arrest their own aging), although the 1971 rebellion may have helped push the old boys out. Finley (former head of the Chicago local) and Sheinkman (ex-chief counsel of the union) are the long-time lieutenants and hand-picked successors of the ancient Amalgamated regime.

In fact, both played a major role in negotiating the 1971 contract. Nevertheless, Finley/Sheinkman have to be more sensitive to rank-and-file sentiment than Potofsky/Rosenblum, who probably thought they owned the Amalgamated and that its membership worked for them. While the previous leadership would bave negotiated the same terms in 1974 without a strike, Finley/Sheinkman let the militants hit the bricks for a few days to blow off steam before selling them out.

Falling Production and Conglomerate Takeovers

Like the 1971 sellout contract, the recent equally wretched strike settlement has been justified by the bureaucracy on the grounds of poor economic conditions in the men's tailored clothing industry. With falling real wages, the result of sky-rocketing prices in necessities like food and fuel, there is naturally less demand for semi-luxuries like men's suits. According to the U.S. Bureau of the Census (*Current Industrial Reports*, Series M23B), suit production dropped from 18.5 million in 1972 to 16.8 million in 1973. With declining production in a relatively competitive industry, profits likewise fell. Dun and Bradstreet reported that in 1973 the men's clothing industry operated, on the average, at a loss (*New York Times*, 5 June).

Faced with impending bankruptcy, many of the older manufacturers of men's suits have sold out to conglomerates. During the past several years major suit manufacturers who have folded include Joseph H. Cohen, which was taken over by Rapid American; J. Schoeneman, taken over by Cluett; and Peabody and Joseph & Feiss, bought out by Phillips-Van Heusen. Each of these acquiring firms is among the top 500 U.S. corporations in manufacturing or retailing. Thus the firms manufacturing men's tailored clothing definitely do have the financial resources to grant large wage increases from their more profitable (often non-union) operations.

However, the conglomerates offer enormous resistance to such wage increases and have the material means to do so. They can take a long strike affecting only a fraction of their total production and are readily willing to close down an unprofitable or merely inadequately profitable line of business. Thus the entire trend of the apparel industry, particularly men's tailored clothing, is to weaken the bargaining power of the unions.

Import Competition and "Yellow Peril" Chauvinism

During the past fifteen years the U.S. apparel industry has faced major import competition from the Far East. Domestic production of men's suits peaked at 21.2 million in 1969 and has fallen sharply since then, while suit imports have increased steadily. Consequently, the major political activity of the ACW and ILGWU over the past decade and a half has been to lobby for quotas on clothing imports. By collaborating with the reactionary non-union Southern textile magnates, the apparel trades were able to pressure the Kennedy administration into imposing a quota on cotton goods.

However, the effect of this legislation has been largely dissipated by the increasing use of synthetic fibres. Since the passage of the cotton goods quota, the Amalgamated's protectionist lobbying has been singularly unsuccessful. Up to now the American ruling class has not been willing to damage its Far Eastern client states, like South Korea and Taiwan, or to worsen its relations with Japan for the sake of a marginal section of U.S. capitalism. (Protection from import competition for key U.S. industries like steel and auto is quite a different priority.)

Having failed thus far to expand import quotas through lobbying, the Amalgamated and ILGWU bureaucracies have carried out major "Buy American" campaigns appealing to the worst kind of "yellow peril" racism. For example, the Amalgamated frequently pickets stores selling Far Eastern suits, claiming they are produced under "unsanitary" conditions.

Japanese apparel unions have repeatedly appealed to their American counterparts to negotiate a common stand on international trade. The Amalgamated has turned down all such appeals out-of-hand, thus encouraging the Japanese unions to look to their own capitalist class for "protection." United with the strong Japanese labor movement, there is a solid basis for an international clothing workers union which could significantly raise the wages of workers throughout the Far East. The Amalgamated bureaucracy, however, rejected the policy of international class solidarity, relying instead on political collaboration with the clothing and textile companies and on chauvinist demagogy.

Nationalize the Clothing Industry Under Workers Control!

An essential difference between revolutionary socialists and both the present reactionary union bureaucracy and many of the reformist fake militants who seek to join it is that the latter believe the present system can produce limitless wealth and allow ever-increasing benefits for the working masses. In reality, the economics of capitalism in its period of imperialist decline mean that trade-union struggles, however militant, cannot in the long run prevent falling wages or unemployment.

The structure of the U.S. clothing industry, its international noncompetitiveness and the increasing dominance of conglomerate ownership make it virtually impossible to reverse the low-wage system and attain more normal industrial wage levels through purely union activity. When a group of capitalists claims that anything above poverty-level wages will drive them out of business, the labor movement must have but one response—nationalize that industry, without compensation, under workers control!

There is another important reason why we call for nationalizing the U.S. clothing industry: in contrast to the national chauvinist bureaucracy, a class-struggle union leadership must energetically oppose import protectionism and call for an international clothing workers union. Demanding import quotas effectively allies the labor movement with its own capitalist class and against the working people of other countries, ultimately leading to wars over markets and spheres of exploitation. But the economic benefits of free trade must not come at the expense of American workers. Only by nationalizing the clothing industry under workers control will it be possible to answer the legitimate fears of U.S. clothing workers that free trade will result in massive unemployment for them.

Thus in every respect a program for victory, even in a single strike such as the clothing workers' recent walkout, requires a perspective of taking the struggle beyond the narrow limits of capitalism. Only by creating a society in which the interests of the international working class are dominant, not the profits of a handful of greedy parasites, can the needs of those who produce the wealth of society be met. ■

Continued from page 7

...Chile

In February the Spartacist League set up a picket line in front of a Chile-bound ship at the San Francisco docks. Sympathetic ILWU longshoremen halted work on the ship until a business agent arrived on the scene and ordered them back. More recently, the SL initiated a united-front committee which organized a picket of the Lykes Brothers ship Gulf Trader as it was loading cargo for Chile in New Orleans on May 23. A rank-and-file leader of International Longshoremen's Association Local 1419, Irvin Joseph, was one of the first endorsers of the demonstration. However, Joseph is also seeking election as president of the Local. Soon after a committee leaflet appeared listing the endorsers (among them several local labor leaders), Joseph began to talk of disavowing his signature. The reason: the leaflet mentioned the "head of the Chilean Communist Party" as one of the prisoners being held by the junta.

Militant Action Caucus Protests CIA-Backed AIFLD

A second demand which can serve to focus labor protest against the Chile coup is to call on U.S. unions to break from the "American Institute for Free Labor Development." The AIFLD, headed by AFL-CIO chief George Meany, has been one of the main conduits for funneling CIA money into Latin America. Although ostensibly a labor "leadership-training" organization, its board of directors includes representatives of 22 corporations, including ITT, Grace Line, Kennecott and Anaconda Copper and the Chase Manhattan Bank.

Since the election of Allende in 1970, Chile has been an important focus of the AIFLD. Not the unions, however, but the "professional associations" (*gremios*, or guilds) drew the attention of the U.S. government-financed "labor institute." One of these, the "Confederation of Chilean Professionals" (CUPROCH), supported the truck owners' and merchants' work stoppage in October 1972 and again in August of last year. CUPROCH may well have been the conduit through which thousands of CIA dollars were funneled into Chile in mid-1973 in order to support the truckers' "strike" which helped set the stage for the military coup. Since the coup the U.S. has sought to aid the generals by setting up a pro-junta "Chilean National Workers Confederation"; both its president and vice president are former AIFLD graduates.

A class-struggle opposition group in the Communication Workers of America, the Militant Action Caucus of Oakland, California, Local 9415, has sought to publicize the pernicious role of the CIA-backed union-busting AIFLD. A MAC leaflet (14 May) points out that CWA president Beirne "was the brains behind the idea of AIFLD and its treasurer." The Caucus introduced a resolution calling on the CWA to withdraw its support from and participation in the Meany/Beirne/Rockefeller/CIA "labor institute" at the April meeting of Local 9415 but it was narrowly defeated. The resolution will also be brought to the CWA convention in Kansas City this month.

For a Class-Struggle Opposition in the Unions

As shown by the examples of the ILWU leadership's refusal to implement the Chile resolution of Local 10, New Orleans ILAer Joseph's maneuvers to avoid being tainted with "communism" and CWA-head Beirne's participation in the AIFLD, the struggle for labor action against the Chilean military dictators must be linked to a struggle against the sellout union bureaucrats (and aspiring bureaucrats) at home who consistently sabotage the struggle and promote the treacherous policies of class collaboration.

The MAC in the Communication Workers and the M-SC in the National Maritime Union are examples of the kind of class-struggle opposition groups which must be built. Instead of merely banding together all disgruntled elements in a lowest-common-denominator "opposition" or "rank-and-file" caucus, these groups base themselves on a program whose demands seek to generalize the struggle for a new leadership in the trade unions into a general working-class offensive against the capitalist system. Fighting to obtain the release of Chilean union militants from the junta's jails and for independent labor action by U.S. unions to support this demand is an integral part of the emancipation of labor. We call on all serious union mititants to take up this necessary struggle. Hot-Cargo All Military Supplies to Chile! Labor Out of the AIFLD! ■

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Portugal...

content into a direct contest for state power.

Communist Party Fronts for Spínola

Most responsible for the failure of the development of a revolutionary situation was the treachery of the Portuguese Communist Party. The PCP has gone a step further than its counterparts in other capitalist countries in its never-ending search for alliances with "progressives" to prop up a policy of "peaceful coexistence." In Portugal, the CP simply *pretends* that it has found a liberal to ally with—the "anti-fascist" General Antônio de Spínola, volunteer in Franco's armies during the Spanish Civil War and author of "pacification" practices in the Portuguese colonies which involve total annihilation of the population of zones under rebel control.

When Spínola formed his provisional government to serve as a public relations front for the "Military Junta of National Salvation," he included Alvaro Cunhal, head of the PCP, as minister without portfolio and CP union leader Pacheco Gonçalves as labor minister. The inclusion of the PCP in the popular-front phantom "provisional government" was a carefully calculated maneuver on the part of the bourgeoisie: the Communists were the only working-class party which maintained any semblance of continuity during the long decades of repression. From its vantage point of influence among the working masses, the PCP would lend credence to the new government and could be used as a means of containing the workers. As labor minister, Gonçalves' job would be to persuade the workers to abandon strikes. And during the recent strike wave he carried out this job most faithfully.

Stalinists Say No to Strikes

The PCP newspaper *Avante!* of 31 May ran an editorial condemning the strikes as adventurist acts of saboteurs (the left), directed not against the employers but against the government, hindering the process of democratic development!

> "The strikes of the Lisbon transit workers, the bakers, the CTT and others together with management and alarmist rumors aimed at disorganizing the transportation and public supplies, fuel supplies and other pivotal sectors of the national economy, allow us to detect and bring to the light of day who is interested in sabotaging the normal development of our democratic process, who wants to create a climate of panic, of tension and crisis and who tries to create artificial focuses of popular discontent and thus undermine the political front formed in the wake of April 25."

(Cunhal later said that it was actually the *monopolies* who "tried to provoke a strike movement whose consequences were directed against the government" [*Diario de Noticias*, 8 June]!)

On June 1 the Intersindical—Communist controlled labor federation—organized a mass demonstration in Lisbon to repudiate strikes. The demonstration drew about 10,000 and, needless to say, PCP banners proclaiming "não a greve pela greve" ("No to Striking for the Sake of Striking") and "For an Offensive Against the Provocateurs and Reactionaries" were ubiquitous. The crowd chanted "Vigilance of the Working Class!", "Down With the Reaction!" and "Out With the Provocateurs!"

At the end of the march CP Labor Minister Gonçalves addressed the crowd. He denounced the "confusion and maneuverings of the forces of 'reaction'," called for a line of "realistic" trade-union action and warned against the "opportunism" and "adventurism" which lead to a "division of democratic forces." He said that "we cannot forget that our economic heritage left by the fascists is heavy" and therefore "we need, above all, to use responsibly and continually our political rights."

WV PHOTO

Sign says, "Timex Strikes the Hour of Freedom."

O SECULO ILUSTRADO

General Spínola in Guinea-Bissau.

Workers Defy Provisional Government

Although the PCP was successful in herding most of the striking workers back to work and the general euphoria of the first weeks following the coup has died down, the situation here is nowhere near "back to normal." The Portuguese people, forbidden to openly express political opinions for a period of fifty years, continue to discuss politics with high intensity. Socialism is now a word on everyone's lips and each day at least one of the numerous bourgeois dailies carries a debate on the question of socialism for Portugal. A new exposure of members of the PIDE (Salazar's hated political police), tacked up on the central post office wall, was surrounded by a changing crowd for an entire day. As an anti-colonial demonstration marched into Rossio Square, scores of spectators immediately appeared to listen attentively and shout their support.

While the Intersindical back-to-work demonstration, played up in the newspapers, drew a crowd of 10,000, it was actually much smaller than expected. A demonstration around the demand "Immediate and Total Independence for the Colonies," initiated two weeks earlier by groups to the left of the Communists, drew a crowd of equal size.

Striking workers from a number of factories—Timex, auto, chemical, Olivetti, electricity and railway among others—continued their plant occupations beyond May 31, in defiance of the CP's pleas for patience and assertions that the Portuguese economy could not withstand their demands. A militant from the Timex plant which was occupied for over three weeks, told *Workers Vanguard* that the strike weapon was a right which had to be defended at all costs and that Timex workers were not willing to return to work before their demands had even been discussed!

Working-class demonstrations continue; there are two or three in front of the Ministry of Labor every day, while CP Labor Minister Gonçalves hides behind the curtains of his office, later to meet with representatives of the demonstrators and negotiate away their demands. In a demonstration centering around the demand for higher wages, workers from the J.J. Gonçalves auto plant chanted "fascista" and "bandito" outside Minister Pacheco Gonçalves' office, hardly an expression of confidence in this supposed representative of the working class! Another day workers from the Timex factory demonstrated under banners proclaiming "Down With Capitalism" and "The Timex Clock Strikes the Hour of Freedom."

While the government has established a minimum salary of 3,300 escudos ($135) per month, claiming this is the most the poor economy can withstand, it recently awarded pay raises to members of the armed forces whose salaries were already two times that of an industrial worker and three times that of an agricultural laborer!

Junta Moves Toward Crackdown

On June 1 Spínola told *O Seculo* that with the establishment of the State Council "the political structure which will orient the country toward a new Constitution was completed." The Council will be a "fundamental organ of Portuguese democracy" with the functions of "equilibrium, security and modernization." Therefore ends the "phase of military pronouncements and the return to a legitimate climate of institutions."

Despite these hollow, demagogic references to "normalcy" and "democracy," Portugal continues to be wracked by tensions and the government is acutely aware of this fact. One young army officer told *Workers Vanguard* that there is dissension within the armed forces and opposition to Spínola's policies regarding the colonies. Reportedly, at a military unit in Tancos a meeting of more than 100 soldiers passed a resolution declaring that the colonial liberation war was a just struggle and asserting that they would refuse to embark for the colonies, whatever the pretext.

Despite the frantic pace of his endless meetings with foreign diplomats (including the ambassador from Chile's reactionary military junta) and leading capitalists who have paraded through his office to welcome the new regime, Spínola has found it necessary to go on national tour to consolidate regional military detachments and warn the Portuguese people of "the forces of anarchy." His line is completely indistinguishable from that of the CP (which is to say that the Stalinists' line is indistinguishable from that of the generals): Portuguese workers must be "realistic" in their demands. In a visit to Tomar he told a large crowd that:

> "The emotional climate of the first moments is past, the time has arrived for a collective coming to their senses by the Portuguese people, who ... must coldly reflect on the economic reality of the country in which we live, under pain of heading toward a crisis of unemployment with its dramatic train of privation and misery.... I am convinced that the Portuguese people will choose the sure path, repudiating the empty words of the false heralds of liberty."

Many people here already believe that the voices of the "false heralds of liberty" will not be tolerated even as long as three more weeks. Indeed, with the strike wave behind him and the servility of the Communist Party proven in action, Spínola has already begun his crackdown on the left. A demonstration of some 1,000 outside the Estrela Military Hospital to demand the release of Pedro Peralta, a Cuban army captain captured in Guinea while aiding the PAIGC rebels, was dispersed with tear gas and the clubs of mounted policemen.

Then on June 7 Saldanha Sanchez, the editor of *Luta Popular*, newspaper of the Maoist "Reorganized Movement of the Proletarian Party" (MRPP) was arrested in the middle of the night at his home. The particular excuse given for his arrest was that *Luta Popular* had reprinted a communiqué of the "Popular Anticolonial Resistance" which called for "desertion in mass and with arms [by] members of the Armed Forces mobilized for Africa" (*O Seculo*, 8 June). While the release of Sanchez is of crucial importance to the entire left and is an obvious point of unity, the sectarian MRPP refuses *on principle* support from any other organization.

The Communist Party, for its part, is showing signs of trepidation about its exposed position as a left cover for a government which has already begun to demonstrate that it is violently opposed to working-class interests. Thus the editorial of *Avante!* (7 June) moved slightly from a position of wholeheart-

A Trotskyist Perspective on:

The Portuguese Coup and Africa

Speaker: JAN NORDEN
Editor, Workers Vanguard

NEW BEDFORD/FALL RIVER:
Southeastern Mass. University
SMU Administration Building
Room 233
THURSDAY, JUNE 20 12 noon

BOSTON:
Boston University
Terrace Lounge
George Sherman Union
FRIDAY, JUNE 21 7:30 p.m.

edly lauding the military "Junta of National Salvation" and stated:

> "In Portugal some essential liberties exist. But a democratic regime does not yet exist. The situation is transitional. A platform exists—the program of the Movement of the Armed Forces victorious on 25 April—for the solution of emergency problems, for the liquidation of fascism and the preparation of free elections. But the solution of the great national problems is outside the circuit and possibilities of the actual alliance of government forces."

The conclusion, however, is still the same:

> "In the actual conditions, we put before the Portuguese people a clear alternative: consolidate the freedoms, follow the democratic process to the realization of the elections of the Constitutional Assembly, or the victory of 25 April will be endangered, and we will have a new dictatorship, eventually even more violent."

Independence for the Colonies!

At this moment, the Spínola government is feeling the most pressure from the situation in its African colonies. Negotiations with both the PAIGC (Guinea-Bissau) and FRELIMO (Mozambique) broke down over the fundamental issue of independence. The rebels are so far holding out for complete independence while Spínola refuses to grant it. As Samora Machel, president of FRELIMO put it, "Independence is not negotiable. What can realistically be negotiated are the means to reach independence" (*O Premeiro de Janeiro*, 4 June). At home, Spínola faces pressures within the government and the military for a speedy end to the colonial war which consumes 50 percent of the state budget.

In recent days Socialist Party leaders have declared that they would leave the government if the negotiations failed. But failure to these "socialists" doesn't mean failure to grant immediate independence, but simply failure to get rid of a costly and unpopular war. SP Foreign Minister Mario Soares, the government's "ambassador to the colonies," stated:

> "We are disposed to concede independence, but we have compatriots in these territories, we have legitimate interests there. No one can hope that a responsible government [would] abandon 500,000 of our people in Angola and 200,000 in Mozambique without satisfactory guarantees. We ask other African countries [Rhodesia and South Africa] that they help us protect our compatriots and our legitimate interests."
> —*Diario de Lisboa*, 1 June

A military defeat in Africa and the loss of Portugal's "legitimate interests" would be a large blow to the Spínola government. The Portuguese economy depends heavily on investments in and privileged trade relations with its colonies, without which it would have to depend solely on a tiny and poorly-developed territory. The agitation of various Portuguese "far left" groups around the slogan "Immediate and Total Independence for the Colonies" corresponds to a key task for the Portuguese working class. However, support for independence does not imply political support for the African "liberation movements" as the vehicle for lifting the oppression of the colonial masses.

The Maoist MRPP, as well as most other groups to the left of the CP/SP, support these movements unconditionally. The supposed Trotskyists of the International Communist League (LCI—a pro-Mandel sympathizing organization of the "United" Secretariat) claim to criticize them because "they have no real program" and "make only vague references to socialism." Yet this is certainly not evident at their public demonstrations where the LCI marches under the slogan, "Viva PAIGC, MPLA, FRELIMO." The only road to liberation for the colonial masses is through the building of a vanguard workers party which, leading the peasantry and in close coordination with the workers movement in South Africa and Portugal, carries out a socialist revolution. Communists must place no confidence in the petty-bourgeois nationalists who, whatever their "vague references to socialism," simply want to set up their own capitalist states.

WV PHOTO

WORKERS PRESS

Top: Workers of Gonçalves auto factory demonstrate outside labor ministry. Sign in center reads: "Attention! Careful! Bosses Like Ours Foment Fascism." Bottom: Workers at Lisnave shipyard near Lisbon during plant occupation in May.

The Portuguese Left

In Portugal, some say that the government has "a big eye." On one side it has the PCP to watch the workers and on the other the SP to watch Europe and the colonies. The Portuguese Communist Party is repeating once again the same role Stalinism has played over and over again for the last fifty years. Under the guise of a "united front against fascism" or "popular front" it sought to maintain a "unity of democratic forces" (i.e., with the "progressive" generals and capitalists) and to block the advance of the working class, while branding the left as "saboteurs" and "agents of counterrevolution." It was this same policy that paved the way for the Vichy government in France and Franco's victory in Spain.

The PCP was permitted to assume such a role through lack of a clear revolutionary alternative, with the rest of the left in disarray. Instead of simply labeling the PCP an "agent of capitalism" as does most of the Portuguese "far left," socialists must call on the Communists to take power in their own name. Without the military to hide behind, the CP will stand exposed before the working class and it will be possible to break its stranglehold on the masses.

The Maoist MRPP, the largest organized force to the left of the CP/SP, calls the Communist Party revisionist, but the MRPP slogan, "The People Will Win," is hardly different from the PCP's "unity of democratic forces" and leads to the same holding back of working-class struggle. Thus during the huge strike wave of the end of May, when the Portuguese working class was in a *political* offensive against the government, the MRPP actually tailed behind the workers, trying to organize around the sole economic demand of a 40-hour week!

The Portuguese ostensibly revolutionary left suffers terribly both from being a very young movement and having had to operate in clandestinity. Thus many groups have had little chance to develop a program through open political struggle and practice. Typical is the situation of the League of Unity and Revolutionary Action (LUAR), a great proportion of whose members were just released from prison. The LUAR states that its program is "the fight for socialism" but it has hardly any idea of how to go about it.

In the face of past isolation in clandestinity and fear of future repression, the Portuguese "extreme left" is now panicking and trying to put together a false unity. The LCI, LUAR, Proletarian Revolutionary Party (PRP), the Maoist Revolutionary Marxist-Leninist Unity (URM-L), the "Groups for Immediate and Total Independence of the Colonies" (CIC) and the "Socialist Rank-and-File Committees" (CBS) are trying to cement a unity based on "immediate and total independence of the colonies," "rejection of CP opportunism and working-class betrayal" and "socialist revolution as the only means of liberating the Portuguese proletariat." But what is needed now is not some broad "far-left" unity but the forging of a Bolshevik party which, having absorbed the lessons of Lenin's and Trotsky's struggle against the betrayals of the social-democratic and Stalinist reformists, is capable of putting forward a Marxist program of working-class independence from the bourgeoisie and of leading the masses forward to the struggle for power. ■

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Box 51634, Main P.O., New Orleans, LA 70151 . . . (504) 866-8384

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Local Bureaucrats Grovel–

Woodcock Reigns Supreme at UAW Convention

WV PHOTO

LOS ANGELES, June 9—The 24th Constitutional Convention of the United Auto Workers, held in Los Angeles this week, accomplished nothing beneficial to auto workers. With 160,000 auto workers still on layoff or partially unemployed despite the end of the "energy crisis" hoax, the cowboy hats, balloons, band music and streaker of the convention contrasted sharply with the real situation facing auto workers.

A more accurate reflection of the dissatisfaction of most auto workers with their leadership was the controversy that raged to the surface over Woodcock's proposed three-year term of office. This proposal extended Woodcock's final term in office (he must retire at 65) to 1977, avoiding an election for a new leadership during the contract-termination year of 1976. Thus a "lame-duck" administration will negotiate the next contract rather than a new leadership which, like Woodcock himself in 1970, might have to put on a militant face and lead a strike in order to prove itself.

Woodcock decreed that there would be one speaker for and one against from each region to create a facade of democracy. Delegates did not relish having to go back to the locals with a clear record of having supported this proposal, and in at least one region no one could be found to speak in favor. Woodcock supporters such as Frank Runnels of Local 22 and Joseph Reilly of Local 906, however, took the opportunity to denounce "loudmouths" in the opposition and endear themselves to the leadership. Reilly apologized profusely for having said he would not vote for Woodcock again at the last convention, and wished he could vote Woodcock a ten-year extension!

But the democratic facade crumbled during the voting. The hand vote was evenly divided, but Vice President Pat Greathouse, who was chairing, ruled in favor of the administration until protests from the floor made him call a standing division of the house. This was also evenly divided, and Greathouse again ruled in favor.

Only a roll call vote could have resolved the question, but this would have put every delegate on record, and thus surely caused a rejection. Under the UAW's undemocratic rules, 840 delegates are required to call for a roll call vote. This number appeared to be obtained, but Greathouse ruled against a roll call. This provoked shouting from angry delegates, with many walking out. This in turn provided the leadership with the excuse it needed to end the session.

Having won the three-year term for International officers over heavy opposition, Woodcock waited until the last day of the convention, after the election of officers, to ram through another constitutional change mandating the three-year term for local officers as well. This proposal is now being sprung on local membership meetings for ratification with little or no prior warning, by bureaucrats who are all too eager for the "stability" achieved by this undemocratic measure, which protects their hold on office.

Defending the Sellout Contract

Woodcock's opening address was very defensive, reflecting the bureaucracy's awareness of its narrow base and its sensitivity to criticism. He tried to prove mathematically that the measly 3 percent wage increase in the last contract had actually been 11 percent, by adding in past and present cost-of-living gains. However, he neglected to mention that real wages are still declining because of inflation and the lack of a full sliding scale of wages. He defended the hopelessly inadequate voluntary overtime clause, the union's "one-at-a-time" strategy barring industry-wide strikes and the undemocratic ratification procedure, all against criticism from the left.

The ratification procedure was a major issue because of the undemocratic handling of the 1973 Ford contract. While skilled tradesmen had unambiguously turned it down, thus requiring renegotiation under the UAW constitution, Woodcock had declared the contract ratified on the strength of a dubious vote of production workers which was marked by violence and many re-votes, particularly in the key Local 600. Justifying his failure to submit the contract for a new vote after partial renegotiation, Woodcock reportedly declared before the union's Public Review Board that "even if a majority of production workers had rejected the agreement, we would have signed it if we thought it was in the best interests of the workers"! So much for membership ratification rights!

Woodcock explained that the question of realfiliation with the AFL-CIO was not going to be brought to this convention, because of sharp divisions about it on the International Executive Board. This was an open acknowledgement of a battle between Woodcock, who supports re-entry, and Emil Mazey, who is against it. It also showed the fear of Woodcock's "Adminstration Caucus" to risk a split at the top.

Fight Protectionism

Woodcock piously stressed "international labor solidarity" a good deal. However, this turned out to mean little more than backing the Histadrut, Israel's phony "union" which includes employers and discriminates against Arabs. The Arab Workers Caucus and various left groups (including the Spartacist League) have demanded that the UAW break all ties with the Histadrut. The atmosphere of the convention was heavily protectionist. Bumper stickers sold privately at a booth inside the hall told UAW members, "Buy a Foreign Car and Put 10 Americans Out of Work." The Amalgamated Clothing Workers booth urged convention attendees not to buy foreign goods, while Cesar Chavez of the Farm Workers asked delegates to write their Congressmen urging them to demand the Attorney General start enforcing immigration laws and deporting illegal aliens. Chavez made it quite clear in his speech that he was against *all* illegal aliens, not just those brought in to scab, but even those, in his words, "working elsewhere."

Against this chauvinist background, and against the International Executive Board's calls for "temporary" import quotas on cars, the only answer to be found was in the Committee for a Militant UAW (CMUAW) resolution, "For International Working Class Solidarity —No Import Quotas." The CMUAW is a class-struggle grouping in Local 1364 (Fremont, California). This resolution was printed on page 145 of the proposed resolutions book, but, like 99 percent of these resolutions, was not allowed on the floor. Typically, none of the principal opposition groups represented at the convention spoke out against the official call for import quotas. (However, four different resolutions against auto imports were proposed, one of which prohibited UAW officials from driving foreign cars!)

On the overall question of how to fight layoffs the Woodcock machine had nothing to offer (beyond anti-import legislation) except support for the Mondale-Ford Bill, which provides for "studies" of the economic justification for plant closings and government financial aid to the companies. Another CMUAW resolution (entitled "Union Action to Fight Layoffs") which had been passed by Local 1364 earlier this year called for fighting layoffs with "an industry-wide strike, linked up internationally" and "shorter hours with full cost-of-living paid, to make jobs for all." While several other opposition groups also call for a shorter workweek ("30 for 40"), typically they provide no clue as to how to win it.

Neo-Reutherite UNC

The chief opposition groups at the convention were the United National Caucus, the new Auto Workers Action Caucus and a local group, the Brotherhood Caucus of Local 1364. None of them presented any kind of credible political alternative to the Woodcock bureaucracy. The UNC is the oldest, having progressed little from the late 1960's, when it grew out of an earlier rebellion of skilled trades workers.

It is still based primarily on the skilled trades in Detroit and is still an unprincipled amalgam of would-be bureaucrats, both in and out of office. Despite the UNC's avowed call for a labor party, its co-chairman Jordan Sims, president of Local 961 (Chrysler's Eldon Gear and Axle), sported a Coleman Young (Democratic mayor of Detroit) button. His speech nominating the group's other co-chairman, Pete Kelly, for UAW president was so unpolitical that even the UNC leadership was visibly annoyed with him.

UNC delegates, numbering as many as forty, according to various exaggerated claims, were elected on left-sounding but clearly reformist programs. For instance, the "Voice of Chrysler Workers" (Dodge Main, Local 3), which was successful in electing

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WORKERS VANGUARD 25¢

No. 48 5 July 1974

Pickets during Dodge Truck wildcat, Warren, Michigan.

Strike Upsurge Sweeps U.S.

WV PHOTO

Throughout the capitalist world the past few years have seen a rising line of class struggle as organized labor has faced rampant inflation, often being shackled with state wage controls. Only in the U.S. did the trade-union movement abandon any attempt to protect the workers from the ravages of rising prices. Despite comparable rates of inflation, during 1973 hourly manufacturing wages rose only 8 percent in the U.S. compared with 13 percent in West Germany, 18 percent in Britain and 25 percent in Japan (*New York Times*, 26 May).

The American labor bureaucracy responded to Nixon's 1971 wage freeze and controls not merely with fulsome cooperation, but launched an extraordinary anti-militancy campaign. This sellout policy was typified by Abel's no-strike pact with the steel companies and the 1,000-man goon squad the UAW's Woodcock regime mobilized to smash wildcats in Detroit auto last August.

By early 1974, the bureaucracy's anti-militancy drive had reduced strikes to a virtual all-time low; real wages had fallen fully 5 percent from mid-1973 (*Economist*, 15 June). The capacity of Meany-Abel-Woodcock to hold down the ranks had become desperately strained, particularly as the moral authority of the central government plummetted to double zero because of Watergate.

San Francisco city workers struck in March with an enthusiasm that soon affected other sections of the local working class, leading to walkouts by teachers and transit workers. The rapid escalation led to the very brink of a citywide general strike in a matter of days. At the time we noted that the San Francisco events, particularly as evidenced by the mood of the workers, indicated an end to the post-1971 Nixon-Meany era of labor peace:

> "Two events in the past month—the West Virginia coal miners' strike against gas rationing and the escalating strike of San Francisco city employees—indicate that the 1972-73 period of class peace may be ending. In both of these, the militant actions were out of proportion to the modest goals and the rank-and-file upsurge continuously bordered on a mass political/industrial confrontation with the ruling class."
> —*Workers Vanguard*, 29 March 1974

Strike Wave of Spring 1974

The March San Francisco events were indeed not an isolated local episode, but rather the beginning of a new upsurge of labor struggles. Two and a half years of relative class peace ended with a bang this spring. According to the Bureau of Labor Statistics, time lost due to strikes went from 1.1 million man-days in February to 2.0 million in March (the latest available figures). In other words, it roughly doubled in the space of a month. What makes these figures so impressive was that there was no major national strike, but rather an explosion of local actions. In March some 480 strikes began, the largest number for that month since 1937!

As yet, the current strike upsurge has not produced a major national strike. The steel settlement negotiated in April under the provisions of the company-union no-strike pledge continued the sellout pattern that has recently enabled the American working class to "enjoy" a sharply negative trend in real wages (factory workers' real earnings down by *over 10 percent* since late 1972). A partial exception to the generalization about national strikes was the Amalgamated Clothing Workers' brief strike against tailored clothing manufacturers in early June. However, the Amalgamated strike was simply a ploy by the Finley-Sheinkman regime to allow militants to blow off steam and not a serious attempt to force better terms out of the companies. The wage settlement was below the current rate of inflation and could have been negotiated without any strike at all.

The localized character of the present strikes means that the militant actions cannot fundamentally affect the condition of those key sections of the industrial proletariat (steel, auto, trucking) whose contracts are (and should be) nationally negotiated. Among industrial workers, only for the construction trades has the current wave of walkouts produced major gains. And the bureaucracy, although it would prefer absolute peace and quiet, is quite willing to allow pent-up militancy to burn itself out in local strikes which do not seriously damage the monopolies which dominate the U.S. economy.

Highest-Ever Labor Unrest on West Coast

As reported in the *San Francisco Examiner* (20 June) some 100 strikes were in progress in the 13 western states in the middle of last month. This is the highest figure in history, according to government statistics. In the Bay Area alone walkouts have taken place among nurses and carpenters, as well as units of the Machinists Union, Teamsters, IBEW, Longshoremen/Warehousemen and the Printing Specialties Union.

Receiving most publicity was the strike by the California Nursing Association (CNA) which, beginning June 7, pulled out about 4,500 nurses from Sacramento to the Bay Area, affecting all Kaiser Foundation hospitals and clinics as well as 17 private hospitals. The nurses walked out in response to hospital managements' attempts to make worse the already notoriously rotten working conditions of nurses.

The issues were not primarily economic, as indicated by the mere 5.5 percent wage increase demand, but revolved around nurses' right to have a say in patient care—to achieve adequate staff for patient safety, to ensure that only specialized nurses would work in specialty areas, etc. Slogans carried on placards at a June 13 rally in San Francisco's Union Square included "Patients Deserve Better Care" and "Better Staffing—one night nurse for 38 patients is unsafe."

As could be expected, hospital management waged a demagogic campaign to portray the striking nurses as ruthless mercenaries who would use patients' lives as a weapon to secure their greedy self-interest. The bosses' pious concern for the patients' welfare was contemptible posturing as demonstrated by Kaiser hospitals' refusal to allow striking nurses to organize and perform care of the critically ill during the strike as they attempted to do. This fact did not prevent ominous threats to sue the striking nurses for "endangering the lives of the patients," a proposal whose union-busting implications are obvious.

Though the strike lasted three weeks and reflected militant determination on the part of the ranks, the nurses went back to work June 28 with a pathetic settlement—a caricature of their demands. The manual and clerical workers of Hospital and Institutional Workers' Local 250, AFL-CIO, in the Bay Area had crossed the nurses' picket lines throughout the strike as ordered by their president, Tim Twomey, despite their sentiments of support.

This gross betrayal, along with the CNA leadership's refusal to fight for AFL-CIO support and stage a statewide hospital strike, was a knife in the back that spelled defeat for the nurses. The official vote to go back to work was 1,670-494, but even as the CNA leadership explained the contract terms at the ratification meeting, placards appeared among the ranks in the audience denouncing the contract as a sellout and

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PORTUGAL:

Which Way to the Revolution?...6

Postal Strike Defeated...7

My Lai Mass Murderer Must Not Go Free!

More than six years ago, on 16 March 1968, at least 100 and perhaps as many as 400 unarmed men, women and children were massacred by members of the Americal Division of the U.S. Army in the village of My Lai, Vietnam. The Army, reluctantly prodded into an investigation by letters sent to public officials from an eyewitness, eventually charged a total of 25 officers and enlisted men with crimes including rape, sodomy, torture, maiming, indecent assault and premeditated murder. Six of these men were brought to trial, yet only one was ever convicted—Lieutenant William L. Calley, Jr. The rest are free. Calley too will probably be a free man within the year.

Calley was originally charged with the murder of 109 men, women and children at My Lai. After the longest court martial in history he was convicted in March 1971 of the premeditated murder of at least 22 civilians and sentenced to life imprisonment. He spent exactly 3-1/2 days in the stockade before being returned to his private apartment by the direct intervention of President Nixon, who promised to personally review the case.

A mere six months later Calley's sentence was reduced to 20 years by Lieutenant General Albert O. Connor. In April of this year Secretary of the Army Howard H. Callaway further reduced his sentence to 10 years. Calley will be eligible for parole approximately six months from now, since his past 35 months in his apartment (where his fiancee and such notables as Governor Wallace have had unlimited access) counts as time on his sentence of "life imprisonment at hard labor."

Calley's conviction sparked a wave of rightist protest. The mass murderer of helpless men, women and babies became transformed into a scapegoat-martyr in the eyes of much of the public. Liberals and even much of the left dismissed Calley as an insignificant pawn. The Progressive Labor Party belittled the case and conviction as a capitalist diversion, stating, "Naturally, we couldn't care less that one set of bosses kill another set" (*Challenge*, 1971 May Day issue). But Calley did not "kill bosses"—he slaughtered unarmed Vietnamese!

Calley was not *simply* a scapegoat—many men were sent to Vietnam and did not become torturers, rapists and murderers. To say that what Calley did was inevitable or meaningless is a vile insult not only to the Vietnamese dead, but also to the many soldiers who went through the agony of Vietnam without becoming sadists and mass murderers. The workers movement must hold Calley and his cohorts accountable for their crimes.

Admittedly, Calley himself is a wretched product of decaying capitalist society. His personal history is pathetic and shabby—from trouble in high school for cheating to aimless drifters' jobs as busboy, car washer and dishwasher, acting as a strike-breaking freight car conductor on the Florida East Coast Railway along the way.

Capitalism is indeed a breeding ground for twisted and depraved human beings. But such criminals as Calley are precisely the kind of social scum that the Nazis recruited to their fascist bands. And the magnitude of the crimes at My Lai is only increased by the fact that the murderers defend themselves with the argument that they were only carrying out orders. The lenient treatment given to Calley is intimately linked to the acquittal of the killer cop Thomas Shea in New York recently, and to the whitewash of the Kent State killings by the Ohio National Guard and the Jackson State killings by police in 1970. If crimes like the My Lai massacre are allowed to go unpunished, it only reinforces the arrogance of the bourgeoisie's official gunmen.

LIFE

Calley entering stockade after initial guilty verdict.

A workers state would undoubtedly condemn Calley to death as an elementary act of justice—or ship him back to the maimed survivors of My Lai for them to render judgment upon. We cannot call for the death penalty for Calley at the hands of the bourgeoisie, however. The capitalist U.S. state is drenched in the blood of countless millions of innocent people throughout the world and rests on the most ruthless exploitation, plunder and degradation of the working masses. We deny this state the right to murder: we are absolutely opposed to the death penalty administered by a capitalist state. Such occasional justice as might accidentally be achieved would be (and has been) far outweighed by the vicious repression of the working class to which such extreme measures would be applied. Remember Joe Hill and Sacco and Vanzetti!

This does not mean that what happens to Calley *now* is unimportant. Calley should be forced to serve out his life imprisonment at hard labor. The other murderers at My Lai must be brought to trial and condemned. As Captain Aubrey M. Daniel III, the prosecutor in the court martial of Calley, wrote in a letter protesting Nixon's heavy-handed intervention into the case: "The greatest tragedy of all will be if political expediency dictates the compromise of such a fundamental moral principle as the inherent unlawfulness of the murder of innocent persons."

Daniel found it "shocking" that the American public apparently failed to grasp the moral issue that "It is unlawful for an American soldier to summarily execute unarmed and unresisting men, women, children and babies," and accused Nixon of perpetrating an atmosphere in which Calley became a "national hero." We agree with these sentiments.

As we go to press, Calley is temporarily being held in the stockade at Ft. Benning, Georgia. This inconvenience is the result of revocation of his bail. He comes up for parole in six months, and the course of the case thus far leaves little doubt that he will be freed. But the workers movement will not forget William L. Calley, Jr., nor Ernest Medina nor the other butchers of My Lai, including Richard Nixon—as it seeks to eliminate the bloodiest war criminal of all: the capitalist class. ■

Letters

Los Angeles
June 20, 1974

Dear Editors,

We greatly appreciate the coverage you gave to the defense campaign of the Militant Caucus of AFSCME 2070. The censure motion brought by the Local leadership against the caucus is not a unique infringement of our democratic rights, but one of a series of bureaucratic harassments which exposes the leadership's inability to deal with our class-struggle politics.

The major issues over which the caucus has confronted the fledgling reformist bureaucracy, ironically known as the "Unity Committee," have been their laxity in organizing to obtain a contract, their groveling support to liberal labor legislation, their enthusiasm and participation in government and management inspired "affirmative action" programs and, of course, their continuing abuse of members' democratic rights, notably ours.

The priority of organizing the rest of the considerable work force into our union, the right to full collective bargaining, the right to strike, to a signed contract with a union grievance procedure, the right to leaflet all union members on the job—none of these crucial issues are spoken to by the Local 2070 leadership. Without these tools, the union is incapable of defending its members. Instead the leadership offers wholehearted support to potential strike-breaking schemes like the Moretti Bill. In the guise of granting California public employees the right to strike, this proposed bill would authorize injunctions, "cooling-off" periods and binding arbitration, thereby further institutionalizing government interference in union affairs.

In addition to our well-known stand against reliance on capitalist "pro-labor" legislation, the caucus has fought long and hard on the question of "affirmative action." The Militant Caucus sees the importance of waging a relentless fight against all forms of discrimination. As long as workers remain divided along racial and sexual lines we will not be able to gain the necessary unified strength to fight against the capitalists, who at every turn seek to keep us divided. But no amount of rearrangements or "staff participation" in joint worker-management committees, as advocated by the Unity Committee, can end discrimination. These programs are designed to convince minority and women workers that their enemy is not capitalism but white, male workers. The so-called affirmative action programs serve as an arm for the capitalists and their government in their union-busting attacks by undermining the seniority system, a hard-won job-security gain of organized labor. The leadership's answer to our opposition to union participation in these committees was a slander campaign calling our members "racist," and ultimately a slur in the Local's press, calling us a "small band of reactionaries." The Local's press, by the way, is censored to all views but those of the present leadership.

But, most importantly, what the present leadership lacks is even a hint of a class-struggle approach, a strategy of independent union action that means concretely a break with the Republicans and Democrats, the parties of Nixon/Alioto, and a struggle for a workers party based on the trade unions. Union members received a leaflet from our union leadership advertising an "Impeach Nixon Rally" which said that "we must continue to exert pressure on Congress to vote for impeachment. Write, call or wire your representative." Pressure Congress rather than put forth a clear working-class alternative! Their answer to inflation? Join the Coalition for Economic Survival (CES) and boycott liquid milk!

It was because the MC has consistently put forward its views at union meetings, in its newsletter and in leaflets, that a campaign was initiated to silence dissidents in the Local. First a restriction on speaking time on all points at union meetings, then a passage of a motion insisting that a disclaimer appear on every page distributed by the Militant Caucus (a totally superflous statement that our views are not the views of the union), and now a censure motion—all designed to intimidate us and ultimately to set us up for purge.

Although the article in the June 7 *Workers Vanguard* was accurate on most points, your reporter made some minor errors which we would like to correct. The man who tried to enter the stewards' training class was the past union *president*, not the vice-president; the union membership is closer to *five* hundred, not three hundred as reported; and it was the International's *educational* representative who was present at the class.

In Solidarity,
Alice Lichtenstein
for the Militant Caucus
AFSCME Local No. 2070

Spartacist Local Directory

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Box 852, Main P.O., Berkeley, CA 94701 . . . . . (415) 653-4668

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Box 188, M.I.T. Sta., Cambridge, MA 02139 . . . . . (617) 282-7587

BUFFALO
Box 412, Station C, Buffalo, NY 14209 . . . . . (716) 837-1854

CHICAGO
Box 6471, Main P.O., Chicago, IL 60680 . . . . . (312) 728-2151

CLEVELAND
Box 6765, Cleveland, OH 44101 . . . . . (216) 651-9147

DETROIT
Box 663A, General P.O., Detroit, MI 48232 . . . . . (313) 921-4626

LOS ANGELES
Box 38053, Wilcox Sta., Los Angeles, CA 90038 . . . (213) 485-1838

MADISON
c/o RCY, Box 3334, Madison, WI 53704

NEW ORLEANS
Box 51634, Main P.O., New Orleans, LA 70151 . . . (504) 866-8384

NEW YORK
Box 1377, G.P.O., New York, NY 10001 . . . . . (212) 925-2426

SAN DIEGO
P.O. Box 2034, Chula Vista, CA 92011

TORONTO
(Committee of Toronto Supporters of the International Spartacist Tendency)
Box 6867, Station A, Toronto, Ontario, Canada

CP/SWP Endless Maneuvering...

Reformists' Sectarianism Undermines Chile Defense

In recent months one of the main focuses of the activity of the Spartacist League has been organizing demonstrations in defense of the several thousand political prisoners of the reactionary Chilean junta. The urgency of this task was underlined by the series of mass trials that began this spring with the military court martial of 47 militants of the Castroist MIR (Revolutionary Left Movement) in the southern town of Temuco on March 28. Sentences in this trial, announced the following day, ranged up to 20 years.

Other court martials held in April and May include that of five student and peasant leaders in San Fernando on April 26 (all receiving death sentences, later commuted to life); of two Socialist Party leaders in Valdivia on May 5 (both sentenced to death); of 17 members of leftist parties in Talca (up to 10 years); and of 47 leftists in Punta Arenas who received up to life imprisonment (*Le Monde*, 8 May).

Simultaneously, a show trial of some 67 former government officials, mostly military officers, was opened in Santiago in the presence of foreign lawyers and newspapermen. This trial is now ended, with sentences soon to be announced. A subsequent court martial of 27 political and governmental leaders of former President Salvador Allende's "Popular Unity" coalition (including Socialist ex-Foreign Minister Orlando Letelier and Luis Corvalán, general secretary of the Communist Party) is being prepared in the capital.

In the course of our defense activities the SL has initiated united-front demonstrations in Boston, New York, Buffalo, Ann Arbor, Madison, San Francisco and Los Angeles; as well as mobilizing for demonstrations called by other organizations in New York, Cleveland, the Bay Area and Chicago. Our demands in all these protests have included the call for defense of all victims of the junta's repression.

Leninist Defense Policies

But at the same time the SL has sought to raise a *class* defense of militants who are, as our slogans indicated, "class-war prisoners." The generals' and admirals' coup last September 11 toppled Allende's popular-front government (which included both bourgeois and workers parties), but its fundamental aim was to obliterate the organized workers movement. In good part this comes down to annihilating or at least imprisoning the leading cadres, both of the trade unions and the workers parties.

Thus, while raising the democratic demand for freedom for all the prisoner held by the junta (including, for instance, "constitutionalist" officers who opposed the coup), it is necessary to integrate defense actions into a broader struggle to defend the working class and its organizations, to overthrow the military dictatorship and replace it with the only real alternative—a revolutionary workers government. This integration of democratic demands into the struggle for socialist revolution is a continuation of the Leninist policies of the early Communist International and its defense organization, the International Red Aid.

Its U.S. affiliate was the International Labor Defense, headed by then Communist Party leader James P. Cannon (who was subsequently the founder of American Trotskyism). Commenting on the policies of the ILD in the famous Sacco and Vanzetti trials, Cannon remarked:

> "Our policy is the policy of the class struggle. It puts the center of gravity in the protest movement of the workers of America and the world. It puts all faith in the power of the masses and no faith whatever in the justice of the courts. While favoring all possible legal proceedings, it calls for agitation, publicity, demonstrations—organized protest on a national and international scale. It calls for unity and solidarity of all workers on this burning issue, regardless of conflicting views on other questions."
>
> —"Who Can Save Sacco and Vanzetti?" *Labor Defender*, January 1927

(For a fuller explanation of the Spartacist League policy toward questions of defending democratic rights, see "What Defense Policy for Revolutionaries?" *RCY Newsletter* No. 17 May-June 1973.)

The alternative to a Leninist defense policy (if we except ultra-leftists who refuse to defend democratic rights) is the bourgeois civil libertarian policy, relying on the courts, appeals to respectable liberal public opinion, etc. Typical of such organizations would be, for example, the American Civil Liberties Union, the League for the Rights of Man, Amnesty International and similar groups. However, with a slightly more "radical" cover, the same orientation is shared by one of the main left groups engaged in Chile defense work, the Socialist Workers Party-led United States Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA).

At a meeting in December 1966 to discuss the USLA "Statement of Aims," supporters of the Spartacist League objected to its class-neutral character, in particular its call for defense of victims of political persecution "regardless of their particular beliefs, affiliations or associations...." This, the SL supporters pointed out, could include reactionaries such as some Chilean Nazis then being held by the Frei government. The USLA leadership turned down the SL-proposed alternative declaration calling for aid to "victims of rightist political persecution," objecting that it might alienate liberal support. Thereupon Spartacist supporters left the meeting (see "USLA Sectarian Liberalism," *WV* No. 41, 29 March 1974).

Chasing the Liberals vs. Defense of Class-War Prisoners

These differences in orientation are naturally reflected in the contrasting Chile defense work of the SL and the SWP/USLA. Immediately after the coup, USLA announced it would highlight 23 prominent figures whose lives were feared to be in danger. Fully half of this number was made up of artists, writers and academics whose presence on the list might be expected to awaken the sympathy of bourgeois liberals in the U.S. (see *Militant*, 5 October 1973). Later this list was narrowed to USLA's "Chile 7" of whom only two, CP head Luis Corvalán and Luis Vitale (a leading supporter of the fake-Trotskyist "United Secretariat" in Chile), were leftist political leaders.

The Spartacist League, in contrast, demanded "Free All Class-War Prisoners in Chile," "Smash the Reactionary Junta—For Workers Revolution in Chile," "No Popular-Front Illusions," and called on unions to hot-cargo goods to Chilean ports. The very inclusion of such political demands was indicative of the difference in orientation. In the safety of the pages of the *Militant* the SWP claimed to oppose Allende's popular front; but in the demonstrations, where such a line was often far from popular, SWPers appeared only with USLA signs. USLA, of course, was only interested in civil liberties. (This is not quite true, since USLA's other main demand was to cut off all U.S. aid to Chile. The inclusion of this demand inadvertently revealed that USLA's real commitment was not to civil liberties or "single-issue coalitions," but to whatever was palatable to the liberals.)

WV PHOTO

In January of this year the Chilean MIR put out an appeal for a worldwide campagn to save two of its leaders, Bautista Van Schouwen and Alejandro Romero, who had fallen into the hands of the junta butchers. The SWP and USLA received this information at the latest by January 31 and very likely before then. However, according to individuals who formerly worked with USLA, the organization's leaders originally protested that they were too busy with activities around the "Chile 7" to do anything about Van Schouwen and Romero. Only after heated discussion did they finally agree to send a circular to local USLA groups requesting that telegrams be sent to Pinochet about Van Schouwen and Romero.

In contrast, when the Spartacist League received information about the case of the two MIR leaders at the end of February, steps were rapidly taken to plan a united-front demonstration in New York centering on the demand for the release of Van Schouwen, Romero and all prisoners of the junta. Following an initial planning meeting USLA announced it would not support the demonstration because there was not enough time to build it. In fact, however, their concern was to not lose their liberal and Stalinist friends by defending these two far-left leaders.

However, the March 15 demonstration managed to attract 150 militants to a spirited picket line and brief rally. Some members of the USLA staff did build for the protest and several attended. And although USLA refused to endorse the action, a speaker from that organization received equal time in the short speeches following the picketing. When similar demonstrations were called in Madison, Wisconsin and Los Angeles USLA and the SWP likewise refused to endorse.

At the New York demonstration the Spartacist League's leaflet, signs and speaker, in addition to the slogans agreed upon with the other sponsoring organizations, placed special emphasis on the need for opposition to rumored deals to save Corvalán and a few other leaders of Allende's UP coalition while sacrificing "far-left" militants, and for building a Chilean Trotskyist party as an alternative both to the open treachery of the Stalinists and social democrats and to the centrist waverings of the MIR. The same themes were raised by the SL at subsequent demonstrations as well.

United Fronts and Propaganda Blacs

These principled united-front actions initiated by the SL stood in contrast to a subsequent demonstration in New York sponsored by a temporary coalition, the May 11 Chile Action Committee, which included notably the Chile Solidarity Committee and USLA. Some time before the protest action, the Spartacist League contacted the May 11 CAC, stating its agreement with the demands of the demonstration. However, at a planning meeting the committee's organizers indicated that none of the proposed speakers were from ostensibly socialist groups, although bourgeois politicians such as Bella Abzug and Paul O'Dwyer were to be invited. The SL spokesman protested that even if the other organizations present felt their politics were adequately represented by Abzug and O'Dwyer, the Spartacist League did not, and therefore requested equal speaking time.

A week before the demonstration the SL sent a letter to the May 11 CAC repeating this request and indicating that it could co-sponsor the march on the condition that it be permitted a speaker:

> "Thus, if there was the opportunity for the S.L. to counterpose revolutionary Trotskyism to the Abzugs, Boorsteins, etc., from the speakers platform we could take responsibility of endorsing this demonstration. Without this right, we would be giving backhanded support to the building of treacherous illusions in the capitalist state."

Needless to say, there was no reply to this letter. However, when the SL arrived at the demonstration we discovered that the coveted bourgeois politicians had not come through and several of the sponsoring organizations would indeed have speakers after all. However, when the SL again requested equal speaking time, particularly in light of the fact that we had the largest contingent in the demonstration, an USLA/May 11 CAC organizer informed us that the SL could not have a speaker since we were not sponsors!

Only after more than an hour of arguing did the demonstration's organizers permit the SL to have a speaker. Even then they made it clear that this was a concession made *only* because we had raised so much protest at being excluded (and probably also due to the fact that the crowd was small and no "big-name" speakers had materialized). The Militant-Solidarity Caucus

continued on page 11

DETROIT NEWS

Judge Stair personally orders end to blockage of Warren, Michigan Chrysler plant.

WV PHOTO

Cops mass as Judge Stair orders arrest of militant strikers.

Continued from page 1

Strike Upsurge...

many nurses simply walked out in disgust.

Wildcat at Dodge Truck

One of the most dramatic events of the current strike wave—one which pitted ostensible radicals together with angry rank-and-file production workers against the union bureaucracy, the company and the state—was the wildcat at Dodge Truck (Warren, Michigan) in the Detroit area in mid-June. The strike, which was defeated after mass arrests three days later, was a virtual replay of the wildcats in Detroit Chrysler plants last summer. Officials of United Auto Workers Local 140 tried the same tactic of a mass goon squad which was used to break the Mack Avenue wildcat in August of last year. At the same time, in case the presence of 120 Woodcock loyalists at the plant gates was insufficient to spark a back-to-work movement, the courts and the cops were brought in as an added inducement.

Discontent had been building up at Dodge Truck for some time, over such grievances as inadequate ventilation producing temperatures as high as 135°, broken hydraulic lines spilling oil on the floor and unsafe clothing issued by the company, as well as a general speed-up. A slowdown to protest unsafe working conditions was organized by a steward, Steve Smith. The firing of Smith and four others provoked a walkout of the second shift on June 10. The day shift followed suit and all but a few hundred of the plant's 6,400 workers stayed out until the strike was broken by the arrests on Thursday and Friday.

Smith and the other leaders ran the action wholly within the framework of basic trade-union militancy. They made no attempt to place the wildcat within a strategy to combat the Woodcock machine, and the capitalist state behind it. The bourgeoisie and the union bureaucrats, however, observed no such reticence. UAW officials blamed everything on "radicals," and the *Detroit Free Press* (13 June) printed a vicious red-baiting attack on Smith, quoting House Internal Security Committee spokesmen labeling him a former leader of the Maoist "Revolutionary Union" (RU).

In fact, it was not the strike leaders but rather UAW International representative George Morelli who first raised the question of government intervention. Addressing a strike meeting of 400-500 workers on June 11, Morelli refused to support the wildcat because it was "illegal" and would subject the UAW to fines, penalties, etc. The UAW leadership was able to brazen its way through the affair, with Morelli ejecting the several hundred assembled strikers from their union hall by summoning 35 cop cars. Smith and other leaders of the wildcat, however, did not even get around to electing a strike committee, an elementary necessity for the success of any rank-and-file action.

As if Morelli's dire warning carried straight to the ears of Chrysler management, the latter went to the courts and found the right judge, one Hunter D. Stair. Stair issued an anti-strike injunction and a few days later personally saw that it was carried out. In a bizarre spectacle he arrived at the plant and, standing on the back of a pick-up truck, went from gate to gate announcing, "I'm now holding court. Do you want to listen to me or do you want to go to jail?" (*Detroit News*, 14 June).

When the pickets refused to disperse, Stair had 20-40 workers arrested, including Smith. Despite illusions fostered by the pollyanna-like optimism expressed by some of the militants present ("this really shows we have the company on the run" was one comment), this police action effectively broke the wildcat. The arrests having precisely served their purpose, criminal charges were dropped. However, Chrysler subsequently fired about 75 workers for participating in the walkout.

As a cover to help break the Dodge Truck walkout the local UAW bureaucracy even allowed an "official" strike vote about a week later. The vote was overwhelmingly pro-strike, one of the demands to be the reinstatement of the 75 workers fired during the wildcat. But as yet the local officials have not carried out this mandate to call out the members in defense of their fired brothers.

In the Detroit area the RU has played up the Dodge Truck wildcat as a "victory." It has done nothing, however, to organize a united front to get the victims of the strike rehired. Perhaps it is too busy celebrating the "victory" to bother. UAW members, particularly in Detroit, must demand that their union force Chrysler to take back the workers fired for the Dodge Truck wildcat.

SPARK

Shipyard workers at General Dynamics' Fore River plant continue picketing despite police harassment.

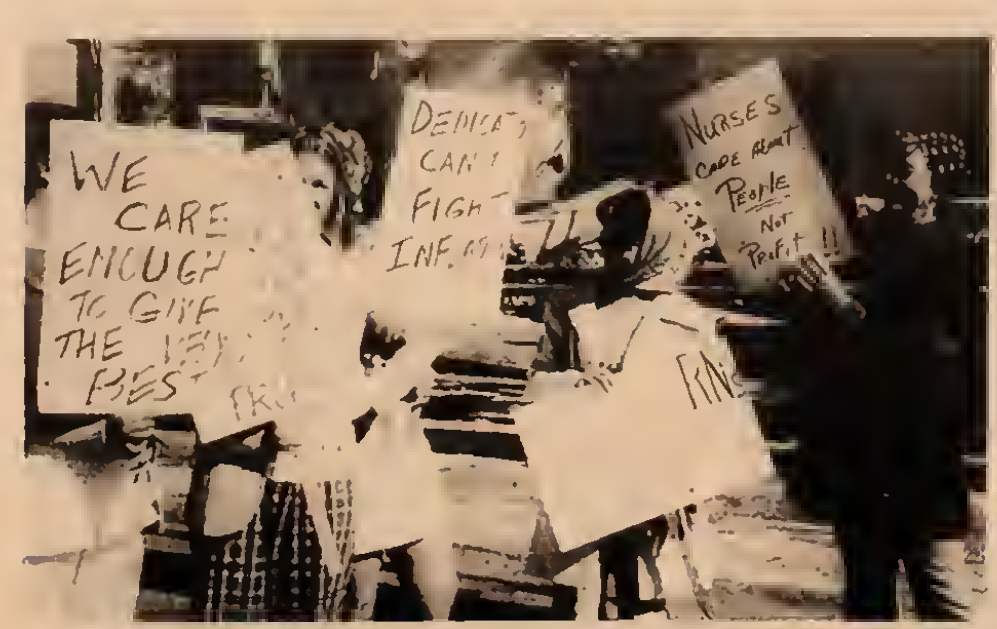
Boston Shipbuilders Against General Dynamic

Perhaps the longest and bitterest strike of the current wave is at General Dynamics' Fore River shipyard in Quincy, Massachusetts. As we go to press, Local 5 of the Industrial Union of Marine and Shipbuilding Workers will have been out for 15 weeks. The strike began in mid-March with mass picketing and clashes between pickets and the local cops, leading to the arrest of 26 unionists (*Boston Globe*, 21 March). However, following a court injunction limiting pickets to five per gate, union officials ordered an end to the mass picketing.

The strike had its origins in a sweetheart contract negotiated five years ago, shortly after General Dynamics bought the Fore River yard from Bethlehem Steel. With GD pleading poverty, the old Local 5 leadership negotiated a five-year contract for minimal gains and *no* cost-of-living escalator. As a result of that abysmal pact shipbuilders at Quincy are the lowest-paid in the nation. When the union demanded a $1.25 raise and a one-year contract, General Dynamic responded with the insulting and provocative counter-offer of 90 cents spread over three years!

Not only is the company trying to perpetuate subnormal wages, but it is also attacking basic union prerogatives. GD is demanding that the union scrap all occupational guidelines and create a catchall category ("yard mechanic") which would include welders, pipefitters, riggers and other tradesmen. This would allow management to use anybody for any job! The giant conglomerate's profits are now being spent to place full-page ads in Boston newspapers attacking the union for opposing increased "productivity" measures.

This flagrantly anti-union posture has generated deep hatred for the company among the Quincy shipbuilders. The fight with the cops was triggered when pickets prevented GD's Quincy division president from entering the yard. The yard workers' strike is weakened by massive layoffs of the Fore



BULLETIN

Nurses picket at St. Luke's Hospital in San Francisco.

SL/RCY Public Offices

BAY AREA

Friday and Saturday 3:00–6:00 p.m.

330-40th Street
(near Broadway)
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Phone 653-4668

NEW YORK

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Room 522
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Phone 925-5665

REVOLUTIONARY LITERATURE

River installations in the last three years, which have cut the workforce by two-thirds. However, the strike has recently been strengthened as the yard's white-collar workers have also gone out.

The Quincy shipyard is one of only three major industrial establishments in the Boston area. (Another, the Lynn General Electric turbine complex, employing some 10,000 workers, was also out on strike for ten days last month over a dispute concerning job rate classifications. The third is the Framingham GM plant, which has laid off half its workforce for the last four months.) Thus, the shipbuilders' strike has an impact beyond what the relatively small numbers (1,600) involved would indicate. Massachusetts Senators Kennedy and Brooke have both called for an early strike settlement, and the outcome of the bitter Quincy strike will undoubtedly have an effect upon the labor climate throughout New England in coming months.

Back to State Wage Control?

The 24 June *Wall Street Journal* reported that in May hourly wages for manufacturing workers increased 14 percent (on an annual basis) compared with 8 percent in 1973. This was the first month since last September that real hourly earnings did not fall, that wage-rate increases actually outpaced the inflation. The May figures may be accidental, being influenced by the increase in the minimum wage from $1.60 to $2.00 an hour. But in any case, even a 14 percent annual wage rate increase would not seriously reduce the present rate of capitalist exploitation.

However, if the current strike wave produces a serious wage offensive (as it shows signs of doing in the construction trades), there will be pressures to reimpose state wage controls. At present, most sections of the ruling class are against reinstituting "wage/price controls." Meany, Abel and Woodcock have amply demonstrated a willingness to hold wages even without legal sanctions. Not seeing the need for state action against union wage demands at this time, corporate ownership is opposed to the government bureaucracy's intervening in its affairs, as this necessarily involves corruption, favoritism and arbitrariness.

However, even today, the advocates of "wage/price controls," though a distinct minority, are far from being insignificant. They include Wilbur Mills, conservative Democratic head of the House Ways and Means Committee and one of the leading shapers of economic policy within the American ruling class. Ted Kennedy waged a halfhearted struggle this spring to maintain some form of government controls. And that important organ of the Eastern liberal establishment, the New York Times, is calling for the re-establishment of controls and condemns Nixon as short-sighted for eliminating them.

If the strike wave escalates, involving major national contracts, (telephone workers this summer, coal miners in the fall), the ruling class will undoubtedly try to re-play the 1971 script of a wage freeze followed by controls. However, it is unlikely that history will simply repeat itself. The working class has suffered a major wage cut as a result of state controls and the illusions or tolerance which were widespread in 1971 have been stripped away by that bitter experience. Even Meany now has to denounce "Nixon's wage/price controls," hoping union members will forget that he fully supported them.

Forces within the labor movement that are pushing for militant wage struggles are in a far better position today than in 1971 to prevent the capitalist state from suppressing labor militancy. But the task of revolutionaries is not to enthuse over the now-evident combativeness of the working class, but to prepare militant workers for the struggles ahead by stressing demands going beyond simple trade-union militancy and directly challenging the capitalist system.■

Third Campers Spurn CSL Proposition

An unintentionally humorous look at the unappetizing flora and fauna which reside in the murky swamp of centrism was provided recently by the publication of an exchange of correspondence between the "Revolutionary Socialist League" (left social-democratic split from the International Socialists) and the "Class Struggle League" (product of an unprincipled unification between the *Vanguard Newsletter* grouping and the majority leadership of the former Leninist Faction of the Socialist Workers Party). The June issue of *Class Struggle*, sometimes-monthly press of the CSL, publishes a letter by Sy Landy on behalf of the RSL breaking off formal political discussions with the CSL, along with a reply by the CSL's Henry

CSL's Henry Platsky WV PHOTO

Platsky. (All quotations here are from *Class Struggle*, Volume III, No. 5, June 1974. We have taken the liberty of correcting the obvious typographical errors.)

The two organizations apparently conducted discussions for several months in the fall of last year. The initiating impetus undoubtedly came from the CSL, itself the product of a lowest-common-denominator fusion which continues to be manifestly unstable, which is growing increasingly desperate in the attempt to latch onto some larger, if no more stable, formation. The CSL's unenviable future looks even dimmer now that the RSL has rebuffed its attempted capitulation.

Landy's letter obliquely notes the rotten-bloc character of the CSL. Charging that at the first discussion the CSLers had "openly quarrelled" among themselves over trade-union tactics, he notes that this cast doubt "on the question of whether the unity between the VNL and the LF meant anything more than the combination we believed it to be.... It doesn't appear that you have a functional unity. It seems that you are just a temporary assemblage of diverse entities." He also charges that the CSL, in response to a criticism of an article on Arnold Miller, had "said that you had allowed it to be printed without challenge because the writer was a close contact."

Landy also notes that the CSL's absurd position of calling for a Fifth International "is the vestigial leftover of an earlier maneuver within the embryo of the Leninist Faction, one of your component groups. In order to paper over a temporary bloc with Bordigist elements, you adapted to them on the question of the international. It no longer serves much of a maneuverist purpose so it will go when you find a new gambit."

On this question Landy was truly prescient. The same issue of *Class Struggle* which reprints this correspondence exchange also reports on a CSL National Convention at which the Fifth International position was abandoned! (The groupings which Landy termed "Bordigist" had already split away from the Leninist Faction immediately following the LF's exit from the SWP. The Platsky reply sidesteps this fact by denying that there ever were any such "Bordigist elements." This is correct; the elements in question would more properly be described as merely Kollontaist.)

The Platsky letter protests indignantly against the charge that the CSL is "just a temporary assemblage of diverse entities." Yet his defense against the "maneuverism" manifested by the publication of the disputed article on Miller is, in part, "It should be pointed out that the article was printed before the fusion of the old Class Struggle League with *Vanguard Newsletter*. The leadership of *Vanguard Newsletter* had no responsibility for the decision to print the article...." In other words, it was the fault of the LF-variety CSL; "we" (the *Vanguard Newsletter*-variety CSL) had nothing to do with it! Some "fusion"!

The correspondence exchange is replete with accusations of maneuverism, and a number of political criticisms and differences are raised by both sides. But as is absolutely characteristic of centrists, neither side really deals with the central political difference separating these two gangs of opportunists: the question of the class nature of the Russian state and, therefore, of revolutionary *defeatism* or revolutionary *defensism* toward the USSR, China, Eastern Europe, Cuba, North Vietnam, North Korea in the event of armed conflict with the forces of imperialism.

Only the RSL's contemptuous sneers at the pasted-together "unity" of the CSL could goad the CSL's Platsky into pointing out that the RSL is itself a rotten bloc between the "defeatist" RSL majority and the "defensist" former Communist Tendency of the SWP. Yet Landy has to tie himself in knots to avoid characterizing the Russian question as a barrier to principled unification.

Indeed Landy's letter states, "we wish to indicate once again that we

RSL's Sy Landy WV PHOTO

consider fusion with those comrades who hold to a degenerated workers' state analysis of Russia *et al.* and those like ourselves who have a state capitalist analysis to be quite possible and principled." Yet "we regard the adoption by the CSL of the Vern-Ryan position on the expansion of the Stalinists to be a serious capitulation to anti-working class views."

The Vern-Ryan theory was an erroneous attempt to explain the mechanics of the destruction of capitalism in Eastern Europe following World War II, resulting in states whose class character is qualitatively identical to that of the Stalinized Soviet Union. In other words, Landy would like us to believe that the process whereby these states acquired the same class character as the USSR is a "fundamental" question—but the question of *what is that class character* is not!

The reader unaccustomed to the tortuous "method" employed of necessity by centrists may well ask: what is the purpose of this obfuscation? Why cannot Landy admit that the two groups' divergent positions on the class nature of the deformed workers states are an important question prohibiting unification? The reason is simple: the RSL cannot admit that the Russian question falls within the category of "fundamental questions" because the RSL claims to be Trotskyist and yet holds that the USSR is state capitalist; Trotsky insisted that the USSR is a degenerated workers state. Thus the RSL must locate the CSL's anti-Trotskyism in the Vern-Ryan bugaboo, or indeed in anything—except the Russian question.

In order to seek to maintain the mantle of Trotskyism while criticizing one of its essential theoretical components, Landy accuses Trotsky of nothing worse than "inconsistency" and likens Trotsky's position on the USSR to Lenin's position (prior to the *April Theses*) for the "democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry." He observes that Lenin changed this position when it came manifestly in conflict with the needs of an independent proletarian policy in pre-revolutionary Russia.

This latter correct observation entirely destroys Landy's argument. For when the class nature of the USSR was placed firmly in the forefront of the crucial programmatic questions facing the Leninist movement in 1940 (by the Shachtmanite revisionists, of whom the RSL is the heir), Trotsky led the fight against that revisionism, whose ultimate logic was reconciliation with one's own bourgeoisie. It was precisely at such a moment that he should have discarded any such "inconsistency," just as Lenin did when the implications of a formerly inadequate theory became manifest in the living struggle. Landy's tortured analogy should have Lenin standing arm in arm with Stalin in opposing the proletarian insurrection in Russia!

The CSL, however, cannot deal with this devious assault on Trotskyism because it does not dare to treat principled political questions seriously. Its only concern is the struggle against its felt irrelevance, the struggle to postpone its inevitable descent into oblivion, unnoticed and unmourned among the denizens of the centrist mire. Platsky's letter could be reduced to a single desperate cry: here I am! look at me! He whines, "The RSL membership has consistently refused to buy our press.... The RSL has preferred to debate and chase the petty-bourgeoisified ranks of the Spartacist League and has simply ignored the existence of our tendency in any of its public activities"; "... one of the comrades sent by the RSL to 'discuss'... had previously admitted to my face that he didn't bother reading our press"; RSLers should "learn that a serious study of opponents' positions is necessary.... We should, therefore, expect a noticeable increase in our literature sales at your forums, functions, etc."; "your refusal to approach our politics seriously" and so forth.

Were politics simply a game—which, despite the opportunist antics of the RSL, CSL and their ilk, it is not—the best one could say about these organizations is that they deserve each other. The organizational decomposition of the CSL now appears imminent as well as inevitable, but the long-term prognosis for the RSL "Trotskyist" state capitalists is fundamentally no better. Those who choose to remain in the centrist mire have little to look forward to but similar squabbles, rotten blocs and their decomposition into the original rotten components, on the road to nowhere.■

"Revolutionaries" Tail Masses

Which Way to the Portuguese Re

During the last two months the Portuguese drama has focused on one fundamental theme: the struggle for the masses. For the reactionaries grouped around Spínola and the "Junta of National Salvation," the question is posed negatively: only by forcing the workers into passive submission--through an astute combination of concessions, fostering of democratic illusions and the use of brute force--can they hope to stabilize the armed forces and put an end to the current "anarchy."

For revolutionaries the same situation is posed positively, and much more sharply: only by freeing the proletariat from democratic illusions and from confidence in the reformist Communist Party (CP), only by crystallizing a Trotskyist vanguard party and winning the decisive sectors of the working class to its banners, can the way be prepared for socialist revolution.

Portugal is presently in a classical pre-revolutionary situation of a slow type. It is pre-revolutionary in the sense that any severe shock (such as a premature attempt by the junta to crush the left and working-class organizations, or the precipitous intervention of the Spanish army) could easily lead to the establishment of organs of dual power (soviets). This revolutionary potential is a reflection of a deep hatred of their exploiters among the Portuguese working masses, who time and again in recent weeks have gone on strike and demonstrated against the wishes of the "democratic" provisional government.

The slowness, on the other hand, is an expression of the lack of political experience of the workers, and the consequent absence of a revolutionary Marxist party firmly rooted in the masses. On the surface, the Russian Revolution transpired between February and October of 1917. In reality, though, this rapid pace of development was possible only because of the previous experience of the 1905 revolution and of more than a decade of sharp political struggle between the populist Narodniks, the Mensheviks and the Bolsheviks. This history is entirely lacking for the Portuguese working class, which is only now awakening from the 45 years of enforced political slumber under the Salazar-Caetano dictatorship.

The present situation is the result of an attempted maneuver by key sections of Portuguese capital. Facing imminent military defeat in Guinea-Bissau and a rapidly deteriorating situation in Mozambique, the bourgeoisie hoped to cut its losses in Africa (by granting bogus "independence" to its former colonies in the framework of a Lusitanian "commonwealth") and reorient the economy toward Europe, while maintaining a "controlled democracy" in Portugal. Not only Spínola had Gaullist dreams.

But to date the grand maneuver has been notably unsuccessful. Already Portuguese workers have entered into sharp elemental class battles with their capitalist oppressors; already they are clashing with the provisional government. But while the workers view their struggles in class terms, and large sections of the proletariat recognize that the coup fundamentally signifies only a better position from which to fight for their liberation, they are as yet unable to transcend the economic framework of trade-union struggles.

For A Revolutionary Regroupment

Exactly the same condition, expressed in more sophisticated terms reflecting centrist political confusion, is present among the numerous ostensibly revolutionary groups in Portugal. On the one hand, the so-called "far left" is relatively large in comparison with the reformist CP. If the CP can mobilize 10,000 militants and supporters for a demonstration against strikes, both the Maoist MRPP (Movement for the Reorganization of the Proletarian Party) and a nascent left Maoist/Castroite/workerist/anarchist/"Trotskyist" bloc can mobilize a roughly equal number for demonstrations demanding immediate independence for the colonies. But at the level of political direction, none of these groups has demonstrated the ability to lead the struggle forward to proletarian revolution by generalizing and centralizing the workers' struggles into a battle for state power.

During mass upsurges even a small group can become a great force in a short period of time if it gives the masses a correct analysis and raises the correct slogans in good time. With large numbers of workers already going beyond the reformist strait jacket of the CP and several thousand militants supporting one or another of the various centrist groups, the way is open for a far-reaching revolutionary regroupment in Portugal. This is how Lenin prepared for the victory of the October Revolution following his return to Russia in April 1917: reorienting the Bolshevik party toward the goal of winning soviet power, fusing with the group led by Trotsky and struggling to win the workers away from the Mensheviks and Social Revolutionaries.

Such a regroupment must take the form of the construction of a Trotskyist party on a firm Marxist programmatic base. Only in this way can the eventual product of splits and fusions among ostensibly revolutionary parties lead the struggle of the masses instead of simply tailing behind them (as is now occurring). The key to a successful revolutionary regroupment is thus a sharp struggle for the Transitional Program and Trotskyist politics.

This perspective is sharply counterposed to the opportunist bloc now being sought by various groups to the left of the CP in Portugal. The "Trotskyist" LCI (Internationalist Communist League), the Castroite-anarchist LUAR (League of Unity and Revolutionary Action), the Castroite-workerist PRP (Proletarian Revolutionary Party), the Maoist URM-L (Revolutionary Marxist-Leninist Unity), the CIC (Groups for Immediate and Total Independence for the Colonies) and the left social-democratic CBS (Socialist Rank-and-File Committees) are attempting to cement a false unity on a three-point program: "immediate and total independence of the colonies," "rejection of CP opportunism and working-class betrayal" and "socialist revolution as the only means of liberating the Portuguese proletariat."

While the demands are just, and could be the object for occasional joint action, the "unity" they represent is entirely bogus. Most likely this will not develop beyond an informal propaganda bloc in which the several organizations opportunistically submerge their political differences. But if a common formation should emerge (similar to the Chilean MIR, founded in 1965 by Maoists, Castroites and "Trotskyists") it would only split apart at the first serious political test: for instance, in a "July Days" situation where the Maoists, anarchists and Castroites might well attempt some kind of adventurist action; or over political demands, such as a call for immediate elections to a constituent assembly.

WV PHOTO

LCI contingent at Lisbon demonstration in June.

The political program of Lenin's regroupment of the revolutionary Marxist forces in Russia in 1917 was the famous "April Theses." These dealt with the question of the attitude toward the provisional government; toward the imperialist war and the agrarian question; on the tactics for struggle in the military; on the immediate tasks of the party; over the national question and concerning the class character of the revolution. These were the burning questions of the hour: without unity on these, revolutionary action was impossible. Only a program of similar magnitude can be the basis for Marxist regroupment in Portugal today.

Trotsky, in the founding document of the Fourth International ("The Transitional Program") called for the formulation of a program of demands

> "...to help the masses in the process of the daily struggle to find the bridge between present demands and the socialist program of the revolution. This bridge should include a system of *transitional demands*, stemming from today's conditions and from today's consciousness of wide layers of the working class and unalterably leading to one final conclusion: the conquest of power by the proletariat."
>
> —"The Death Agony of Capitalism and the Tasks of the Fourth International," 1938

In a situation in which tens of thousands of Portuguese workers are striking in defiance of the military junta, the provisional government and the Communist Party, while their demands are centered on a "minimum program" of a 40-hour week and a 6,000 escudo minimum wage, the need for such a transitional program is obvious.

Democratic Demands in Portugal

Democratic demands would play a large role in such a program. It is remarkable that in condemning the treacherous role being played by the Stalinist Communist Party, none of the "far-left" groups, not even the ostensibly Trotskyist LCI, has seen fit to raise the demand for *immediate elections for a constituent assembly*. The Stalinists, to be sure, are for a constituent assembly... 12 months from now when everything has been "pacified." To struggle for immediate elections means directly challenging the power of the junta and the provisional government, which were not voted into office by anybody. It means breaking the "alliance of the people and the armed forces," the cornerstone of CP politics in recent weeks. But in a country that has suffered under the yoke of a bonapartist dictatorship for almost half a century, this demand could easily win mass support.

Another key democratic demand is the call for *unconditional independence for the colonies* and for *immediate withdrawal of the troops from Africa*. Particularly after Spínola's recent declaration on the colonies, which as one army officer commented "could take generations to implement," this too is a call for struggle against the junta. Moreover, it can be used effectively to drive a wedge between the Communist and Socialist leaders and their base: both the CP and SP are formally pro-independence, but the provisional government of which they are a part is pledged only to "negotiations."

One group for whom this demand has special importance, of course, is the soldiers. An example of how seemingly democratic demands can grow over into a direct challenge to the bourgeoisie was the vote by an armed forces unit in Tancos that it would refuse to embark for Africa under any conditions (*Luta Popular*, 6 June). After all, they were only voting on the war, a simple democratic right! For the several tens of thousands of workers from the colonies in Portugal this demand is also of great interest. By undertaking consistent agitation for unconditional independence communists can demonstrate to the most conscious African workers and militants that the road to real national emancipation is not through bourgeois nationalism but through proletarian internationalism.

At the present time, a sharp struggle must be mounted around the demands of *no censorship*, for *freedom of association* and *full freedom to strike*. With the junta moving simultaneously against the political groups to the left of the government and against striking workers, these demands can serve to overcome widespread syndicalism among the workers (the product of CP betrayals) and point to the need for political struggle to protect their elementary democratic rights. It can also drive a wedge between the junta and sections of the petty bourgeoisie, as some newspapers and even Socialist Party leaders have expressed dissatisfaction over the

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volution?

Military Threatens Occupation, CP Organizes Scab Brigades

Portuguese Postal Strike Defeated

FROM OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

LISBON, June 25—After three weeks of futile negotiations with the new Portuguese government, 35,000 workers of the CTT (the official postal and telecommunications agency) left their jobs at midnight on June 16. The strike shut down post offices nationwide and curtailed phone service outside Lisbon and Oporto, the only two cities where telephone service is under another company.

The strike vote was taken by democratically elected delegates from each of the work locations, who then entrusted the day-to-day leadership of the strike to the Comissão Pró-Sindicato. The Commission is a small group struggling for the formation of a trade union for CTT workers, who have been prohibited by the government from organizing.

The strike was almost total, with perhaps 2-3,000 workers not adhering. Strikers demanded 100 percent vacation pay, retroactive to January 1, a minimum salary of 6,000 escudos (roughly $240) a month, a 35-hour five-day workweek, overtime pay and immediate promotions for workers who had been in the same category for more than five years.

Three days later the strikers returned to work, having gained absolutely nothing. They bowed before a threat from the government to send troops against the strikers and a vicious campaign by the Communist Party and liberals to whip up public opinion against the strike.

The government launched its attack immediately. Ignoring the fact that the strike vote had been taken by delegates from the work sites, it tried to blame the walkout on the Comissão Pró-Sindicato and appealed to the "conscience" of individual workers to go against their strike leaders:

> "...the Government cannot but note that although the strike is a right of the workers it cannot be used indiscriminately without exhausting the possibilities of negotiation, which in this case, the Government was still committed to continuing.
>
> "It appeals, therefore, to the political conscience of the CTT workers, so that they think over the consequences of a strike in this moment, [consequences] for which they will be entirely responsible, [and] the certainty that the Government will not back down from showing the firmness that the situation will require in order to assure the normal life of the country."
>
> —*Diario de Noticias*, 17 June

When the workers stood united in the face of this threat, the Provisional Government carried out its promises of "firmness." On the third day, with the strike ranks still holding solid, the government called on the armed forces to intervene. Major General Costa Gomez amiably agreed.

Even more devastating to the strike effort than the threat of troop intervention, however, was the smear campaign of the Communist Party traitors. Having obtained two seats in President General Spínola's cabinet, including the Ministry of Labor, the CP was naturally "in perfect unity" with the government line that interruption of work in vital sectors of the national economy contradicted "normal progress toward democracy." This strike-breaking line was echoed by the Stalinist-led labor federation, the Intersindical: "Certain demands made at this time are an affront to the democratization of the country" (*Diario de Noticias*, 20 June).

Postal workers gather during Lisbon strike. REVOLUÇÃO

But the "Communist" Party did not stop at mere words! In several parts of the country the Stalinists organized demonstrations against the strike. They also formed goon squads which smashed post office windows and threatened to enter the occupied work locations. In Bragança, where such a gang actually did enter the post office, the workers remained firm in refusing to return to work. (Throughout the strike the CTT workers continued vital services such as urgent communications with hospitals, doctors, pharmacies, firemen, etc.)

Under the threat of troop intervention and physical danger to strikers from the CP's goon squads, bargaining between the Comissão Pró-Sindicato and the government reopened on June 19. Despite the affirmation two days previously that it was "committed to continuing" negotiations, in the middle of the session the government's representatives got up and left, declaring that they had made their final offer. The next day the authorities declared over the radio that it was actually the Comissão which left the negotiations and once again tried to go over the head of the commission, appealing directly to the workers to go back to work by publishing in the newspapers a table of proposed wage categories. (Moreover, this schedule was actually lower than the government's last offer at the negotiating table!)

Immediately following the June 19 negotiating session, the Commission adopted a position of abandoning the strike and called a meeting of the delegates. At the beginning of the meeting the delegates were firm in their resolve to continue the strike, but after a four-hour discussion the Comissão brought them around to its position that the strike could not continue because the strikers were in physical danger and "because the unpopularity of the strike was sowing dissension within the class as a whole."

Now the Commission has adopted a new set of demands which it intends to put before a delegate vote June 26. These include a minimum salary of 5,000 escudos, a 75 percent discount for CTT workers in the pharmacies, control of social security and personnel (transfers, hiring and promotions) by the workers, removal of all sympathetic to the old regime from the administration and the same immediate promotions demand as previously. But the Comissão has abandoned a position of strength and, having led the workers through what turned out to be a useless strike, it has lost the initiative in relation to the government. There is even less chance now for acceptance of the workers' demands, even though they are of a lesser character.

The defeated CTT strike has been another lesson in the hollowness of Spínola's pretensions to the granting of democratic liberties under the new regime. In other words, the right to strike will be "permitted" (although "regulated," naturally) as long as it is not used in important sectors of the economy! It is precisely because the means of communication are vital to the operations of the bourgeoisie that the government responded immediately with the threat of force. Having gotten away with it, the government will be all the more ready to use similar methods to crush other strikes.

For intransigent defense of the unlimited right to strike for all workers in Portugal! With the government pleading inability to pay and refusing to accept the just demands of the CTT employees, the only way postal and telecommunications workers can win their wage claims, expel the criminals of the

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Spínola/CP Regime Reimposes Censorship

LISBON, June 22—In the wake of the arrest of Saldanho Sanches, editor of the Maoist MRPP's *Luta Popular* and the placing of television under direct government control following a TV workers' protest over military censorship, General Spínola has just informed the Portuguese public as to what is meant by freedom of speech under the new regime. Yesterday the general signed into law an act that authorizes the "Junta of National Salvation" to nominate an ad hoc commission for control of the press, radio, television, theater and motion pictures until the publication of new laws regarding these media.

The preamble to the law points out that the replacement of the former Salazar-Caetano dictatorship must proceed "without internal convulsions which affect the peace, the progress and the well-being of the country." "To the means of social communication falls the fundamental mission of actively cooperating in the reconstruction of the country," according to the provisional government, which includes Communist and Socialist ministers. Thus there is an "absolute necessity of prohibiting the unjust use of a liberty which must be responsible, thus preventing the country from being led into a climate of anarchy through incitement to disorder and violence." In other words, freedom of speech will be permitted as long as no one says anything against the government!

The ad hoc committee is to remain under the direct control of the junta, functioning in conformity with the regulations annexed to the law which include the following prohibitions:

- —Incitement or provocation, even though indirect, to military disobedience, including disrespect for military laws and regulations.
- —Offenses against the President of the Republic or members of the State Council.
- —Offenses against foreign heads of state or their accredited diplomatic representatives in Portugal.
- —References to military operations whose divulgence has not been authorized by the Armed Forces.
- —Incitement to strike, work stoppages or demonstrations not authorized by legislation in effect.
- —Ideological attacks that contradict the execution of the Program of the Movement of the Armed Forces.
- —Practice or incitement to practice of any other acts which the general law classifies as crimes.

Violations will be punished by a fine of 500,000 escudos (roughly $20,000) and suspension of the offending media for a period of sixty days.

There is no doubt whatever that this attack is not directed against "the forces of reaction" as it claims to be, but is a naked attempt to stifle not only the left, but all workers' organizations as well. If the reactionaries accumulate enough strength to rigorously enforce this law the left will be forced once again to clandestinely circulate its publications. For working-class mobilization to defend full freedom of the press, freedom of speech, the right to association and the right to strike! For the immediate release of Saldanho Sanches!

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Postal Strike...

Salazarist regime and achieve control of personnel is to take over the installations and run them under workers control. (This would also be a tremendous step in the direction of organizing nationwide resistance to a move by the junta to crush the labor movement.)

A strike for such advanced demands requires audacious and rigorous organizing to achieve victory: occupation of the CTT facilities and expulsion of all representatives of the government; armed defense guards to protect the strikers against Stalinist goon squads and an army attack; democratic election of a strike committee, responsible to the ranks, which can be recalled at any time. Likewise, it is necessary to link up with militant workers throughout the country, calling for strikes to achieve a 30-hour week with no loss in pay (Portugal suffers massive unemployment which forces hundreds of thousands of workers to emigrate in search of jobs); full cost-of-living protection (sliding scale of wages, a key demand with inflation in Lisbon now running at an annual rate of more than 20 percent); equal pay for equal work (important because of the widespread wage discrimination against several hundred thousand women and black Cape Verdean workers); doubling the minimum wage; and expropriation under workers control of the banks, industry and monopolies (CUF, Dos Santos, Champalimaud, etc.) who run the country's economy.

Such strikes require organization and leadership which, given the scabbing policies of the Stalinist CP, cannot come from the unions of the Intersindical; it is necessary to extend the democratically elected unitary *comissões operárias* (workers commissions, joining together members of the many unions in a single plant) to all workplaces, and to coordinate them through a national council of workers commissions and strike committees. Pointing out to their working-class brothers in uniform that their interests lie in joint struggle against the generals, militants must also agitate for the formation of soldiers' committees linked to the *comissões operárias*.

Workers control, workers commissions, militant factory occupations, armed defense of strike pickets, a central council of strike and factory committees, the formation of soldiers committees—all of these measures point to an inevitable direct confrontation with Spínola and the junta. Given the present disorganization of the workers movement the time is not propitious for a head-on collision now, and revolutionaries must therefore seek to avoid adventurist armed clashes with pro-junta troops (something the Maoists and semi-Castroite elements might well attempt).

Nonetheless, the masses must be educated to beware of the junta and its puppet provisional government; they must be won away from the treacherous pro-Spínola misleaders of the Communist Party and the Intersindical. A call for massive unitary demonstrations (preserving the right of all organizations to carry their own signs and slogans) defending the right to strike, against censorship, for immediate elections to a constituent assembly, for unconditional independence to the colonies and for immediate withdrawal of the troops from Africa can aid this process of political clarification.

The CP reformists have no intention of breaking with the generals and their provisional government and fighting for a workers government based on a national council of workers commissions. The Stalinist traitors' refusal to fight for a workers government demonstrates concretely to the working masses just whom these fake communists really support—not the workers they claim to represent—but the "democratic" bourgeoisie of the Spínola regime.

But the key to taking the struggle forward is not simply a demonstration or slogan, but the fundamental question of revolutionary leadership. Although large segments of the Portuguese working class have rejected the leadership of the strikebreaking CP, there is neither a recognized alternative leadership of the militant workers nor a party which has demonstrated its ability to take the struggle forward to victory. The construction of that party, which can only be built on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and the Trotskyist Transitional Program, as part of a reborn Fourth International, is the fundamental task facing revolutionists in Portugal today. ■

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CWA...

amendment; right-wing opposition to détente (for example, Nixon should be impeached not for Watergate but because he visited China!); and supplanting strikes by more "modern" unionism that "serves the national interest." But it is unclear whether Watts has the authority to consolidate the bureaucracy.

Just one year ago at the Miami convention MAC was able to wage a successful united-front campaign to defeat the proposed "19-2C" amendment, originally posed as an anti-red clause and subsequently turned into an omnibus anti-dissent measure, the vague wording of which threatened any mildly independent local bureaucrat. But in Kansas City, virtually every independent-leaning local leader had been lined up behind "national bargaining." In a bargaining year with strong rank-and-file sentiment for a strike, which could easily escape the bureaucracy's control, the plea for unity among squabbling bureaucrats fell upon sympathetic ears.

For a Class-Struggle Opposition

The harassment and threats against MAC were an indication of the fact that none of the nervous bureaucrats wanted to mount even the most timid opposition to the present CWA regime in this explosive period. Much less were they interested in defending the rights of a real class-struggle opposition group which calls for a fight not only against Beirne and his successor, but also against the several "independent" local bureaucrats in various militant big-city locations and the various reformist fake lefts who tag along in their wake. MAC has consistently fought for policies not of "mutual responsibility," but for class struggle; not for reliance on the Democratic and Republican twin parties of capital, but for taking the fight to the political arena through a labor party based on the trade unions.

Also present in Kansas City were members of the Progressive Labor Party-backed Workers Action Movement. MAC requested that WAM join a bloc to defend the right of opposition at the CWA convention. WAM, however, turned down this request, explaining that it wanted united fronts only with the masses. With the exception of WAM and MAC, no other left opposition groups in the phone union were present in Kansas City.

Noticeably absent were the IS-supported United Action Caucus and the RU-supported Final Warning from Local 1101 in New York. This was an indication that neither has a serious perspective for building a national opposition caucus and waging a fight for alternative leadership of the union. Instead they opt for blocs with lesser-evil bureaucrats like 1101 President Ed Dempsey. Dempsey not only failed to oppose the International's "national bargaining" scheme at Kansas City, but was also a big star in the COPE awards, indicating his special zeal in the service of the Democratic Party.

Had these phony opposition groupings been present at this convention, they would no doubt have leapt at the chance to wrap their tails around Dan Archaletta, Western Electric Local 9490 president, who made a grandstand play for militant sentiment in support of the CWA resolution backing the United Farm Workers and denouncing the Teamster-grower alliance. Not satisfied with just words, Archaletta wanted...not actions, like hot-cargoing of scab goods, and a California-wide general strike in defense of the UFW (both of these measures have been advocated by MAC)... but stronger words. This same Archaletta was a prime mover behind last year's proposed anti-red clause in 1973.

Contract Sellout Prepared

The International avoided the inevitable yearly battle with the historically more militant and dissident Western Electric Manufacturing unit by at long last acquiescing to its demands for its own national division.

A resolution on impeachment stood to the right of that passed by the AFL-CIO executive board, calling not for impeachment, but only for quick resolution of the matter, the sooner to bolster up the sagging authority of the government.

An anti-democratic feminist proposal to appoint more women to union posts on the basis of sex was defeated from the right when delegates argued that women are not specially oppressed in the CWA! A more watered-down proposal, to "study" the question, was passed. A debate on racial discrimination followed similar lines and was resolved by creating a post of vice president to "study" ethnic affairs.

On the key issue for 1974—the contract—there was virtually no opposition to the International's determination to ram through a settlement similar to the betrayals of the 1974 steel and 1973 auto contracts. The adoption of "national bargaining" was simply accepted as a fait accompli, not even put up on the floor for a vote. Nor was there opposition to the shelving of every critical contract demand, including the full cost-of-living escalator, end to absence control, for no layoffs but more jobs to fight unemployment, the agency shop, and for an end to discrimination through union control of hiring and upgrading.

Watts was even allowed to dodge the question of whether the union would strike at all in a year when inflation, massive layoffs and attacks on union seniority rights (through preferential hiring administered by the government) constitute a sharp attack by the bourgeoisie against the membership and the union itself. Not to strike in 1974—when the morally discredited government is able to continue its wage-slashing, union-busting policies *solely* through the cooperation of the labor tops—is to openly betray the union to the interests of the bosses.

CWA

Joseph Beirne (right) and Glenn Watts.

But more than just a strike, it is necessary to raise a program of demands which can serve to unite the union ranks in struggle against the companies and the capitalist offensive. In the June-July issue of *Militant Action*, distributed at the Kansas City convention, MAC raises the following demands which are of particular importance in the 1974 contract bargaining:

"1. For a huge wage increase and a REAL cost-of-living clause! Narrow the wage gap—One nationwide payscale!
"2. Shorten the work week with no loss in pay—No layoffs—No forced transfers—No forced overtime!
"3. For union control of the shop floor, hiring, upgrades and transfers!
"4. No punishment for being ill—End absence control!
"5. For a one year contract with full right to strike!
"6. Full Company paid medical, dental care—Paid maternity leave!"

Such a program would make the bosses, not the workers, pay the cost of inflation; it poses the need for *real* national bargaining, not the CWA tops' disguised plan to eliminate local contract ratification. The benefits of automation would accrue to the workers instead of increasing profits by speed-up and layoffs; hiring and upgrading of minority and women workers would be accomplished not by the token "preferential" schemes which divide the ranks, but by creating more jobs for all. In short, it is a program calling for a basic reorientation of the CWA to a policy of consistent class struggle.

MAC does not limit its fight to issues of simple trade-union militancy, but sees the need to broaden the struggle into a political battle for working-class leadership. The same issue of *Militant Action* contains an article on "The Democratic Party—CWA's Slot Machine That Never Pays Off!" which points out that impeaching Nixon, while supportable, simply means putting the anti-labor reactionary Gerald Ford in the White House! Instead MAC calls on the unions to use industrial action to force Nixon out and bring about new elections, for a militant labor candidate opposed to the two bourgeois parties and for an independent party of labor. Another article, entitled "Why Is The AFL-CIO Known As The AFL-CIA In Latin America" details the activities of the Meany/Beirne-led AIFLD, which trains anti-communist "labor leaders" to cooperate with vicious military dictatorships, as in Brazil and Chile.

The fight for a new, class-struggle leadership of the labor movement requires the formation of national caucuses in the unions based on a principled program such as that of the Militant Action Caucus in the CWA. (Militants who wish to contact MAC can do so by writing to Militant Action, P.O. Box 462, El Cerrito, California 94530.) ■

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...Portuguese Revolution

reimposition of censorship (*O Seculo*, 27 June).

Yet another important democratic demand would be for the *expulsion of criminals of the Salazarist dictatorship from the factories and state agencies*, for their *trial by democratically elected people's tribunals*. If fully implemented this would lead to the dissolution of the bourgeois state apparatus which, despite the alleged dismantling of the political police (PIDE), is wholly a creation of the Salazarist epoch. Thus neither this nor the other democratic demands can be accomplished without mobilizing the working class against the bourgeois state.

Transitional Demands and Revolutionary Struggle

In the course of recent strikes, one of the most common demands was for workers participation in management.

PRP demonstration WV PHOTO

While this demand expresses widespread distrust of the bourgeoisie revolutionists must point out its reformist content and instead call for the implementation of *workers control*, to expel all the bosses. This, in turn, can be implemented only through the *creation of factory committees* (the *comissões operárias*) to administer the workplace and organize the workers in united struggle.

To date, the individual strikes (of shipyard workers, textile workers, watchmakers, postal employees, transit workers, etc.) have had no central coordination. The trade-union federation, the CP-led Intersindical, has lined up solidly on the side of the government in sabotaging the strikes. To provide coordination and defense of the strikes it is necessary to form a *national council of strike committees, workers commissions*, etc. whose delegates are *recallable at any time*.

Such a council could serve as a launching pad for *strikes to achieve a sliding scale of wages and hours* (to protect the working masses against inflation and unemployment), for *equal pay for equal work*, for *doubling the minimum wage*. With giant monopolies claiming inability to pay the workers' wage demands, it is necessary also to raise the demands of *workers' inspection of the corporate records* and *expropriation of the banks, industry and monopolies under workers control*.

Militant strikes for such transitional demands will naturally be exposed to attacks by the CP-organized scabs and goon squads and possible intervention by the army; therefore it is necessary to call for *armed defense of the picket lines*. Simultaneously it is crucial to undertake work inside the armed forces to win over the ranks through the formation of *soldiers and sailors committees* linked to the workers movement.

And as the struggle escalates, the workers defense guards must be transformed into a unified *workers militia*. The central council of strike and factory committees must function as an alternative power, a workers government counterposed to the military junta and provisional government of the bourgeoisie. In other words, transformed into a *soviet*, the seeds of a future proletarian state, it will create a situation of dual power. But this will not occur spontaneously, and requires above all the intervention of the revolutionary party, its winning over of a majority of the decisive sectors of the working class and consequently of the soviets.

As Marx noted in the *Communist Manifesto*, every class battle is ultimately a political battle. The various democratic and transitional demands must be generalized in a program of class struggle against the bourgeois regime and centralized in the demand for a *workers government based on democratically-elected workers committees* (soviets), which will expropriate the capitalist class and destroy the bourgeois state.

However, this demand must not be left suspended in space as a "maximum program" for the distant future. At present the prime obstacle to political independence of the working class from the bourgeoisie is the Stalinist Communist Party which is participating in the class-collaborationist provisional government. Trotskyists must call on the Communist Party to break from Spínola. The CP may actually be forced to make some such break in the not distant future, attempting to put distance between itself and the top officers, without in any way altering its commitment to reformist class-collaboration. A key element in exposing the pro-capitalist policies of the CP and breaking away its working-class support in the direction of an authentic revolutionary vanguard party, is the call for the creation of a unitary organization of the Portuguese working people as the organizational form for dual power.

Another key political demand which must be raised is *Portugal out of NATO*, and *Down with the Iberian Pact*. Not only is the CP's agreement to a coalition government tied to anti-communist military pacts a scandal of the first magnitude, but it is precisely from Spain and NATO that foreign intervention to squelch the Portuguese masses is most likely to come. Spínola's secret conversations with Nixon last week are one indication of this obvious point.

At present the Portuguese armed forces are probably too untrustworthy for the junta to use them against the workers. In a crisis the bourgeoisie might appeal to the Spanish army for aid—an eventuality for which Franco is already preparing—witness the firing of the "liberal" Spanish defense minister Diez Alegría last month. But in this case the forces of nationalism could be allied with the working class, for it is obvious that Spanish "aid" would spell the end of the greatly weakened Portuguese state. Thus the agitation against NATO and the Iberian Pact is a crucial struggle against developing bourgeois counterrevolution.

MRPP: Two-Stage Revolution

Maoism is a reformist current within the workers movement, a specific "third-world" variant of Stalinism. Mao himself has consistently opposed the Leninist-Trotskyist call for proletarian revolution in the backward countries, in which the working class would lead the peasantry and other exploited sectors of the population in solving the national and democratic tasks of the bourgeois revolution by establishing a *workers state*, concomitant with the socialist tasks. But despite its backwardness, Portugal is no "third-world" agrarian country; it has a large working class and is itself an imperialist power, albeit a rather pathetic one. Under such circumstances there is little to distinguish Maoism from the Moscow-line Stalinism of the CP.

A consequence of this ambiguity is the existence of a number of "left-Maoist" groups in the advanced countries. One such group is the Movement for the Reorganization of the Proletarian Party, the largest organization to the left of the CP. The MRPP claims that "the revolution is on the order of the day" and the "dominant class is now unable to govern." But at the same time it declares that "the working class is not yet in a condition to take power" (*Luta Popular*, 6 June). The solution is simple for any well-versed Stalinist: Portugal must have a "democratic" revolution.

At a general level, the Maoists' policies are hardly distinguishable from the pro-Moscow CP:

> "The mission of the working class is to apply the scientific theory of the proletariat to the concrete characteristics of revolution in its country. In the case of Portugal, the actual phase of the revolution is the Democratic and Popular Revolution and not, as the Trotskyists and other opportunists would have it, already the phase of socialist revolution.
>
> "The significance of this is that in order to make the socialist revolution, the Portuguese working class has to first conquer certain objectives, from which it can prepare and begin in the fight for its final objectives. These intermediate objectives are Bread, Peace, Land, Liberty, Democracy and National Independence."
>
> —*Luta Popular*, 6 June

However, at a slightly lower level the MRPP leadership attempts to give this slogan of Democratic and Popular Revolution a very "left" interpretation. While Mao concluded from the supposed "inability" of the proletariat to take power that one should make alliances with Chiang Kai-shek, the Portuguese Maoists attempt a mechanical imitation of Lenin's policies during the October Revolution of 1917.

This creates difficulties since, as Lenin clearly stated in the April Theses, the Bolsheviks' aim in 1917 was to carry out a *proletarian* (not "popular-democratic") revolution. This ("Trotskyist") position is reflected, although in a distorted manner, in some of the MRPP's pronouncements. For instance, explaining its main demands it states:

> "Only the popular revolutionary program is in the interests of the people, only it puts an end to all exploitation. *For Bread*—expropriation of the monopolies and large enterprises by the working class; *For Peace*—complete independence for the peoples of the colonies and return of the soldiers; *For Land*—confiscation of the holdings of the latifundists and rich peasants and their distribution among the agricultural workers and poor peasants; *For Liberty* for the people and dictatorship over the bourgeoisie; *For Democracy*—constitution of popular organizations in the organs of state power; *For National Independence*—expulsion of the imperialists from Portuguese soil... this is the road of Popular Revolution. "FOR BREAD, PEACE, LAND, LIBERTY, DEMOCRACY AND NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE, no bourgeois power can give this to the people. Only the workers, peasants, youth, women, soldiers and remaining elements of the people, under the leadership of a Marxist-Leninist-Maoist party and organized in a powerful popular revolutionary front, can put an end to the reactionary power of the bourgeoisie and construct a popular power, a popular government, a popular dictatorship, a Popular Republic."
>
> —*Luta Popular*, 6 June

The MRPP's actual practice is in accord with its overall Stalinist line and in stark contradiction to this left verbiage. Thus in the recent strike wave it called for a central objective of the 40-hour week, a classic demand of the social-democratic/Stalinist "minimum program."

However, in the quotation above, the measures advocated would, if carried out, result in the destruction of the bourgeois state and, despite the fantasies of some kind of intermediate "popular-democratic" stage, the establishment of some deformed version of a workers state. The fact that the MRPP nowhere agitates for the formation of democratically elected workers committees, as the foundation of the future soviet state, is an indication that what these Maoists have in mind is a bureaucratically deformed workers state on the Chinese model.

Nevertheless, their call for expropriation of the monopolies and destruction of the bourgeois state constitutes a contradiction which can be used by revolutionists to make clear to the masses (and the MRPP's own militants) what is the real content of Maoist politics. For instance, during the Lisnave strike at the end of May, a Bolshevik party would have challenged the MRPP to join it in calling for the expropriation of the CUF trust (which owns the shipyards), a demand that would appear to be in harmony with the Maoists' program. If they refused and insisted the "minimum" demand of a 40-hour week, then the Maoists' leftist pretensions would be exposed as simple hypocrisy.

PRP: Guerrillaism and Workerism

The Revolutionary Party of the Proletariat—Revolutionary Brigades (PRP) is the second largest group of the "far left," after the MRPP, and is in many ways a unique phenomenon. Broadly speaking it can be termed "Castroite-workerist"—a strange combination since the Castroites characteristically seek to substitute the guerrilla band for

continued on next page

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the struggle of the working masses, and true workerists would tail after the proletarian masses on every available occasion. Nevertheless, it is precisely this combination which is the PRP.

Under the severe repression of the Salazarist dictatorship the PRP chose not to attempt to mobilize the masses around a program of democratic and transitional demands—for instance, the freedom to form trade unions and freedom of the press. Instead it chose to carry out isolated terrorist actions, such as the bombing of army headquarters, supply stations and warships. The PRP's explanation of this terrorist policy is an interesting link to its current workerist practice: it concentrated on bombings because "this was what the workers were talking about"! (*Revolução*, 8 June)

(In the context of a colonial war and a bonapartist dictatorship, acts of sabotage are not unimportant. But the key perspective must remain the organization of the working class to overthrow the bourgeoisie. How much more effective than a bomb explosion on a ship would be, for instance, a refusal by dock workers to load cargoes of arms and supplies bound for Africa.)

Now the PRP believes that the terrorist phase is over, since the coup of April 25 "made the working class the principal motor of the evolution and future development of the political situation in Portugal" (*Revolução*, 1 June). The principal task of the moment is the organization of the workers around economist trade-union demands:

> "It is necessary to interpret simply the profound anxieties of the working class and enunciate in clear terms its political grievances. The question is the organization of workers everywhere. It is only this way that it will be possible to construct the necessary and indispensable unity of the proletariat, *independent of political groups and parties*." [emphasis ours]
>
> —*Revolução*, 8 June

The last phrase is no accident. *Revolução* goes on to explain that "the workers in a particular factory will know better what they want than any political party, the PRP included." One begins to wonder if the "Revolutionary Party of the Proletariat" has any reason for existence at all!

In actuality the PRP is dedicated to promoting syndicalist "self-management" schemes, and sings the praises of the Lip strike in France last year. (See *WV* No. 42, 12 April 1974 for the story of how the Lip strike was sold out.) Unlike the Catholic trade unionists who led that strike, however, the PRP claims to be committed to socialist revolution. Thus the PRP Central Committee's "Manifesto ao Proletariado Portugues," issued on 12 May, ends with slogans calling "For Total Destruction of the Fascist State Apparatus; For an alliance of soldiers and sailors with the organized workers in struggle for socialism; For the Revolutionary Unity of the Working Class; For the Socialist Revolution; For the Dictatorship of the Proletariat; For Proletarian Internationalism."

There is very little Marxist clarity here, but the PRP seems to be saying that it doesn't want simply a minimum program. The problem is that it does not manage to connect democratic and trade-union demands to its maximum program. Again there is a contradiction here which can be exploited. By presenting a program of transitional demands, Trotskyists can point out to these Castroite-workerists that, no matter how many times they repeat dictatorship of the proletariat, they will get nowhere until they can link the present struggles of the working class with the struggle for proletarian revolution.

LCI: Tailing the "New Mass Vanguard"

The Internationalist Communist League (LCI—supporters of the European majority of the "United Secretariat") is the only group in Portugal which claims to be Trotskyist. While dutifully supporting the adventurist actions/positions of its international affiliates (such as the Ligue Communiste's bash with the French police on the occasion of a fascist meeting last June, or the Spanish LCR's "total support" to a bomb assassination of the Spanish premier by a Basque nationalist organization in December), the LCI rejects terrorism for Portugal despite the fact that such actions have been widely supported by other left organizations.

Likewise, the LCI asserts that the only road to the Portuguese revolution lies through organization of the working class and actually takes an abstentionist attitude toward student struggles. Its newspaper contains programmatic calls for demands such as a sliding scale of wages and hours, opening the books of industry, expropriation of industry under workers control, workers militias and armed defense of picket lines, and "creation of 'United Committees of Working-Class Struggle' to be transformed into organs of dual power in the course of overthrowing the dictatorship" ("Problemas gerais da estratégia revolucionária," *Accão Comunista* No. 2, February 1974). On paper the LCI seeks to maintain an appearance of Trotskyist orthodoxy.

However, when it comes to practical actions, it is a different matter altogether. The LCI believes, together with its mentor Ernest Mandel, that there exists a "new mass vanguard" which has broken with reformism and only needs to be organized for struggle. In much of West Europe this theory leads to a practice which, on occasion, can even have adventurist traits, as the Mandelites tail after the Guevarist-Maoist-New Left youth. But in a prerevolutionary situation in Portugal, the same theory proves to have reformist consequences. Like the MRPP and PRP, which refuse to raise anything but the 40-hour week, the LCI systematically abstains from raising political demands in the context of the workers' strikes.

The only political demand it ever raises in the working class is the call for workers control. But even this is a some-time matter: in an interview with a *WV* reporter, LCI spokesmen said that this demand should be raised "only when the situation warrants it." For example, "it was possible to raise workers control in the context of the Timex strike," but "only in personal conversations with workers"!

Portuguese workers have already gone beyond these demands. Calls for a minimum salary of 6,000 escudos and a 40-hour week have been common to most of the strikes since the coup: the postal workers demanded not a 40-hour week, but 35 hours; and Timex workers have instituted the 40-hour week themselves. Workers have even been groping toward the demand for workers control, although they have been seduced by the CP into reformist formulations such as "participation in management." Yet the LCI declares it is "too soon" to raise political demands.

In fact, the opposite is true. During the Lisnave strike in late May, for instance, it was necessary to call not only for workers control (as *opposed to* participation or "self-management"), but for linking up with the workers commissions and strike committees of the other plants on strike, which included Lisbon transport workers, tens of thousands of textile workers, Timex workers, etc. Out of a central committee of strike and factory committees a soviet organ of dual power could have emerged which would provide a means to organize working-class resistance to the junta's counterrevolutionary plans. In short, the Transitional Program is not simply words on paper but the key tool for intervening in the mass movement to win the workers from their present reformist misleaders. ■

At Maoist-Backed Steel Conference:

Reformists Favor Taking Unions to Court

CHICAGO—A conference of about 100 oppositional local officials and their left-wing supporters in the Steelworkers' Union met over Memorial Day weekend in Chicago. Although ostensibly focused on opposition to Steelworker president I. W. Abel's "Experimental Negotiating Agreement" (ENA) no-strike deal and the government/company/union "consent decree" (a fraudulent anti-discrimination measure), the main purpose of the conference was to cement an alliance to promote further court suits and "rank-and-file delegates" at the upcoming USWA convention in September.

Conference leaders representing the "Rank and File Team" (RAFT), an oppositional grouping led by local officials in Youngstown, Ohio, spoke in militant tones against Abel's no-strike pledge and the consent decree, but had no program to do anything about them. While RAFT hypocritically claims to be concerned only with trade-union issues, it is politically indistinguishable from the incumbent pro-capitalist trade-union bureaucracy, having supported bourgeois Democrat McGovern in the last presidential elections. Among its supporters, however, there are some would-be radicals and socialists.

The RAFT outfit promises to travel the same path as the Brotherhood coalition which was elected to office in the Fremont, California, UAW Local last year. In the Brotherhood would-be bureaucrats and would-be radicals combined to form an opportunist bloc for the Local elections. Once in power the Brotherhood dropped its "people power" rhetoric and obediently toed the Woodcock line, expediently dissociating itself from its more militant backers. The right-wing Maoist October League, however, continues to virulently defend the Brotherhood bureaucracy. Predictably, the OL's paper, the *Call*, hailed the Memorial Day conference. Likewise, the 5 June *Guardian*, which follows the OL line, gave favorable coverage to the event.

Other union groups present besides RAFT included Steelworkers for Equality, the Ad Hoc Committee of Concerned Steelworkers and the District 31 Right to Strike Committee. Notable by its absence was the National Steelworkers' Rank and File Committee (NSRFC), affiliated with Trade Unionists for Action and Democracy (TUAD), which is supported by the Communist Party. According to steel workers interviewed by *Workers Vanguard*, the CP-backed elements boycotted the meeting in sectarian fashion because it was backed by Maoists.

Though there is little essential political difference between the two groups, the NSRFC has been unable to secure an alliance with RAFT and is independently running George Edwards of Lorain, Ohio, against Abel for the union presidency. Though their programs in the last June's union elections ironically failed to take a stand against the ENA, RAFT and the NSRFC were the chief backers of the recent court suit to overturn the ENA. Predictably the suit failed miserably in the courts, though it did succeed in destructively sidetracking steel worker opposition to the no-strike agreement.

Playing a prominent role in the conference, defending the anti-ENA suit and explaining new plans for court action, were the lawyers who had pressed the suit. During the workshop on discrimination one of these lawyers suggested the outrageous possibility of a suit to de-certify the union for not representing its black members! A brilliant proposal—for the bosses, anyway! Empower the courts and government to determine the right of unions to exist! Thus the strategy of relying on court interference to bring about democracy in the unions is carried to its logical conclusion. Neither the CP nor any of the Maoist groups backing the conference, however, have voiced any objection to such "tactics."

Neither has the ex-Trotskyist SWP, which also had a supporter or two at the conference. A guest column in the 28 June *Militant* ignorantly claimed that the Maoist Revolutionary Union had opposed court suits against the union. In fact, RU-supported elements at the conference were exhibiting the hypocritical nature of their opposition to discrimination against minorities and women by arguing against the Equal Rights Amendment.

A principled motion condemning the use of the bourgeois courts against the union was presented at the plenary session by a rank-and-file militant who evidently disagreed with the opportunist mood of the conference. His motion was not supported by any of the organized groups at the conference. As noted by the *Guardian*, RAFT spokesman John Barbero, a plaintiff in the recent anti-Abel suit, defended the court action not on the grounds that it might have been successful, which he said had not been expected, but simply because Abel had been forced to give "damaging testimony"! Thus RAFT cynically advocates that workers place confidence in the "neutral" bourgeois state, knowing full well that this "expedient" tactic is actually bound to fail.

The courts are tools of the bosses! The behavior of the "radical" supporters of RAFT plays not only into the hands of labor's capitalist enemies, but also into the hands of the entrenched reactionary labor bureaucracy and Abel specifically. The courts may at times rule in favor of an individual careerist or even a whole new bureaucratic layer (as represented by Arnold Miller of the Mineworkers, who was considered a great example at the conference), but never in favor of fundamental advances for the rank and file.

Missing from the proposals and resolutions finally passed was any mention of the key issues faced by steel workers: "productivity"; social-patriotic protectionism vs. international working-class solidarity; the infamous incentive system praticed in the steel industry and speed-up; rejection of the workers' weapons of class struggle in favor of reliance on arbitration, the courts and Democratic Party "friends of labor" in the government.

But, of course, a program in the workers' interest on such issues would directly challenge the labor bureaucrats, including RAFT local leaders, unlike the fake-militant rhetoric which bureaucrats occasionally embrace when expediency indicates a verbal shift to the left. Steel workers don't need fake-militant out-bureaucrats on the make, but a class-struggle alternative to Abel. The pattern of class collaboration and betrayals of the Abel bureaucracy will not be broken until it is replaced with such a leadership that will fight not only for immediate economic gains, but to secure political power for the working class. Oust the bureaucrats! For a workers party based on the trade unions! For a workers government! ■

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of the NMU, which had also requested to speak, was refused.

The SWP leaders of USLA (and in the May 11 CAC) thus made quite clear that while they were willing to give in under pressure from the SL, they were absolutely opposed to recognizing the Leninist principles for a united front. As the "Theses on the United Front," published by the Executive Committee of the Comintern in December 1921, noted:

> "Imposing on themselves a discipline of action, it is obligatory that Communists should preserve for themselves, not only up to and after actions, but if necessary even during action, the right and possibility of expressing their opinion on the policy of all working class organisations, without exception. The rejection of this condition is not permissible under any circumstances. While supporting the watchword of maximum unity of all working-class organisations, Communists, in every practical action taken against the capitalist front, must not on any account refrain from putting forward their views, which are only the logical expression of the defence of the interests of the working-class as a whole."

Reconstructing the Popular Front

The political essence of reformism is support for the continued existence of capitalism. For the SWP reformists this is expressed in their "single-issue" civil libertarian (USLA, CODEL), feminist (WONAAC) and anti-war (NPAC) coalitions whose limited programs are aimed at attracting support from and participation by bourgeois liberals (former Attorney-General Ramsey Clark on civil liberties issues, Abzug for WONAAC, Senator Vance Hartke for NPAC). Rather than integrating struggles for democratic demands into the broader working-class struggle for socialist revolution, the SWP prefers building a series of miniature popular-fronts. These ongoing "coalitions" have programs that are a series of reforms in no way incompatible with the continued existence of capitalism.

The Stalinists such as the Communist Party, and the various Chile Solidarity Committees led by them, prefer big-time class collaboration instead of the bush-league SWP variety. Thus they seek to build political support for Allende's UP coalition which ruled Chile from 1970 to 1973. By preaching faith in the "constitutionalist officers" and the "progressive" sectors of the bourgeoisie, the UP government lulled the masses and systematically prepared the way for the victory of the bloody rightist coup. Now the Stalinists seek to build political support for these treacherous policies in their Chile defense work.

A prime example was the May 11 demonstration in San Francisco which was dominated by the CP and the New Left-"radical" NACLA (North American Congress on Latin America) and NICH (Non-Intervention in Chile). The official rally leaflet sang the praises of the former Allende government and its treacherous "peaceful road to socialism":

> "When the people of Chile elected Salvador Allende to be their president, they were embarking on an experience new to the world: attempting to create a just, socialist society by peaceful means. To the workers and poor of Chile, Allende and his government represented *them*...."

The demands of the demonstration included the call for "support to the Chilean resistance." When this demand was raised at an earlier planning meeting for the demonstration, SWP/USLA forces argued vociferously against it (in favor of restricting the demonstration to civil liberties issues). When the motion passed, they left. The SL critically supported the demand, noting its vagueness, and proposed a clarifying motion, which was passed, stating that this demand did *not* mean "political support to any particular group or coalition of groups within the resistance, or support to any specific strategy or tactical orientation." In the sense of "support to the struggle against the junta and defense of the victims of the junta," this demand could be supported.

However, the steering committee then refused to permit the Spartacist League a speaker at the rally on the grounds that the SL is not an "ongoing Chile group"! (This in itself is absurd, for in the last six months SL-initiated demonstrations have probably brought out as many or more militants to oppose the junta as all the demonstrations of the rest of the groups on the steering committee combined!) The SL replied to this unprincipled maneuver with a leaflet to the May 11 march which stated:

> "We warn that a rejection of this proposal [for a real united front, in which each of the sponsoring groups would have representatives on the steering committee and equal speaking time] would open the road to turning the demonstration into an open endorsement of the popular front politics that had already led to the victory of the junta and the deaths of thousands of Chilean workers."

This is exactly what happened. Despite the explicit statement adopted by the steering committee on April 27 that "support to the Chilean resistance" did not mean support to any particular groups, coalition or strategy, the official demonstration leaflet had an explicit endorsement of the reconstituted popular front in exile:

> "There is a resistance in Chile: parties of the Popular Unity coalition, the Movement of the Revolutionary Left (MIR) and many people who previously opposed Allende, are struggling, together, in the resistance against fascism. United we will win!"

Searching for the "New Mass Vanguard"

A comic sidelight on this maneuvering was provided by the antics of the "Revolutionary Marxist Collective," a local group in the Bay Area which supports the politics of the Mandelite majority of the "United Secretariat" (as against the SWP's social-democratic reformist appetites). The RMC first introduced the demand for "support to the Chilean resistance" into the local Chile Solidarity Committee, which in turn brought it to the steering committee for the May 11 demonstration. At the April 27 planning meeting the RMC voted against an SL amendment to change the clause to "support the Chilean resistance of workers and peasants...," labeling this "sectarian."

Having authored the maneuver (by granting speaking rights only to "ongoing Chile groups") the RMC felt constrained to give a political explanation for this bureaucratic trick. Consequently, the group's pamphlet "Chile" was reissued for the occasion of the May 11 demonstration with a new preface which included the following statement:

> "Speakers at the May 11 rally in the Bay Area were selected on the political basis of solidarity with the resistance to speak on the meaning of Solidarity with the Resistance; the current situation in Chile, etc. One spokesperson from the minority position represented by USLA was delegated to speak on political prisoners."

Aside from the presence on the speakers platform of a representative of USLA (which had argued vociferously *against* including the demand of support to the resistance at the earlier planning meeting), the RMC was further embarrassed by the appearance of a genuine bourgeois politician, former Senator Gruening, who started his remarks by noting, "I am in complete accord with the purposes of this rally."

Wishing to appear to the left of the ultra-reformist SWP without taking up up a struggle for consistent Trotskyist opposition to popular-front politics, the less experienced maneuverers of the RMC are simply sucked into a mainstream Stalinist-line demonstration. "Solidarity with the resistance" turns out to be solidarity with Senator Gruening and President Allende! While rally organizers emphasized the nationalist slogan "Chile Sí, Junta No," it was up to the Spartacist League to respond with the class slogan, "Obreros [Workers] Sí, Junta No."

CP goon squad confronts Spartacist/RCY supporters at Chicago Chile march.

Popular Frontism and Suppression of Revolutionary Politics

Stalinist perfidy and the capitulation of various fake lefts to it go beyond a mere question of slogans and speakers. One of the sharpest confrontations between CP reformism and revolutionary Trotskyism in the course of Chile defense activities came with the May 11 demonstration in Chicago.

Having been outmaneuvered by the numerically stronger Stalinists in early planning meetings, the local SWP more or less ignored the demonstration, sending a token contingent of 10 supporters; similarly the Revolutionary Socialist League and Class Struggle League sent only perfunctory sales teams of two people each. The SL/RCY, in contrast, mobilized two dozen members and supporters with banners calling for defense of Van Schouwen and Romero, "No Pop Front Illusions, For Workers Revolution," "Free Corvalán," "For a Trotskyist Party in Chile" and others.

As soon as the SL/RCY contingent arrived at the assembly point a leading Communist Party hack rushed up to demand that we leave, followed by about 10 CP goons. In the tense confrontation which followed the SL was first told it could not raise its signs and banners and then, when we made clear our determination to stay and defend our banners, that we had to march behind the rest of the demonstration. While the goons were busy trying to provoke a fight, another CPer went to the police and convinced "Chicago's Finest" to enforce this undemocratic exclusionism. During the march a cop was stationed in front of the SL contingent to make sure it got no closer than 50 feet from the CP-led demonstration.

RSL and CSL and Revolutionary Workers Group supporters present marched with us in protest against the Stalinist exclusion. However, the SWP marched with the CP while claiming it would "send Gus Hall a letter" protesting the incident. Earlier, when the SWP was approached for the purposes of forming a defense bloc at the height of the tense confrontation, its only response was "we will have to consult"!

Throughout recent Chile defense demonstrations the Spartacist League has consistently combined principled united-front action with a full presentation of the Trotskyist program for Chile. While defending all victims of the junta's repression, we have put particular emphasis on those standing to the left of the UP coalition, especially the MIR leaders who had been effectively ignored by the U.S. left until our campaign in mid-March.

In contrast, the reformists quibbled over whom *not* to defend (the SWP initially ignoring Van Schouwen and Romero, the CP for a time refusing to defend Vitale). And while the SL/RCY sought to integrate the defense of the junta's prisoners in a broader perspective of class struggle ("Hot-Cargo Military Goods to Chile"), the SWP and CP oriented their protest toward bourgeois public opinion, with "big-name" (i.e., capitalist politician) speakers and liberal demands ("No Recognition of the Junta," "Cut Off U.S. Aid to the Junta").

In order to make clear their intent to suppress revolutionary Trotskyist politics, *both* the SWP and CP sought to exclude SL/RCY speakers, although they were forced to give way in the face of our determined resistance. And when the Stalinists physically exclude Trotskyist militants from a public demonstration, in the process appealing to the cops and trying to provoke a fight, the SWP promises only to consult and, finally, to write Gus Hall a letter—while marching with the CP.

Thus on the question of defense of endangered Chilean militants, as on the question of revolutionary policy in Chile, principled Trotskyism is constantly counterposed not only to class-collaborationist Stalinism but also to the various fake lefts and pseudo-Trotskyists who yap at their tails. ■

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Goons Attack Militant Action Caucus at Convention

CWA Bureaucracy Nervous, Strongman Beirne on Deathbed

KANSAS CITY, June 27—Amid a prevalent mood of uncertainty the Communications Workers of America bureaucracy is scrambling to consolidate itself following the resignation of President Joe Beirne. Forced because he is dying to give up the post he has held for the past 26 years, Beirne will never realize his dream to succeed George Meany.

That no opposition will be permitted to interfere with the "new unity" of Beirne's bureaucratic successors was demonstrated in Kansas City last week when members of the Militant Action Caucus were subjected to a campaign of massive bureaucratic harassment at the 36th Annual CWA Convention. The West Coast opposition group, which has a four-year history in the union, was subjected to a three-day terror campaign by a 15-man goon squad mobilized by the International.

MAC members narrowly avoided being beaten up on the steps of the convention hall, and a *Workers Vanguard* reporter who witnessed these events and tried to photograph the goons had his film confiscated. He was himself followed on the streets by a 10-man squad the next day.

When the convention opened Monday morning the International boasted of the "non-Watergate" atmosphere. However, after a few hours of watching the MAC distribute its paper, *Militant Action*, the International apparently felt democracy had gone a little too far. Following several initial scuffles when sergeants-at-arms claimed MAC had to have permission to distribute literature (while ignoring the Committee on Political Education [COPE], which continued to sell plastic coasters at the very next table and whose salesmen admitted they had no specific permission), an appropriate opportunity to get rid of MAC arose. When a notorious right-wing chief steward from Oakland, California, Local 9415, L.R. Hawkins, moved to overturn the MAC table, the International intervened. To "protect" the MAC table from Hawkins, an International representative picked it up and carried it out of the auditorium! (The Spartacist League, which had brisk sales during the first few hours of the convention, was also told to remove its table.)

New York Telephone workers' demonstration during the seven-month 1971 strike. WV PHOTO

During much of Monday afternoon Hawkins and several of the International representatives and sergeants-at-arms whispered and pointed at the MAC. Later Hawkins and 15 of his cohorts, having spent much of the remaining part of the afternoon in the Holiday Inn bar, advanced on five members of MAC as they were distributing papers on the sidewalk, threatened them with violence unless they left the area, then followed them for several blocks.

MAC Objects to Elimination of Local Ratification

MAC immediately fired off telegrams to its Local president and the International demanding a guarantee of physical safety at the union convention. This elementary demand for union democracy was ignored. In addition, letters of protest were sent to several CWA locals, the AFL-CIO and to the press, pointing out that the goon harassment had occurred in full view of the delegates coming out of the session. Speaking with a *WV* reporter, caucus spokesman Kathleen Burnham said that MAC's *Militant Action* contained articles critical of the union leadership, such as one documenting CWA support to the CIA-backed, government-funded "American Institute for Free Labor Development." One issue in particular that has drawn the ire of the International bureaucracy expressed MAC's opposition to "national bargaining"—Beirne's scheme to eliminate ratification of the contract by the locals in order to prevent strikes in a critical contract year. Under this set-up bargaining is totally controlled by six handpicked national officers.

The threats in Kansas City were evidently triggered by the nervousness of the CWA bureaucrats in Oakland where the Local recently passed two important motions introduced by MAC. One was a condemnation of the "national bargaining" scheme, which it characterized as an attack on the rights of all union members; the second called for a labor rally to call off Operation Zebra, the stop-and-search South African-style police dragnet that San Francisco's Mayor Alioto was hoping to use to bolster his bid for the California white racist vote. Following the passage of these motions, the Local received a sharply worded letter from the union president. The Oakland Local officers, anxious not to overstep their bounds as Beirne's "loyal" (i.e., "kept") opposition, forced through a retraction of the condemnation of national bargaining at the next meeting.

By the time they reached Kansas City the 9415 bureaucrats apparently had gotten the word from the International to clamp down on the caucus. Beirne's letter evidently gave the green light to L. R. Hawkins to get together his vigilantes. According to Burnham, Hawkins is a notorious racist whose decertification was sought two years ago by a group of black stewards, with the support of MAC, after he racially insulted several black women working in one of the Plant centers. Normally Hawkins is isolated too far to the right to enact his fantasies; but intersecting the jumpy mood of the assembled bureaucrats in Kansas City, he was able to find some support.

Vacuum of Leadership

The retirement of Joe Beirne visibly augmented the restlessness felt for months in the phone industry, which is beginning to be heavily affected by the general malaise of the economy. Spiraling inflation has been eating into the phone workers' meagre pay checks; layoffs have hit the Western Electric Division nationally, with workers having up to six years seniority being laid off in New York, and larger layoffs loom in the next few months.

Beirne, who throughout the 26-year history of the CWA has run a tight machine, allowed little room for internal bureaucratic bickering. The union, born during the period of the cold war, spawned little in the way of opposition. Proud of his top connections in Washington and his role on the President's Commission on Productivity, Beirne has been hailed by virtually every U.S. president as a "responsible labor statesman." No one presently in CWA can take his place, and the instability of the situation following Beirne's departure was evident at the convention.

The new CWA head Glen Watts (his former secretary-treasurer) is a tepid, colorless long-time Beirne hatchet man who appears poorly equipped for the job. He is, of course, dedicated to the same politics as his mentor—support for the Jackson

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MAC supporters at 28 April 1973 labor rally, Bay Area. WV PHOTO

WORKERS VANGUARD 25¢

No. 49 19 July 1974

L'EXPRESS

Nixon Frolics in Cairo and Moscow

"Peace" Junket Fails to Block Impeachment Drive

Richard Nixon's recent triumphal tour of the Near East and his Moscow summitry have failed to advance him a single inch on the "road to peace." More important to the embattled U.S. president, this diplomatic razzmatazz also failed to accomplish its real aim, to waylay Congressional impeachment moves.

In the Near East, Arab and Israeli regimes may be temporarily "united" in their hopes of milking arms aid from the Pentagon, but the innumerable obstacles to negotiating even the current unstable ceasefire make it clear that a negotiated peace between rival capitalist regimes competing for the same territory is a pipedream. The complete vacuousness of the Moscow accords, on the other hand, is convincing proof of the death of the short-lived "détente," which ran aground on the rocky shoals of the cold-war revivalism now prevailing in key sectors of the American ruling class. Back in Washington, shortly after Nixon's return, the House Judiciary Committee published eight volumes of edited testimony clearly pointing to a recommendation to impeach the commander-in-chief of U.S. imperialism.

The new "disarmament" agreement adds little to the 1972 arms limitation pact, save for provisions limiting the number of anti-ballistic missile (ABM) systems to one in each country and restricting underground nuclear test explosions to under 150,000 tons of TNT. This merely endorses the status quo in these categories and has about the same impact vis-à-vis thermonuclear weaponry as promising that Washington will remain on the Potomac. Nothing whatever was done about the key issue of multiple warheads (MIRVs).

Pravda's reassurance that this package "signifies an essential movement forward on the path of strengthening peace and mutual trust" (quoted in the *New York Times*, 8 July) was solely designed for U.S. consumption. So, too, was Nixon's reported statement that, "Because of our personal relationship, there is no question about our will to keep these agreements and

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Local Cops Walk Out, State Police Called In

Baltimore Sanitation Strike Sold Out

LATE NEWS BULLETIN

BALTIMORE, July 15—The leadership of the AFSCME sanitation workers' local here today rammed through a wholly inadequate wage settlement in order to head off what appeared to be rapidly building toward a strike of all city workers. In a meeting attended by 2,000-3,000 union members, the bargaining committee unanimously recommended a pact which provided for 35 cents per hour increase in each of the next two years. The workers had demanded 50 cents per hour immediately, which would barely have kept pace with the current 12 percent rate of inflation. Thus the settlement, which was voted in record time and without full discussion by the membership, amounts to a *wage cut*. The hated "point system" was eliminated, but an alternative form of "absence control" will be decided on in later bargaining or submitted to arbitration.

Baltimore cops do their job. SUNPAPERS

JULY 15—In big upsurges of the class struggle, all of the "practical" arrangements of the trade-union bureaucracy for collaborating with the bosses—negotiated in times of labor peace—are quickly shown to be so many nooses around the necks of the workers. This is clearly the case in the current strike of public employees in Baltimore, which is building into a showdown between the city government and the Baltimore labor movement.

Already the bourgeoisie has used the excuse of a partial police strike to bring in state police—in a dramatic procession of 100 cars, with lights flashing—and to mobilize the national guard, placing it on standby alert. The threat of arrest of the leaders of the three-week-old strike if there is no settlement by Monday morning hangs over the heads of the striking workers, directly posing the need for a city-wide

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End of the "United" Secretariat?

SWP Stages Mass Purge

The Socialist Workers Party/Young Socialist Alliance this 4th of July resolved three years of mounting internal struggle by the brutal mass expulsion of the supporters of the Internationalist Tendency (IT). Forty-five party members, 45 youth members and 25 dual members were expelled—a total of 115, the largest single split in the SWP in 21 years. This abrupt act in the United States may well lead, even within a matter of weeks, to the definitive rupture in the "United Secretariat of the Fourth International" between the SWP-led Minority ("Leninist-Trotskyist Faction," or LTF) and the International Majority Tendency (IMT) which the U.S. IT supports.

For the past five years the United Secretariat (USec) has been polarizing ever more sharply between the fake orthodoxy of the reformist, legalist Minority and the impressionistic revisionism of the centrist, petty-bourgeois Pabloist Majority. Brain-truster for the Majority (whose main base is the French organization currently calling itself the Front Communiste Révolutionnaire) is the facile, erudite, academic European Ernest Mandel, while the spokesman for the Minority has been the American SWP's intellectual technician Joseph Hansen.

The SWP expulsions were accomplished by the simple expedient of notifying every IT supporter "that the Internationalist Tendency's status as a separate, rival party be recognized and that the members of the Internationalist Tendency party be informed that this status places them outside the constitutional provisions of membership in the Socialist Workers Party." The peculiarly tortured language in proclaiming, not an expulsion, but the recognition of a new "Internationalist Tendency party" standing outside the SWP is an attempt to put a defensible face on the expulsion in confronting the SWP's international associates, in the light of the "Tenth World Congress" agreement prohibiting new splits and organizational reprisals. In addition the SWP immediately published a massive 146-page *Internal Information Bulletin* (No. 6, July 1974) to its membership attempting to justify the expulsion.

The Statement on the IT expulsion adopted by the SWP Political Committee on 4 July concludes with the ultimatistic demand: "To avert the danger to the international arising from the actions of the IMT, we call for the convocation of a special world congress of the Fourth International as provided for in the statutes of the Fourth International. . . . Only a special world congress can now isolate the splitters and reverse the disastrous orientation now being fostered by the prosplit wing of the IMT."

Technique of the Big Lie

To justify its accusation of IMT "splitters" the SWP had to make a fraudulent case against the IT. The core of the case is the Political Commitee Statement's assertion that in fact the expulsions are based on the *previous* split of the IT: "the split was consummated at the May 25-27 national convention of the Internationalist Tendency held in Chicago."

There was a national conference of the IT at the place and dates indicated. But the funny thing is, it had a very different outcome than that alleged by the SWP. The IT delegates went into that conference with various draft resolutions and amendments whose thrust was that they saw little long-term future for themselves in the SWP/YSA. But the Bureau of the IMT made very forceful recommendations to the conference, and the IT adopted the perspective of "building a strong Tendency in the SWP in the long-term sense."

The IT was dead serious about remaining in the bureaucratic stranglehold of the SWP as was made absolutely clear in this same circular letter of 11 June to the IMT by IT leader Bill Massey, who concluded: "In short, we urge the comrades of the IMT, who we recognize as our political leaders, to take strong actions to help us democratize the SWP, so that we can carry out the perspectives of the Bureau. Without your strong actions, we will die trying, but we will die."

Massey's conclusions about dying were straightforward and bore early fruit: on June 26 Don Smith, a founding leader of the IT, and two associates abruptly resigned from the IT expressing in the course of their resignation profound demoralization and disorientation. (They still made the unalert SWP's expulsion list as ITers, however.) Smith noted: "The transformation of the Internationalist Tendency from a group seeking to 'build the nucleus of the future section' to one seeking to 'become a strong tendency within the SWP' completely changes our political situation." He recommended that the IT break with the IMT and suggested that it itself break into four constituent tendencies.

Behind the USec Fight

The fundamental driving force behind the escalating polarization of the USec is that the two counterposed wings are responding to different pressures and appetites. The European-based Majority continues to race recklessly along the archetypically Pabloist road of striving for some kind of "revolution" other than the victorious class struggle of the proletariat, without the creation and ascension to real leadership in that struggle of a Leninist vanguard party as a condition for victory. Having abandoned (but never disavowing) universal "entrism" (tailing and hoping to pressure Stalinist, social-democratic or Labourite bureaucracies or big-time colonial nationalists) the USec has in rapid succession put forward various impressionistic short cuts to social revolutionary success without the class-conscious proletariat: a peasant-guerrilla road to power in Bolivia; the "red university" strategy which sees students as the key social layer; "from the periphery to the center" as the means whereby their French student graduates turned bank clerks or school teachers can somehow find the road to the Stalinist-led industrial proletariat.

The new jargonistic cover for this petty-bourgeois impressionism is the discovery of the New Mass Vanguard, comprised of all the discontented young Europeans who, of course, don't even necessarily know they are supposed to be a vanguard and who embody every kind of manifestly false, mainly anarcho-Maoist, program. Rather than viewing the heterogeneous strata of militant, disaffected young workers and students as potential raw material for a Leninist party, the USec turns them into a New Mass Vanguard, a semi-Leninist semi-party waiting to be found by the Pabloist vanguard-detectors.

Thus the thin, pulsating layers of Pabloists are fated to walk the earth looking for the "easy way." But what happens when they find it? When one of their local formations has locked on and acquired some significance—something tangible to sell out—then the centrist rhetoric of the USec suddenly becomes an impediment to be sloughed off: the Ceylonese LSSP got into a popular-front government; Michel Pablo himself got to be a senior advisor to the Ben Bella government in Algeria; the Argentine PST, along with the representatives of six bourgeois parties and the CP, even got to meet with Perón. Of course Mandel himself didn't make it, being bounced in 1960 as a top advisor in the Belgian left labor bureaucracy, and had to hit the road for the infinitely less satisfying "student power" (thus the tabling of deep entrism—enter the "red university").

The SWP hit the big time briefly with the Vietnam peace movement and has been shopping around, mainly unsuccessfully, for a successor. SWP National Secretary Jack Barnes, his personal appetites for greater power and global post notwithstanding, and his SWP are above all seeking to fend off and suppress the USec Majority's appetites for miscellaneous (mainly verbal) extremism which are not only embarrassing but downright dangerous for the SWP's main chance as a radical power-broker to social movements in the United States, hopefully thereby to acquire the basis to become a successful mass new domestic social-democratic party. So for several years the SWP has employed its presumed authority and very considerable material resources to bend the USec to its needs and will.

The IT Is Expendable

The 112 comrades of the IT are essentially but a pawn in the far-flung international calculation and counter-calculation as the two wings of revisionist ex-Trotskyism maneuver to destroy one another's credibility. The USec Majority evidently sees that a break with the SWP and its allies cannot be long postponed (see our account of the "Tenth World Congress" in *WV* No. 42, 12 April). But to avoid the appearance of a major international split which would undermine its own presumed legitimacy as "the Fourth International," the IMT may have hoped to tackle the Minority piecemeal. They temporized, so the story goes, until the exhibition, under the tumultuous conditions in Argentina, of the naked reformist appetite of the PST (see article in this issue) should compel the SWP to acquiesce to the elimination of its major LTF ally. Apparently, Barnes simply struck first, precipitating the crisis of his own choosing at his own time.

Whether by calculation in order to isolate the SWP, or because the shameful conduct of the PST has become an albatross the USec can no longer wear, and whatever the accompanying Machiavellian calculation, this is the logic of thrust and counter-thrust. And so the IT, having accepted the perspective of continued suppression, demoralization and disintegration inside the SWP, suddenly finds itself on the outside while the IMT considers the next move in the gambit.

The prospects in any case for the IT are unenviable, above all because of the "comrades of the IMT, who we recognize as our political leaders," as Comrade Massey put it so clearly. In its desperate thrashing about, the IT has tried to persuade itself that the Pabloism of the United Secretariat is only a shibboleth, an empty political epithet. They are finding out differently. The organizational consequence of the USec's objectivist, tallist line is disinterest and contempt toward the painstaking building of communist cadres. What are 112 ITers in the United States to the Pabloist mind?—after all, the automatic unfolding processes of the New Mass Vanguard or some successor gimmick will certainly bring thousands; surely one speech by Ernest Mandel in a suitable mass meeting could win far more, so why worry about small change like the political death of the IT, which is merely the major part of three years of left oppositional activity in the SWP? Thus it is not subjective evil or ill will that causes the USec tops (the superstars Mandel and Alain Krivine, the more pedestrian Pierre Frank and Livio Maitain) to look upon the IT not as comrades but as pawns; this willful destructiveness is only the necessary corollary of their impressionistic politics.

Evolution of the IT

The comrades of the IT, leaders and ranks alike, are mainly young and inexperienced. They sought, not always steadily or without capitulations, to move left in the degenerated SWP, that school for opportunism with its hypocritical, brutal regime which willfully connives at the destruction of internal critics. The initial oppositional declaration of the left wingers was "For a Proletarian Orientation" introduced for the 1971 SWP Convention, some two years after the fight in the USec had begun. Though narrowly focused and ahistorical, this document was a promising beginning for an SWP left wing. It cast Ernest Mandel as the principal theoretical fount for the SWP's departures: "However in the last several years Comrade Ernest Mandel has developed a theory which challenges these basic Marxist definitions [on the centrality of the industrial working class to socialist revolution]. And the SWP leadership has neither criticized Mandel's assertions nor analyzed the implications these assertions have for the strategy of the revolutionary party. In fact, our party has been following the logic of Mandel's position without admitting it."

By 1973 in their letter of 19 January again declaring a tendency, signed by Bill Massey, John Shaffer and Don Smith (SWP *Discussion Bulletin* Volume 31 No. 1, 8 April 1973) the oppositionists clearly inclined to the USec Majority while still expressing criticism of its guerrilla war line and reservations about its hailing of Third World Stalinism as a pragmatic revolutionary leadership. By 27 May 1973, in their Declaration as the IT, they had come out for the general line of the IMT, and they ended up voting unconditionally for all IMT positions. Thus a tendency which began by criticizing the SWP for tailing Mandel, architect of the petty-bourgeois "neo-capitalism" line, today condemns the SWP for refusing to embrace this same Mandel.

Bureaucratic Centralism

The SWP leadership has not failed to make considerable demagogic exploitation of the IT's turnabout, while doing its level best to drive the oppositionists down such a destructive road into indiscipline and/or into the arms of the IMT. Accompanying the political degeneration of the SWP, the life of oppositional elements in that party has gotten correspondingly shorter, nastier and more brutish. The SWP Control Commission Report justifying the IT's expulsion, in the current SWP *Internal Information Bulletin*, makes a new long step in "regulating" out of existence any remnants of factional democracy within the SWP.

The 1965 SWP Organizational Resolution adopted to justify the expulsion of the Revolutionary Tendency (precursor to the Spartacist League) still had a certain elasticity. Our tendency had written on 25 March 1963 in a statement to the SWP National Committee (reprinted in our *Marxist Bulle-*

tin No. 4-I) that "The Minority declares: 1—that it *hos and will* strictly abide by the democratic-centralist practices, discipline and responsibilities normal to the Trotskyist movement; 2—that it will not surrender the necessary and essential attributes and functions of an organized and internally democratic tendency; 3—that it recognizes the right of existence as an organized tendency is only justified by the most serious political differences such as all sides acknowledge exist within the party today."

In his reports motivating our exclusion from the party Farrell Dobbs brooded aloud about point 2, but was forced to expel us for "disloyalty." This was reflected in the 1965 resolution, the gist of which can be summarized as: (1) factions are permitted in the SWP, (2) factionalists are disloyal people, (3) disloyal people are expelled.

Barnes' present-day SWP removes the ambiguities left in 1965. Thus the Control Commission Report states: "While a faction has the right to meet privately and determine its own structure, it must inform the party as a whole of its organizational structure: its basis for membership, its structure, its membership composition, its leadership composition, the powers of its leadership bodies, and the extent of its discipline"; "But an organized faction can circulate its own internal discussion bulletin only on the condition that it receive the prior approval of the party and that its bulletin be made available to the party"; and "A faction has no right to conduct an internal political discussion that is kept secret from the party, and then to bind its members to discipline on political questions when they participate in the party's internal discussion."

Both the IT and our tendency when in the SWP were denied representation on the SWP National Committee. Such denial of representation for oppositions has been normal SWP practice these last ten years. This adds another dimension to the Control Commission's new restrictions on factional activity. Thus a majority faction, declared or otherwise, always has the automatic secrecy, protected by party discipline, of privacy in higher bodies (including the restricted circulation of minutes) while it thrashes out its own factional platform. Meanwhile caucus or faction participants are to be denied the right to subordinate minor differences to major issues in order to present a common front within the party. For a politically-based faction to demand privacy in its deliberations and put forward a disciplined common front within the party is fully principled and necessary. How many times did Cannon in the CP or the SWP or Trotsky in the Russian CP do this very and utterly necessary thing? Conversely, how many times has anyone seen SWP Majorityites break a common front in the last ten years? A rotten bloc is when primary differences are subordinated to secondary ones.

The SWP accuses the IT of acts of indiscipline or hostility. The primary responsibility for the maintenance of discipline and good party practice rests in the first place with a majority, and above all in its own conduct. Only then can it legitimately make corresponding demands on all other elements in the party. The SWP Majority has been concretely and massively disloyal and indisciplined, excluding the IT from its rightful share in the official leadership and depriving ITers of all significant opportunity for responsible party work. This deliberate practice of the Dobbs and later Barnes leadership, which facilitated the capitulation of the IT into the ostensibly protective arms of the IMT, has successfully driven out all oppositional elements from the SWP. All oppositions but one, that is. The Revolutionary Tendency refused to quit, refused to break discipline and refused to capitulate to Healy's "protective" arms. That's why they had to throw us out for our views solely and then cook up the 1965 resolution and its current escalation.

The IT in endless letters and docu-

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USec Scandal

PST Caught Redhanded

Pact with Perón for "Law and Order"

In recent months rightist terror in Argentina has mounted sharply. This is seldom reported in the bourgeois media, which prefer to dwell on kidnappings carried out by leftist guerrillas. However, in addition to the police "coup" in the interior industrial city of Córdoba during February, there have been a series of shootings, raids, suppressions of newspapers and other arbitrary acts directed against left-Peronist and socialist organizations.

Earlier this year General Perón closed down the left-Peronist newspapers *El Descamisodo* and *El Mundo*. Offices of the pro-Moscow Communist Party, of the Maoist Revolutionary Communist Party (PCR), of the UJS (Union of Youth for Socialism, youth group of Política Obrera) and of the PST (Socialist Workers Party) and its youth group, the AJS (Vanguard Socialist Youth), have all been raided by the police. Left-wing union offices have been dynamited and attacked with machine guns by bureaucratic goons. And in May three militants of the PST, who had been kidnapped from the office of their party in a Buenos Aires suburb, were murdered by a gang of 15 rightist thugs. Now, with the death of "El Líder" (Perón) on June 30, this wave of atrocities will undoubtedly accelerate.

Under such circumstances, faced with a wave of rightist terror which has tacit backing and often direct participation by the police and army, it is an elementary necessity of the class struggle to call for united actions in defense of the left, with the participation of all socialist organizations as well as left-Peronist union and youth organizations. Such actions would include united demonstrations, armed pickets to defend strikes and the offices of leftist organizations, and the eventual formation of a united workers militia based on the unions. These united-front actions would in no way compromise the necessary political independence of the various organizations participating.

However, in a display of panic typical of the frenzied petty bourgeoisie, the Argentine PST (a sympathizing organization of the fake-Trotskyist "United Secretariat of the Fourth International") has gone a very different path—toward a political bloc with the Stalinists and bourgeois liberal and populist parties, in defense of the "institutionalization" of bourgeois legality. This craven capitulation was vividly expressed in a joint declaration by six bourgeois parties, the CP and the PST in an audience with General Perón at his residence, "Olivos," on March 21. The declaration promises to adhere to "the institutional process" (i.e., capitalist law-and-order), condemns all those (such as communists) who seek to change this process, and calls for united action (together with the Radicals and Peronists) against imperialism!

This preposterous "Declaration of the 8" is undoubtedly one of the greatest atrocities perpetrated by an ostensibly Trotskyist organization since the Ceylonese LSSP joined a popular-front government in 1964. In addition to implying that the very bourgeois forces which murdered PST militants and deposed the left-Peronist Córdoba government can "institutionalize" democracy and fight imperialism, the Olivos declaration is, in fact, a forerunner to a popular front.

We do not have in our possession a copy of the original statement, but the excerpts from it printed in *Política Obrero* (30 March) are more than adequate for an exact appreciation of its character. The PST now claims, in the 26 June issue of *Avanzada Socialista*, that it never *signed* the document apparently because it couldn't get a good

PST's Coral (third from right) at presentation of "Declaration of the 8" to Perón.

enough "deal" from the bourgeois parties and the Stalinists on the wording (see *Intercontinental Press*, 15 July). However, at most this can only have to do with a formal signature, since the PST very definitely did participate in the Olivos meeting (we print a picture of the PST's ubiquitous Juan Carlos Coral along with the rest of the eight at the audience with Perón) whose purpose was to present the declaration to the president. In any case, it is, to say the least, unusual that *Avanzada Socialista* reported the PST as having signed the declaration in its edition of 28 March. Despite the vehement public attack by the Política Obrera group on the PST because of this act *AS* did not see fit to publish a "rectification" of its "editorial error" until *three months later!*

In the text presented to Perón by the eight parties we read that the participants in the Olivos meeting support "in all instances the institutional process and, at the same time, condemn all those who in one way or another attempt to change it." In the first place the reader notes repeated references to "institutionalization," "the institutional process" and the like. Evidently even the double-talking PST has trouble speaking of bourgeois democracy in Perón's Argentina! And secondly, whom exactly does the declaration condemn? No doubt the "ultrarightists." But, then, not only the right-wing Peronist thugs and fascists wish to change the institutional process of bourgeois democracy —so, too, would any self-respecting Marxist.

As for the tasks ahead, the PST has something quite different from proletarian revolution in mind. According to the declaration:

> "The difficult moments which await the Republic, as a consequence of its confrontation with the powers which have subjected it from long ago, can be overcome victoriously with solidarity in action of the sectors which respect the majority and popular will for liberation [as] expressed in the elections...."
> "The realization of a true federalism of the national community, Latin American integration, solidarity with the subjected peoples of the world and the fight against imperialism and the oligarchy can be materialized only with the creative agreements [coincidencias] which grow out of the full exercise of democracy in all areas..."

After piercing through the byzantine rhetoric, the only possible meaning one can get from this passage is that the Peronists, Radicals and other liberal/populist capitalist parties, together with the CP and PST, can fight against imperialism and the oligarchy ...provided, of course, they achieve those "creative agreements" which result from bourgeois democracy!

Such an open rejection of the Marxist principle of working-class independence from the bourgeoisie, the implicit belief that the bourgeoisie can fight against imperialism (and therefore that Trotsky's theory of permanent revolution is false), and the explicit agreement to abide by the rules of the "institutional process" (not even bourgeois democracy!)—even for the unprincipled USec, such a document is a little extreme. Yet to date, no section of the "Trotskyist" United Secretariat has publicly stated its disagreement!

The USec majority has reportedly sent an internal letter to its sections in which it demands that the PST clarify its position on the document, or else be expelled. This is only natual, since the PST sides with the reformist USec minority led by the SWP. What better way to get at the SWP than to saddle it with this betrayal by its Argentine cothinkers? But what of the militant workers in Argentina itself, who have at least two organizations sympathizing with the United Secretariat to choose from (the PST and the "Red Faction" of the ERP/PRT)? Certainly *they* might be interested to know where the "Fourth International" stands on this important issue. Not to mention would-be Trotskyists around the world.

As for the SWP, it is prepared to denounce kidnappings of U.S. businessmen carried out by the ERP/PRT, at the time the official Argentine section of the USec, within hours of their occurrence. Yet it took the weekly 40-page-plus *Intercontinental Press* a quarter of a year to even *mention* the Olivos declaration.

The Spartacist League denounces the declaration by the Argentine PST (Socialist Workers Party), Communist Party and six bourgeois liberal and populist parties as an obscene reformist capitulation. Whether or not the Coral/Moreno leadership of the PST may have had reservations or disagreements at the time (or quite likely only now, after receiving a letter from some unnamed "European *compañero*" asking for "clarification"), they cannot deny that they were prepared in principle to enter a bloc for law and order with the bourgeoisie. The PST is revealed as an enemy of the workers!

We have in the past denounced similar betrayals by the PST as when, at a similar meeting between the Peronist President-elect Cámpora the bourgeois parties and CP, Juan Carlos Coral stated the PST's support for the "positive measures" of the new government and declared his "proletarian solidarity" with Cámpora ("Argentina: The Struggle Against Peronism," *WV* No. 24, 6 July 1973). Like the scandalous Olivos declaration, this "critical support" for a bourgeois government has never been denounced in the public press of the United Secretariat. No doubt, however, after Mandel has squeezed the last drop of factional advantage from the affair, and the PST is duly expelled or walks out of the USec, he will then turn around and write one of those lucid explanations of his ex-affiliates' betrayals (his article on the Ceylonese LSSP is a model) in which he denounces everything... except his own, and the USec's, culpability in the betrayal. ■

Continued from page 3

SWP Mass Purge...

ments of protest has shown itself to be particularly and vehemently sensitive to the suppression of its democratic rights. But it stood by while the Revolutionary Internationalist Tendency, led by Gerald Clark, was suppressed, framed up and expelled, and all appeal not only denied but ignored through the common action of both the SWP and the IMT. The RIT had analyzed the USec fight and drew conclusions from roughly the same quarter as the SL. As we note in the document "Declaration for the Organizing of an International Trotskyist Tendency" (printed in this issue) one of the aspects of the principled Leninist movement is even-handedness in discipline, not the importation into the allegedly Marxist movement of the common practice of reformist bureaucrats: step on the little ones, smash the troublesome ones and crawl before the powerful ones.

What Next for the IT?

Some of the IT's positions are not bad. It opposes the SWP's sectoralism ("self-determination" and a separate party for everyone) and the line that U.S. blacks are a nation. But for the IT as a tendency, though surely not for many of the individual members, its revolutionary fibre is damaged.

Conceivably, as the result of an unlikely deal, the IT could be forcibly restored for a time to the bosom of the SWP. As Massey implied, down that road lies death. Or if the current USec crisis stops short of a complete international rupture, the IT could for a time become a public "sympathizing group" pledged not to openly criticize the SWP. In the event of a complete international split, as now appears probable, the IT will become the new USec Majority group—all heterogeneous 112 of them, along with the several sympathizing circles scattered around the country and maybe even the nine IMT supporters still in the SWP.

The IT grouping will find that a USec franchise will not cut a lot of ice as they begin to be squeezed on the right by the tenfold-larger SWP and on the left by the several times larger Spartacist League. The IT will find, when and if it is permitted to set up shop publicly, that it is mistaken in many of its SWP-derived prejudices about the irrelevance or ineffectiveness (as to political origins, prior work and present practice) of the SL of the U.S., now a section of a burgeoning and *principled* democratic-centralist international tendency. Moreover, the IT's implantation within the labor movement is primitive and its practice opportunist with a kamikaze overlay. Given the current gloomy economic prognosis, the IT will find it difficult to improve its trade-union involvement; should it manage to do so, however, it will find the SL there as an established competitor, not least in the IT's projected target industries.

Unlike the IT, the SWP has a niche to fill—but that niche lies unequivocally outside the authentic Trotskyist movement. The original split in the Fourth International took place in 1952-53. The SWP then, despite its developing weaknesses, fought against the Pabloites on the qualitatively superior political platform. Then, a decade of accelerating degeneration brought it down to the centrist level of Pablo's International Secretariat. The resulting European-centered USec has continued on the same centrist merry-go-round, powered more recently by some thousands of new youth. But the SWP continued its rightward motion. It, as first grotesquely revealed by Dobbs' condolence telegram to the widow Kennedy, is locked in fundamentally to the American scene and ultimately its activity is at the pleasure of the American bourgeoisie. The preconditions for its reformist participation in American life are fully prepared. It awaits only new and bigger opportunity. ■

Stalinist Repression Continues in USSR

Grigorenko Freed

Former Red Army Major General Piotr Grigorenko has recently been released after five years' imprisonment in mental institutions in the USSR. As a result of mistreatment during his imprisonment he is today a sick, nearly blind and physically broken man. The official reason given for his incarceration in mental hospitals, according to a 1969 report by psychological "experts," was that he was suffering from "reformist illusions."

We welcome the release of this unjustly persecuted and courageous socialist. However, we have no illusions that the Russian bureaucracy will now let up, even temporarily, in its unrelenting suppression of any expressions of opposition to its parasitic rule. Grigorenko's release took place simultaneously with the arrests of prominent Jewish scientists and intellectuals, in order to forestall possible demonstrations during Nixon's June visit.

Although decorated six times during World War II and a recipient of the Order of Lenin, Grigorenko was arrested and ruled insane in 1969 for his defense of the Crimean Tatars' right to repatriate to their homeland. They had been driven from the Crimea by Stalin after World War II, as punishmen for alleged "war crimes." Although subsequently exculpated by the Russian bureaucracy in 1967, the Tatars have not been allowed to return from Central Asia, where they were forced to settle.

Grigorenko himself has been in the left wing of the amorphous Soviet dissidents' movement, which encompasses everything from Russian Orthodox religious fanatics, nationalists, ardent Zionists and bourgeois liberals to bureaucratic reformists and revolutionary socialists. Although never in contact with the Left Opposition (which was exterminated after the notorious Purge Trials of 1936-38), Grigorenko was impelled by the revelations of the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) to reexamine the Stalin era.

He concluded that Stalin's crimes were not an accident of personality, but that the original Bolshevik conceptions had been subverted and that Khrushchev and the regimes of other "socialist" countries were no better than previous Stalinist regimes. As Grigorenko stated in 1968 in a letter of protest to USSR Attorney General Rudenko against a search of his apartment by the KGB (the bureaucracy's "security police"), "I am a communist and, as such, I bate with every fiber of my being the organs of caste lawlessness, violence and coercion. In our country this means the organization created by Stalin and now called the KGB" (reprinted in *Samizdat, Voices of the Soviet Opposition*, a collection of Soviet dissident writings recently published in English by Monad Press).

In 1963 he founded the "Union of Struggle for the Revival of Leninism," which studied *State and Revolution* and passed out leaflets critical of the Khrushchev regime. For these activities he was arrested in February 1964, demoted to the rank of private and expelled from the party. Although Khrushchev was removed from power in October 1964 the Brezhnev regime did not release Grigorenko until May of the following year.

As Trotskyists we fight for the reestablishment of soviet democracy in the USSR, including the right of assembly, freedom of the press and legalization of all soviet parties. We have demanded the right of free political expression even for such open anti-Marxists as Solzhenitsyn and Sakharov. But we do not for a moment lose sight of the profound differences among "Soviet dissidents." Nor do we overlook the crucial fact that a successful *political revolution*, to topple the bureaucracy and replace it with the rule of democratically elected soviets, requires the crystallization of an authentic Bolshevik-Leninist vanguard party. Key to this necessary task is a relentless struggle against the false solutions of various bureaucratic reformers, bourgeois liberals and even religious mystics who today appear to dominate the tiny opposition movement.

DER SPIEGEL

Grigorenko and wife

Grigorenko, although subjectively a sincere socialist, can hardly be considered a Marxist-Leninist. In calling for political support for Dubcek and the "democratization" campaign of the Czechoslovak Communist Party in 1968, he failed to make the crucial distinction between bureaucratic reforms and a political revolution by the working class. Moreover, he has now evidently come to believe that his initial attempts at Bolshevik organization were wrong. As he stated to a psychiatrist while imprisoned for the second time:

> "The old approach [the Union of Struggle] was typically Bolshevik, the creation of a strictly conspiratorial, illegal organization and the circulation of illegal leaflets. But now there's no organization, no leaflets, just open bold attacks on obvious tyranny, falsehood, and hypocrisy.... Before, the call was for the overthrow of the regime of that period and for a return to the point at which Lenin left off. Now the call is to remove the visible evils of society, to fight for strict observance of existing laws.... for the democratization of the life of our society."
>
> —from P. Grigorenko's "Diary from Prison," reprinted in *Samizdat*

But it is precisely "the overthrow of the regime" and "a return to the point at which Lenin left off" which is necessary in order to democratize the USSR! Since the bureaucracy will permit no open opposition, clandestine political organization—linking up with the class-conscious workers and soldiers, as well as with left oppositionists among the intelligentsia, party members and even among military officers and the state bureaucracy—is absolutely necessary. The USSR's dictatorial regime so blatantly violates its own constitution that the dissidents' legalistic emphasis on exposés of this lawlessness is ineffective.

Despite the personal courage and integrity of many of the current oppositionists, such idealist protests cannot mobilize the masses, who have few illusions about the state apparatus' capacity for vicious and illegal repression, and thus do not react with outrage at each new violation. However, in certain exceptional circumstances, such as the USSR's invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968, the massive shock and public indignation generated do provide the opportunity for open organizing of protest by socialists inside the USSR.

Although important political differences separate even such socialist opponents of the Brezhnev regime as Grigorenko from revolutionary Marxism, we must bear in mind the barriers of ignorance imposed by the bureaucracy's rigid ban on Trotskyist literature. Even Roy Medvedev, who was permitted to read Trotsky's early oppositional writings in preparing a history of Stalinism (*Let History Judge*), is apparently unaware of the positions of the International Left Opposition and the Fourth International on the "Russian question" during the 1930's.

It is the duty of all supporters of workers democracy to demand the restoration of soviet liberties in the degenerated and deformed workers states presently under Stalinist domination, and to demand the immediate release of other democratic oppositionists who remain behind in Russian jails. Prominent among these is Vladimir Bukovsky, who like Grigorenko and many other Soviet oppositionists was confined to a psychiatric asylum (between 1963 and 1965) for his political views. After his release he was again arrested and sent to a hospital for six months because of his participation in a demonstration against the trial of the writers Sinyavsky and Daniel in late 1965. In 1967 he was once more arrested and exiled for three years for demonstrating for the release of political prisoners.

In March of 1971 Bukovsky made available a 400-page dossier documenting the treatment received by political dissidents in Russian mental hospitals. As a result of this document, directed to the 1971 world congress of psychiatry and the 26th congress of the CPSU, he was sentenced in 1972 to two years in prison, five years in a labor camp and five years in exile. Earlier this year the 31-year-old Bukovsky was transferred from a labor camp to the infamous Vladimir prison as a result of heart disease contracted during earlier periods of imprisonment.

Already another young Soviet writer, Yuri Galanskov, has died because of mistreatment and medical neglect at the hands of the prison authorities. Also reported to be in serious condition is the mathematician Leonid Plyushch, who is being held in the mental hospital of Dniepropetrovsk.

Hands off the democratic opposition—for the restoration of full soviet democracy! Down with the bureaucracy—for political revolution in the USSR! Toward the formation of a Soviet Trotskyist party, Russian section of a reborn Fourth International! ■

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Portugal:

Spínola Purges Cabinet

JULY 14—Since the coup of April 25 the Portuguese Communist Party has acted as the most willing servant of the Portuguese bourgeoisie. As loyal members of General Spínola's "Provisional Government" the PCP used its authority to break strikes, telling the workers that their demands were "unreasonable." While the government organized troop intervention to smash the nationwide postal and telephone strike, the CP organized its own goon squads to terrorize the strikers. When the military imposed strict press censorship, including the prohibition of any "ideological attacks against the program of the Movement of the Armed Forces," the CP agreed that the "forces of anarchy" needed to be suppressed. All this was done in the name of preserving at all costs the "unity of democratic forces":

> "The PCP insists that the Armed Forces will not be able to lead the country toward democracy without the participation of the popular forces, neither can the popular forces do so without the Armed Forces. The PCP severly criticizes attitudes which try to create breaches between the people and the Armed Forces."
>
> —*O Comércio do Porto*, 21 June

But what has happened to the "unity of democratic forces" now? After a short two months in power, Portugal's coalition government collapsed on July 9 when five bourgeois ministers resigned, leaving a cabinet composed principally of Communist and Socialist Party ministers, under the direction of the military "Junta of National Salvation" and President/General Spínola. Two days later Spínola dismissed the remaining ministers.

The resignations were led by Premier Adelino da Palma Carlos, who complained that the State Council (dominated by the Movement of the Armed Forces) had not given him sufficient power to deal with a partly rebellious cabinet. Palma Carlos wanted to be able

JOAQUIN LOBO

Palma Carlos (left) with Spínola

to name his own ministers in order to prevent any further public attacks on the government by the Communist Party.

The CP, loyal ally of the military and strikebreaker for the Spínola government, recently criticized the government for the appointment of "fascists" of the old regime to important posts, in particular the appointment of a former minister in the Caetano government as ambassador to the United Nations. CP criticisms of the government's social and economic program announced last week were especially galling since they came in the middle of demonstrations by thousands of civil servants against the new program.

In the face of continuing social unrest the Junta of National Salvation is now dumping its civilian facade and moving toward tight military control.

JOAQUIN LOBO

Lisbon, May Day 1974.

Today General Spínola appointed Colonel Vasco Gonçalves, president of the coordination committee of the Movement of the Armed Forces, as the new premier. Gonçalves will have complete freedom in choosing his own ministers.

Not quite ready to exclude the CP and SP from the government—which could lead to a heightened working-class upsurge—the military seeks to severly limit their roles. The CP will most likely lose the Ministry of Labor, and the key ministries of defense, interior, information, labor and social affairs will all be occupied by military officers.

A decree by the Joint Defense Staff was also published today establishing a "Continental Operations Command" whose task is to restore "peace and tranquility" when normal police forces are not adequate (*New York Times*, 14 July). The command of marines, paratroopers and commando units will be directed by General Francisco da Costa Gomes, who is chief of the Joint Defense Staff, a close supporter of Spínola and independent of government direction, with rank equivalent to the premier.

The protestations of the Communist Party that "the situation in every country is different" notwithstanding, the Portuguese experience is one more example of the disastrous consequences of popular-front politics—the politics of class collaboration which led to the victory of Franco in Spain, the Vichy government in France and Pinochet in Chile. (In an interview PCP chief Alvaro Cunhal stated that "it is natural for us to study the Chilean experience" but the Portuguese situation is actually "radically different because it was the Armed Forces that arose against the fascist regime" [*Diario de Noticias*, 8 June]!)

The policies of the Stalinist CP are not merely willful blindness and stupidity, but conscious treason against the working class. It is not enough to say, as do many militant Portuguese workers fed up with the CP's betrayals, that "they have their policy and we have ours," or that political parties should not become involved in strikes.

It is not possible to avoid the struggle for state power, to separate the workers' struggles into "social" and "political," or to simply bypass the Communist Party and the junta. Only in the process of politically smashing the Stalinist betrayers and winning away their mass support can the road be opened to a successful confrontation with Spínola and the junta.

This task requires the political exposure of the CP's real policies of capitulation and class collaboration, the use of united-front tactics (calling on the reformist CP and SP, the unions and all other workers organizations to join together in struggle against the capitalist oppressors) and the raising of demands which lead to proletarian revolution. Such demands include calling for immediate elections to a constituent assembly; immediate independence for the colonies and withdrawal of Portuguese troops from Africa; trial of criminals of the Salazarist regime by democratically elected people's tribunals; formation of soldiers councils; full freedom of the press and trade unions; the right to strike; formation of armed pickets to defend strikes and their centralization into a workers militia; expropriation under workers control of industry, banks and trusts; formation of democratically elected factory and strike committees, recallable at any time, joined in a unitary organization of the working class; a workers government, based on these councils (soviets), to replace the junta and its "Provisional Government."

By taking this proletarian program to the ranks of the CP and the working class it will be possible to expose the true meaning of the Stalinists' pratings about "democratic" unity of the people and the generals, of expolited and exploiters. In the present circumstances of mounting bourgeois reaction the struggle for a revolutionary program of transitional demands must be focused on the urgent need for united working-class defense against the threat of full-scale military takeover.

The crucial need is for a Trotskyist party which, basing itself on such a program, can win the leadership of the masses in struggle against the Stalinist betrayers and for the victory of the workers' demands. The fight to build this party, which does not exist (even in embryo) in Portugal today, is simultaneously the struggle for the rebirth of the Fourth International. In contrast the pretenders to the mantle of the FI, notably the so-called "United Secretariat" and its sympathizing organization in Portugal, the Liga Comunista Internacionalista (LCI), are an excellent example of what Trotskyism is *not*.

Instead of a democratic-centralist International, the USec is a federated rotten bloc composed of sharply differing tendencies united only in their rejection of Marxism. Thus, as one of many examples, the USec considered the Allende regime in Chile to be a popular front from December 1971 until its downfall in September 1973. (Subsequently the European majority of the USec decided to posthumously rehabilitate the Popular Unity coalition, referring to it only as "reformist"—in order to better capitulate to the centrist MIR.) But not one of the several groups in Chile who have been affiliated with the USec had this line! This same process is now repeating itself in Portugal. A USec declaration on Portugal (reprinted in *Inprecor* No. 1, 6 June) calls for a constituent assembly—but the LCI has not raised this crucial demand inside Portugal. Likewise, in a widely reported speech in Lisbon, USec superstar Mandel warned against a half-and-half revolution and called for a workers government—but the LCI has not raised this demand!

The LCI, together with the Castroist-workerist PRP (Proletarian Revolutionary Party), affirm their desire to overthrow the junta and bourgeois Provisional Government; they raise demands for expropriation of the monopolies, formation of workers councils and other slogans which go beyond simple democratic rights; they call for power to the proletariat. Even the Maoist MRPP (Movement for the Reconstruction of the Proletarian Party) raises some of these demands, while calling for a "democratic people's revolution." Yet in the course of the actual workers' struggles, the various centrist and left-reformist groups abandon these demands and simply tail after the workers. The policy of a Trotskyist vanguard organization would be precisely the opposite: to raise its full program in order to be able to *lead* the struggle forward to victory. ■

Toward the Rebirth of the Fourth International

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NEW YORK

Declaration for the Organizing of an International Trotskyist Tendency

European Summer Camp

A European summer camp organized by supporters of the international Spartacist tendency was held in the mountains of Central Europe during the first week of July. Attending the camp were more than fifty comrades from eight countries.

The camp opened with firsthand accounts of the class struggles and political situation in India and Portugal. Following these reports, classes were held on a variety of topics.

A main focus was on communist work in the trade unions, centering on the problems Trotskyists face in constructing communist trade-union fractions in the various countries. These classes and subsequent discussions and exchanges of information greatly aided the comrades who attended the camp in broadening their understanding of the international labor movement.

In addition talks were given on the origins of the Spartacist League/US and on the struggle for Trotskyism in Austria, France, Germany and Israel. At the end of the camp, brief talks were also given on the history of Maoist groups in Austria and Germany.

A Japanese observer at the camp reported that major Spartacist tendency documents have been translated, reproduced and are being circulated by Japanese Marxists. The inability of a delegation from the Spartacist League of Australia and New Zealand to attend was keenly felt, especially by those who have previously worked with comrades of the ANZ section.

The high point of the week was the discussion of the "Declaration for the Organizing of an International Trotskyist Tendency" presented to the camp by the SL/US and the SL/ANZ. The Declaration was endorsed at the camp by the ÖBL (Austrian Bolshevik-Leninists), the Berlin Committee publishing *Kommunistische Korrespondenz* and the Paris comrades, as well as by individuals from other countries. While comrades from Canada and Israel endorsed the Declaration, there was unavoidably insufficient participation at the camp to permit action on behalf of the Toronto Committee and the Spartacist nucleus in Israel. At the close of the session at which agreement to the Declaration was declared, the participants in the camp joined in singing the *Internationale*.

With the endorsement of the Declaration and the creation of a nucleus for the early crystallization of an international Trotskyist tendency, the struggle for the rebirth of the Fourth International, politically destroyed by Pabloist revisionism, takes a great step forward.

Coincidentally, word of the expulsion of the Internationalist Tendency from the SWP reached the camp immediately after the session at which the Declaration was endorsed. This event, which poses the possibility of the splitting apart of the rotten "United Secretariat" bloc, which has been masquerading as the Fourth International since 1963, could not more clearly underline and confirm the political line of the Declaration, which we here reprint.

Leon Trotsky near Naples, Italy, 1932.

Lenin in Gorky, 1922.

1. The Spartacist League of Australia and New Zealand and the Spartacist League of the United States declare themselves to be the nucleus for the early crystallization of an international Trotskyist tendency based upon the 1966 Declaration of Principles and dedicated to the rebirth of the Fourth International.

2. In a half dozen other countries parties, groups and committees have expressed their general or specific sympathy or support for the international Spartacist tendency, as have scattered supporters or sympathizers from a number of additional countries. Among these groups and individuals are comrades, in both Europe and Asia, possessing many years or even decades of experience as cadres of the Trotskyist movement.

3. The Revolutionary Internationalist Tendency, a small Marxist wing of the "United Secretariat," centered on the United States and with supporters in Australia and elsewhere, has seen its spokesmen expelled from their national sections and parties for seeking to express their views within the United Secretariat, that deeply factionally divided and unprincipled conglomeration of reformists and revisionists, latter-day Kautskys, Bukharins and Pablos. If the main contenders in the "United Secretariat" are united in their common and not-so-veiled class collaborationist appetites, they are deeply divided between the electoralism and placid neo-populism of, e.g., the American Socialist Workers Party and the guerrilla-terrorist enthusing of, e.g., the French ex-Ligue Communiste. These differences reflect far more the differing national milieus and resulting opportunist appetites than they do any questions of principle. The recently concluded "Tenth World Congress" of the United Secretariat refused to hear or even acknowledge the appeal of RIT comrades against their expulsion. The RIT forces are now making common cause with the Spartacist tendency. They are but a vanguard of those who will struggle out of the revisionist swamp and toward revolutionary Marxism. Already in France an oppositional Central Committee member of the former Ligue Communiste has broken from the Front Communiste Révolutionnaire (recently formed by *Rouge*) in solidarity with the views of the RIT.

4. In Germany senior elements from the centrist and now fragmented left split from the United Secretariat in 1969 are being won to the Spartacist tendency. They are regrouping around the publication *Kommunistische Korrespondenz*. In Germany three inextricable tasks are posed for Leninists: to programmatically win over subjectively revolutionary elements from among the thousands of young left social democrats, centrists, revisionists and Maoists; to fuse together intellectual and proletarian elements, above all through the development and struggle of communist industrial fractions; to inwardly assimilate some thirty years of Marxist experience and analysis from which the long break in continuity has left the new generation of German revolutionary Marxists still partially isolated.

5. In Austria, Israel, Canada and elsewhere similar splits, followed by revolutionary regroupment and growth, are occurring. In Austria the initial nucleus came from youth of the United Secretariat section. The "Vanguard" group of Israel is the last still united section of the old "International Committee" which split in 1971 between the British Socialist Labour League's wing led by Gerry Healy (with which the American Workers League of Wohlforth is still united despite friction) and the French Organisation Communiste Internationaliste led by Pierre Lambert which subsequently lost most of its international support—i.e., with the Bolivian Partido Obrero Revolucionario of G. Lora and the European groupings around the Hungarian, Varga, both breaking away. If the "Vanguard" group amid this welter of disintegration is still unable to choose between the counterposed claims of Healy and Lambert, it did produce and promptly expel a principled and valiant counter-tendency to both. In Canada youth from the Revolutionary Marxist Group's Red Circles are being drawn to Trotskyism. Everywhere unprincipled formations are subjected to the hammer blows of sharpened capitalist crisis and upsurge in the class struggle.

6. In Ceylon where the historical consequences of Pabloist revisionism have been most fully revealed, only the Revolutionary Workers Party, led by the veteran Trotskyist, Edmund Samarakkody, has emerged with integrity from the welter of betrayals perpetrated by the old LSSP and which were aided and abetted by the United Secretariat, its unspeakable agent on the island, Bala Tampoe, and the craven Healyite "International Committee." The RWP has been compelled to seek to generalize the revolutionary Marxist program anew from Marxist class-struggle principles.

7. The Spartacist tendency is now actively working for the immediate convening of an international conference to politically and geographically extend the tendency and to further formalize and consolidate it. The tendency organizing nucleus will seek to work in the closest collaboration with sympathizing groups, particularly in continuing and assuring a broadly-based and full written and verbal discussion process leading to this international conference.

In the pre-conference interim the tendency organizing nucleus assumes political and organizational responsibility for the prior international resolutions, declarations, open letters and agreements for common work of its present constituent groups. These documents notably include: "Toward Rebirth of the Fourth International," 14 June 1963; Statement to the 3rd Conference of the International Committee, 6 April 1966; Letter to the OCRFI and French OCI, 15 January 1973; Letter to Samarakkody, 27 October 1973; the historical analyses: "Genesis of Pabloism," "Development of the Spartacist League [of New Zealand]," and "The Struggle for Trotskyism in Ceylon"; and the agreements endorsed at the interim international conference held in Germany in January 1974, printed in *WV* No. 39, 1 March 1974.

8. Both the present "United Secretariat" and the former "International Committee" despite their respective pretensions "to be" the Fourth International, as a necessary condition for their fake "unities," have chronically mocked the principles of internationalism and of Bolshevik democratic centralism as their different national groups or nationally-based factions have gone their own way—ultimately in response to the pressures of their own ruling classes. Thus until the English and French components of the ex-"International Committee" blew apart, the International Committee operated explicitly on the proposition that "the only method of arriving at decisions that remains possible at present is the principle of unanimity" (decision at the 1966 London International Committee Conference). Since then the Healyites have substituted the naked Gauleiter/Führer principle as their mockery of democratic centralism. The other, OCI-led, wing of the ex-IC retained the contradiction of launching the Organizing Committee for the Reconstruction of the Fourth International, which was supposed to initiate political discussion on the basis of the 1938 Transitional Program, while simultaneously seeking to build new national sections. Both such hypothetical sections and the Organizing Committee itself therefore labored under a basic ambiguity from the outset, but the Organizing Committee's disintegration, into sharply counterposed elements all of whom swear by the 1938 Program, has left its practice stillborn.

Today, following the just concluded "Tenth Congress" of the United Secretariat, its American supporters, being themselves in the Minority internationally, threaten their own national minority, the Internationalist Tendency (which belongs to the international Majority), by declaring:

> "The Socialist Workers Party proclaims its fraternal solidarity with the Fourth International but is prevented by reactionary legislation from affiliating to it. All political activities of members of the SWP are decided upon by the democratically elected national leadership bodies of the SWP and by the local and branch units of the party. Unconditional acceptance of the authority of these SWP bodies is a prerequisite of membership. *There are no other bodies whose decisions are binding on the SWP or its members.*" [our emphasis]
>
> —SWP *Internal Information Bulletin* #4, April 1974, from Introductory Note, 17 April 1974

9. This apparently naked assertion of national independence by or toward organizations in the United States is not unique and has a specific history. Thus the American Healyite publicist, Wohlforth, declares in his pamphlet, "Revisionism in Crisis":

> "With the passing of the Voorhis Act in 1940 the SWP was barred from membership in the Fourth International by law. Ever since that time the SWP has not been able to be an affiliate of the Fourth International. So today its relationship to the United Secretariat is one of political solidarity just as the Workers' League stands in political solidarity with the International Committee."

The "Voorhis Act" passed by the American Congress in 1940 has been used as a convenient excuse for revisionists to more openly

continued on next page

"The united front is nothing more than a means, a tactic, by which the revolutionary party, i.e. its program and authority, can in times of crisis mobilize and then win over masses (at that time supporters of other parties) by means of concrete demands for common action mode to the reformist organizations. Any other interpretation must base itself on a supposed latent revolutionary vanguard capacity within the reformist or Stalinist parties themselves—a central proposition of Pabloism."

—Letter to OCRFI and OCI, 15 January 1973 (Spartacist No. 22, Winter 1973-1974)

"In the colonial world the struggle against imperialism reflects the felt oppression of the laboring masses as coming from outside the nation itself. Hence 'national bourgeois' formations, including very radical petty-bourgeois ones ranging over to the Russian Social-Revolutionaries or the Vietnamese National Liberation Front, can strive to play the kind of mass leadership role not seen in Western Europe since 1848. In this they simulate the present role there of the (trade-union, social-democratic, Stalinist) labor bureaucracies. But mass plebeian or even proletarian base notwithstanding, such nationalist political formations are external to the working class, unlike the labor bureaucracies which are the internalized mechanism of capitalist mass control."

—Letter to Samarakkody, 27 October 1973

"While revolutionary Marxists would give critical support to some oppositional actions of the so-called national bourgeoisie, they are unequivocally opposed to national bourgeois regimes; it remains their task to carry on a consistent and irreconcilable struggle to expose their real role of treachery to the national liberation struggle and to wrest the leadership of the national struggle from their hands....

"It is precisely this question of the so-called national or liberal bourgeoisie—the Bandaranaike question—that LSSP leaders failed to understand in the light of Marxist experience. In the result, the leadership followed empirically a zig zag policy, which inevitably led them into the coalition government with the SLFP in 1964."

—"Struggle for Trotskyism in Ceylon," by Edmund Samarakkody, Spartacist No. 22, Winter 1973-1974

Toward the Rebirth of the Fourth International!

Declaration...

display their concrete anti-internationalism than is convenient for their co-thinkers elsewhere.

This act, while ostensibly aimed centrally at domestic military conspiracies directed by foreign powers, was actually intended, as was the overlapping "Smith Act," to harass the American Communist Party, then supporting the Hitler-Stalin Pact. A key provision states: "An organization is subject to foreign control if... its policies or any of them are determined by or at the suggestion of... an international political organization" (political activity being defined as that aimed at the forcible control or overthrow of the government). Such organizations were to be subject to such massive and repetitive "registration" requirements as to paralyze them, quite aside from the impermissible nature of many of the disclosures demanded. Thus it was similar to the later "Communist Control Act" which was successfully fought by the American CP. But the "Voorhis Act" with its patently unconstitutional and contradictory provisions has never been used by the government—only by revisionists.

10. Today the United Secretariat Majority makes loud cries in favor of *international* unity and discipline i.e., against the SWP's views and conduct, but it was not always so. When the forerunner of the Spartacist League tried to appeal its expulsion from the SWP to the United Secretariat, Pierre Frank wrote for the United Secretariat on 28 May 1965 that:

> "In reply to your letter of May 18 we call your attention first of all to the fact that the Fourth International has no organizational connection with the Socialist Workers party and consequently has no jurisdiction in a problem such as you raise; namely, the application of democratic centralism as it affects the organization either as a whole or in individual instances."

After Frank gave the Spartacists his answer, Healy publicly expressed sympathy for the Spartacists' plight, charging in his *Newsletter* of 16 June 1965 that Frank "ducks behind a legal formula for cover." But when Healy's own ox was gored by the SWP's publication of the embarrassing pamphlet "Healy 'Reconstructs' the Fourth International," Healy's SLL threatened violence and/or legal action ("Political Committee Statement," 20 August 1966 *Newsletter*) against any who circulated the pamphlet in his England. Shortly he used both—the Tate affair! Healy claimed as the basis for his threats the self-same fear of the Voorhis Act on behalf of Wohlforth and the Spartacists. But the *Spartacist* then replied:

> "We for our part reject the SLL's solicitousness on our behalf. The Voorhis Act is a *paper tiger*—never used against anyone and patently unconstitutional. For the Justice Department to start proceedings against a small group like ours or the smaller and less threatening [Wohlforthite] ACFI would make the government a laughing stock, and Healy knows this. He is aware that for years the SWP has hidden behind this very act to defend its own federalist idea of an International."
> —*Spartacist* #7, Sept.-Oct. 1966

> "Experience since the Second World War has demonstrated that peasant-based guerilio warfare under petit-bourgeois leadership can in itself lead to nothing more than an anti-working-class bureaucratic regime. The creation of such regimes has come about under the conditions of decay of imperialism, the demoralization and disorientation caused by Stalinist betrayals, and the absence of revolutionary Marxist leadership of the working class. Colonial revolution can have an unequivocally progressive significance only under such leadership of the revolutionary proletariat. For Trotskyists to incorporate into their strategy revisionism on the proletarian leadership in the revolution is a profound negation of Marxism-Leninism no matter what pious wish may be concurrently expressed for 'building revolutionary Marxist parties in colonial countries'...."
>
> —"Toward Rebirth of the Fourth International," Spartacist No. 1, February-March 1964

> "The struggle for the rebirth of the Fourth International means the construction of viable national sections of a democratic centralist internotional tendency. As Trotsky stressed in the foreign introduction to "Permanent Revolution," national sections of a living international party cannot be constructed from afar as the replication of some 'leading section,' but must have an organic development within the context of their own class struggle.... The development of the international authority of the tendency entails the dialectical interaction of principled leadership based on the authentic Trotskyist program and the development of the authority of the national sections within the class struggles of their own countries."
>
> —Letter to Samarakkody, 27 October 1973

11. More currently, however, as in the United Secretariat Majority's "Again, and Always, the Question of the International" (by Alain Krivine and the self-same Pierre Frank, 10 June 1971, SWP *International Information Bulletin* #5, July 1971) they attack the public formulation by Jack Barnes, SWP National Secretary, that "the principal condition for international organization" is "collaboration between leaderships ...in every country." To this idea Krivine and Frank counterpose "the International, a world party based on democratic centralism." And later this Majority Tendency (in *IIDB* Volume X, #20, October 1973) notes that the Minority, in flagrant contradiction to Barnes' and Hansen's previously expressed views, declares, "we will do our utmost to construct a strong [international] center," and the Majority concludes that "actual practice leaves no doubt: the [Minority] faction would be for a 'strong center' if it were able to have a majority in it." And most recently the same United Secretariat Majority asserts that behind the acts of the SWP-based Minority "lies a federalist conception of the International which contradicts the statutes and the line adopted by the [Tenth] World Congress" (17 March 1974, *IIDB* Volume XI, #5, April 1974). The United Secretariat Majority ought to know. They made this accusation in commenting on a Tenth Congress joint Minority-Majority agreement so flagrant in mutually amnestying every sort of indiscipline, public attack and disavowal, organizational chicanery, walkout and expulsion that the Majority also had to offer the feeble disclaimer that these "compromises adopted at this World Congress should in no way be taken as precedents" and that "the exceptional character of these measures is demonstrated, moreover, by the unanimous adoption of our new statutes" (which formally contradict the real practice!). Yes indeed, for opportunists and revisionists basic organizational principles are not of centralized, comradely, even-handed and consistent practice but just boil down to the simple matter of whose ox is gored. This is *the* organizational aspect of Pabloism.

If today the United Secretariat promises to back up its own friends in the SWP should action be taken against them, the point to be made is not the United Secretariat's dishonesty and hypocrisy per se, but rather the shattering of the United Secretariat's pretensions (like those of the International Committee) to be the Fourth International. They both trim their avowed organizational principles through expediency for petty advantage just as *and because* they do the same with their political principles and program.

> "Two decisive elements have been common to the whole series of upheavals under Stalinist-type leaderships, as in Yugoslavia, China, Cuba, Vietnam: 1) a civil war of the peasant-guerrilla variety, which first wrenches the peasant movement from the immediate control of imperialism and substitutes a petty-bourgeois leadership; and then, if victorious, seizes the urban centers and on its own momentum smashes capitalist property relations, nationalizing industry under the newly consolidating Bonapartist leadership; 2) the absence of the working class as a contender for social power, in particular, the absence of its revolutionary vanguard: this permits an exceptionally independent role for the petty-bourgeois sections of society which are thus denied the polarization which occurred in the October Revolution, in which the most militant petty-bourgeois sections were drawn into the wake of the revolutionary working class.
> "However it is apparent that supplemental political revolution is necessary to open the road to socialist development.... the petty-bourgeois peasantry under the most favorable historic circumstances conceivable could achieve no third road, neither capitalist, nor working class. Instead all that has come out of China and Cuba was a state of the same order as that issuing out of the political counter-revolution of Stalin in the Soviet Union, the degeneration of the October...."
>
> —Statement to the 3rd Conference of the International Committee, 6 April 1966 (Spartacist No. 6, June-July 1966)

12. The international Spartacist tendency is just that, a tendency in the process of consolidation. But from its international outset it declares its continuing fidelity already tested for a decade in national confines to Marxist-Leninist principle and Trotskyist program—Revolutionary, Internationalist and Proletarian.

The struggle for the rebirth of the Fourth International promises to be difficult, long, and, above all, uneven. But it is an indispensable and central task facing those who would win proletarian power and thus open the road to the achievement of socialism for humanity. The struggle begun by L.D. Trotsky in 1929 to constitute an International Left Opposition must be studied. Both despite and because of the differing objective and subjective particulars and with ultimately common basis then and now there is much to be learned especially as to the testing and selection of cadres in the course of the vicissitudes of social and internal struggles.

The giant figure of Trotsky attracted around itself all sorts of personally and programmatically unstable elements repelled by the degenerating Comintern. This led, together with demoralization from the succession of working-class defeats culminating in the second World War, to a prolonged and not always successful sorting out process. It is a small compensation for the lack of a Trotsky that the Spartacist tendency has little extraneous, symbolic drawing power at the outset. But a decade of largely localized experience shows no lack of weak or accidental elements drawn temporarily to the tendency. The only real test is in hard-driving, all-sided involvement in living class struggle.

As L.D. Trotsky noted in "At the Fresh Grave of Kote Tsintsadze," 7 January 1931:

> "It took altogether extraordinary conditions like czarism, illegality, prison, and deportation, many years of struggle against the Mensheviks, and especially the experience of three revolutions to produce fighters like Kote Tsintsadze....
> "The Communist parties in the West have not yet brought up fighters of Tsintsadze's type. This is their besetting weakness, determined by historical reasons but nonetheless a weakness. The Left Opposition in the Western countries is not an exception in this respect and it must well take note of it."

Central Committee, SL/ANZ

Central Committee, SL/U.S.

[The draft Declaration adopted by the Political Bureau of the SL/U.S. and a representative of the Central Committee of the SL/ANZ, 22 May 1974; accepted by the Central Committee of the SL/ANZ, 7 June 1974; declared to be in force, following concurrence with it at the European summer camp of the international Spartacist tendency, 6 July 1974.]

Continued from page 1

Sanitation Workers' Strike...

general strike to defend the trade unions against the bosses' attacks.

But from the beginning, the confrontation between striking sanitation workers and the city government has found the official union leadership at a complete loss as to what to do, since all of their "alternatives" were exhausted early in the strike.

The strike began as a wildcat walkout of city garbage haulers after the leadership of their union, Local 44 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME), forced a sellout, 6-percent, 20-cent-an-hour deal through a rump local meeting of less than 300 workers. The next day, with three or four garages already on strike, a second meeting was held. The meeting came to an abrupt end when the 500 angry workers chased the leadership of Ray Clarke et al. out the back doors of the meeting hall. Clarke was hung in effigy by the ranks, who demanded a wage increase of at least 50 cents an hour. Following this meeting, the strike quickly spread to include 3,000 sanitation, sewage and highway workers.

This strike comes on the heels of representation election victories for the AFSCME local early this year and an announced drive to organize state employees. The newly unionized workers hoped AFSCME could deliver some improvements in wages in the face of soaring inflation and "energy crisis" hardships and also win some changes in their working conditions. Baltimore sanitation workers now make about $3.60 to $4.15 an hour, amounting to $70 to $90 a week take-home pay, even for twenty-year veterans. In addition to higher wages, the strikers are also demanding an end to a hated "points" system of "absentee control," which restricts sick leave and has led to the firing of seven workers.

AFSCME: "Don't Blame Us—It's the Workers' Fault"!

As soon as the sanitation workers overran their leadership, top AFSCME brass were sent in to make sure things didn't "get out of hand." Reluctantly, the leadership recognized the strike, while visiting AFSCME President Wurf and Secretary-Treasurer Lucy got themselves arrested on the "illegal" picket lines in a show of militancy before heading back out of town.

Picketing has been kept to a minimum and picketers have been forbidden to talk about the issues of the strike. Not only have there been no mass meetings or rallies to build support for the strike, but the union leadership has failed even to mobilize the ranks to prevent scabbing by the private garbage haulers, many of whom are still operating.

AFSCME leaders are as bitter as Baltimore's Mayor Schaeffer at the dumping of their "deal" with the city—the product of six months of negotiations—by the ranks. "What's the value of forcing leaders to go to jail?" said Al Bilils, an AFSCME International officer, "It was clearly the workers who forced the issue in the first place" ([Baltimore] *Sun*, 9 July 1974)!

The militancy of the ranks has been unquestionable, and the administration of Mayor Schaeffer has so far been afraid to organize a massive strikebreaking effort. Some scabs—from an association with which AFSCME has been considering merging—and high school youth "volunteers" have been hired at inflated rates to clean up the downtown streets, but the garbage piles have continued to mount throughout the city. Private haulers were also hired to move garbage out of some of the critical areas normally serviced by city sanitation men. However, the haulers have been reluctant to take on dangerous "strike business," despite the do-nothing policy of the AFSCME leaders.

The Bourgeoisie Mobilizes

The politicians, of course, have managed to set aside the day-to-day infighting of bourgeois politics and are presenting a united face against the workers' demands. To them, the strike is simply illegal since it is a strike against the state. Above all, these political representatives of the capitalists fear a spreading of this potentially explosive labor struggle. Already, hospital workers are on the verge of a strike and the teachers, who were sold out in February will demand a percentage increase equal to the sanitationmen. Democratic Governor Mandel, one of those famous "friends of labor," attempted to sympathize with the sanitation workers by blaming Washington—as he ordered in the state troopers. But he warned, "Wait until you see the strikes when private industry starts getting its fresh demands from organized labor" (*New York Times*, 14 July).

The Baltimore city government argues that it is "legally bound" to honor its budget, which has already been passed, and which allows only so much for wages of city workers. Such budgetary considerations do not, however, seem to trouble the bourgeoisie when the question of mobilizing the national guard to break the strike is posed!

While so far hesitant to attempt massive strike-breaking, Baltimore Mayor Schaeffer has declared the strike illegal and has attempted to break the union in the courts. (As we go to press Schaeffer has also announced that there will be no general "amnesty" for striking city workers.) A $15,000-a-day fine has been levied on the union, and Local 44's meagre $5,000 bank account has been "frozen" by court order. Further, the city has impounded "check-off" dues monies owed the union.

The strike of the Baltimore city employees poses the question of power much more directly than a normal strike. It is a technically illegal strike against the government, in which the workers, in order to win, must force a change in the budget by extra-legal means. The entire capitalist class depends upon the authority and credibility of its state and its law. The entire working class has an interest in seeing the state defeated, since this state power is the ultimate defense of all the bosses against the workers.

ASFSCME: "Godfather" to Cops

The bourgeois state at bottom consists of bands of armed men—the police and the military—whose job is to protect the capitalists' "right" to exploit the working class. Needless to say, the AFSCME leadership, besides signing sellout contracts and refusing to mobilize the workers in struggle, has done its best to obscure the class nature of this state. Thus, AFSCME has been eagerly organizing the police into unions, and in late 1973 scored a representation "victory" among Baltimore cops, more than half of whom are now in AFSCME Police Local 1195.

This local is headed by an AFSCME organizer and ex-coal miner, Rapanotti, whom the cops refer to as "the Godfather." "They get on the phone, and say, 'Godfather...' Its a nice feeling," says Rapanotti (*Sun*, 13 July).

During the sanitation strike, the cops have been demonstrating to their striking "brothers" in the sanitation local just which side they are on. On July 7 they arrested nine sanitationmen and charged them with "disorderly conduct" for trying to stop scab trash removal at the Cross Street Market Place. On July 8 they arrested three more sanitationmen who were trying to convince city parks groundskeepers to join the strike; the strikers were accused of assaulting an off-duty cop. Then on July 11 the police broke up a demonstration of about 60 strike supporters (led by the Revolutionary Union) at City Hall, where the demonstrators were depositing their garbage on the city streets. About ten people were arrested, with AFSCME Council 67 Director Crofoot solidarizing with the cops by denouncing the support demonstration! And on the same night (after some police had gone out on "strike") a cop shot and killed Roy Lee Jr., a "suspected looter," who according to witnesses was unarmed and not threatening anyone.

Of course, cops, too, want more money. And they seized upon the opportunity presented by the sanitation strike to make their demands, first through a "slow down" (writing more traffic tickets on technicalities against innocent people!), and then through a partial strike beginning July 11. Jail guards, also organized by AFSCME, joined the strike too.

But the job of cops and jail guards as guardians of the bosses' interests—as the armed thugs and strikebreakers hired to protect the interests of the workers' class enemies—is not changed one iota by their being organized into unions and striking for higher wages. The cops will continue being labor's enemies after their "strike," only with fuller bellies and greater élan.

AFSCME cop organizers only enhance the morale of the state's guardians with their propaganda about the plight of cops who "risk their lives" defending property. Cops are not workers, and their incorporation in the labor movement only serves to disarm and confuse the working class. At the very moment that cops were arresting sanitationmen, leaders of the AFSCME cop and sanitation worker locals were meeting together to link their demands. The union leadership is thus tying the sanitationmen's struggle to the very force which will come back from its own "strike" to physically crush the sanitation strike if ordered to do so!! Militant AFSCME members must raise the demand that all cops and jail guards be thrown out of the union. There is no room for the hired guns of the bosses' state in the labor movement!

The Strike and the Fight Against Racism

Although workers interviewed by *Workers Vanguard* say there has been little overt racial tension in the strike itself, the question of racism lurks in the background. The sanitationmen are about 75 percent black, coming mostly from the city's West Side ghetto. Baltimore is a racially divided city, with strict neighborhood segregation in most areas. Moreover, during the strike, the local press has given prominent attention to a series of racial incidents perpetrated by white youth gangs; naturally, the *Sun* tries to make these incidents appear as generalized racial conflict. Behind the attempt of the bourgeois media to play up racial antagonism lies a cold calculation: if racial antagonism develops, the repeated appeals of Mayor Schaeffer to the interests of the "taxpayers" would, in such a tense situation, be very likely to lead to a bloody race riot, in which the strike would be smashed.

While this is not an immediate danger, a militant strike leadership would attempt to meet this danger by tireless activity to broaden support for the strike among all of the working class. At the same time, such a leadership would denounce and expose the racialist hysteria-mongering of the *Sun* and clearly explain the class role of the police in the strike.

The Need for Revolutionary Leadership

Such a militant strike leadership will not arise spontaneously. Nor will it come from the various fake-left groups operating in the Baltimore area. In a situation in which workers on the street ask each other what the next course of action should be, the Maoist Revolutionary Union can only come up with... dumping garbage on the street! And the bizarre and cultist National Caucus of Labor Committees, when it can tear its attention away from looking for KGB and CIA agents, pushes its technocratic fantasy of eliminating the city debt in order to make more money available for city workers.

The principal obstacle which today stands between the workers and satisfaction of their just demands—the agency responsible for the 10 percent drop in U.S. workers' real wages in the last year and a half, and constituting the main social support for the tottering Nixon regime—is the pro-capitalist labor bureaucracy. Whether liberal (Woodcock) or conservative (Meany); whether encrusted holdovers from the 1930's (Abel) or new "reformers" (Miller)—this parasitic stratum systematically sabotages strike struggles, such as those of Baltimore and San Francisco public employees in recent months. The task is to replace this bureaucracy, not with a new crop of more militant-talking fakers, but with a real class-struggle leadership of the unions, one which is prepared to fight for victory in the immediate battles and to generalize the workers' demands into an assault on the capitalist system which is the cause of our oppression.

The construction of such a class-struggle leadership requires the building of caucuses in AFSCME and other unions on a program that provides answers to the objective needs of the working class in this period of decaying capitalism. Points in such a program would include a shorter workweek with no loss in pay; an end to racial and sexual discrimination through union control of hiring and upgrading on a first-come, first-served basis; complete independence of the unions from the repressive organs of the state—cops out of the union; and for a workers party based upon the trade unions, counterposed to all bourgeois parties, to fight for a workers government and the expropriation of the bourgeoisie as a class. (These demands are included in the program of the Militant Caucus of AFSCME Local 2070 in Los Angeles.)

Likewise it is necessary to take forward the current struggle in Baltimore by raising the demand for a citywide general strike in defense of the sanitation workers' demands and against the court attacks on the union. But the construction of class-struggle caucuses and victory in the present strike cannot be separated from the task of building a revolutionary workers party. Based on the Trotskyist Transitional Program representing the historical interests of the proletariat, it is the vanguard party which is key to leading the workers movement forward to victory not only against a single employer or in a single strike, but against the capitalist class as a whole. ■

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Canada Elections...

Tory Prime Minister Diefenbaker in order to whip up chauvinist sentiment against the Québécois, and therefore against the Liberals. Nevertheless, the Conservatives did not appear to profit from the controversy in English-speaking areas and the Liberals did manage to strengthen their dominance in Quebec.

The increase of Liberal votes in Quebec came primarily at the expense of the right-wing Social Credit (Socred) Party, which saw its representation in Parliament shrink from 15 to 11 seats. Ten years ago the national Social Credit Party had a significant base both in Quebec and in western Canada. In 1962-63, with 30 elected MPs, the Socreds held the balance of power in the last minority Progressive Conservative government. Today all that remains of this right-wing populist party is its declining holdings in poor rural regions of Quebec.

The July 8 election also witnessed an assortment of left groups contesting one or more seats, among them pro-Moscow Stalinists, Maoists, nationalist social democrats and fake Trotskyists. As the local representative of the Kremlin bureaucracy, the strategy of the Communist Party is to ally with that sector of the Canadian bourgeoisie most favourably disposed to peaceful co-existence with the USSR. Because of the CP's explicit perspective of a class-collaborationist "anti-monopoly coalition" with the "progressive" wing of the bourgeoisie, a policy which in no way differs from the NDP's "corridor coalition" with the Liberals since 1972, the Spartacist League gave no support to the candidates of the CP. The pro-Peking Communist Party of Canada (Marxist-Leninist) candidates were likewise unsupportable, because of their strategy of uniting with the "progressive, anti-imperialist" sector of the bourgeoisie (!) to carry out the "first stage" of the Canadian revolution.

The campaign of the Waffle, a left-nationalist social-democratic grouping which split away from the NDP in 1972, focused on the need for the "Canadian people" to control Canada. Although it calls for a "socialist" Canada, the Waffle program is carefully formulated so as not to offend any of the "Canadian people" (e.g., sections of the bourgeoisie) who may be willing to support the struggle against "American imperialism." Due to the Waffle's insignificant petty-bourgeois social base and its explicit appeal to Canadian nationalism, the SL did not call for votes for the Waffle candidates.

The Revolutionary Marxist Group, which is aligned with the European majority of the pseudo-Trotskyist "United Secretariat," ran three candidates on a program of militant trade unionism capped with a vague call for a "revolutionary transformation of Canadian society." In the abstract, the RMG claims to agree with the Transitional Program. For Trotsky the purpose of transitional demands was precisely to abolish the distinction between the old social-democratic "minimum" and "maximum" programs. But in its election propaganda the pseudo-Trotskyist RMG now openly abandons the Transitional Program, not even mentioning the demands for a workers government or expropriation of the bourgeoisie, in favour of a minimum program of trade-union demands. At a debate with the LSA in Toronto on July 1, an RMG spokesman defended this piece of treachery with the argument that "for the working class the question of... proletarian political power is not posed" at this time!

The electoral program of the RMG's reformist opponents in the USec, the League for Socialist Action, was not qualitatively better, although it presented a more leftist face, calling for a campaign on the "full program." The LSA's "full" program called notably for "nationalization of big business under workers' control." At first glance this demand might appear to be only a poor formulation of the slogan in Trotsky's Transitional Program which calls for expropriation of the bourgeoisie without compensation.

In fact, however, the LSA's slogan of "nationalization" is a willful revision of a key element of the Trotskyist program. By not necessarily violating the sanctity of bourgeois property (i.e., holding open the option of "compensating" the capitalists), this slogan is designed to keep the LSA in the good graces of the right-wing social-democratic leadership of the NDP. Thus at the NDP Left Caucus conference of March 1973, the supporters of the LSA voted *against* a resolution calling for nationalization of industry without compensation!

This same appetite motivates the LSA to revise the call for a workers government as it is posed in the Transitional Program, and to formulate it instead as an NDP parliamentary government ("pledged to socialist policies," of course). It is perfectly in order for Trotskyists to call on a reformist workers party, such as the NDP, to break with the bourgeois parties and campaign or form a government in its own name. This demand exposes the class collaboration of the fake lefts and their unwillingness to break with the class enemy.

But we never imply that should the reformists actually form a parliamentary government this would somehow constitute a workers government. As called for by the early Communist International and in the founding document of the Fourth International, the slogan of a workers government is explicitly a *transitional*, and therefore revolutionary, demand. Only revisionists can distort this into a call for a social-democratic government of a capitalist state.

The LSA, which has been patiently awaiting a "mass working-class radicalization" to sweep the NDP/CCF to power for almost a quarter century, finally decided to run its own candidate in a federal election for the first time since 1958. The program they ran on, however, was the program of "left-wing" social-democratic reformism.

NDP leader David Lewis

CP PHOTO

Conditional Opposition to Candidates of the NDP

In those ridings in English-speaking areas of Canada where they were not running candidates, the RMG and LSA both called for a vote to the NDP as an independent working-class political pole. The LSA/LSO (Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière—Quebec section of the LSA) also called for a vote to the NDP in Quebec, despite the fact that the NDP has no mass working-class base whatsoever in that province. The RMG and its co-thinkers in Quebec, the Groupe Marxiste Révolutionnaire (GMR), however, did not call for a vote to the NDP in Quebec, but called for abstention instead.

Both the RMG and the LSA called for a vote to the NDP despite the fact that Lewis and Co. had maintained the bourgeois Liberal party in power for the last year and a half through their parliamentary backing and had explicitly promised to do so again if the opportunity presented itself. The "corridor coalition" which the NDP promised the Liberals in advance put the NDP's stamp on the program of the bourgeoisie. A vote for the NDP was a vote for a parliamentary bloc with the Liberals—yet both the LSA and the RMG claimed a vote for the NDP would represent a blow in favour of the political independence of the working class! What the fake Trotskyists of the RMG and LSA fail to understand is that with the NDP leaders having promised in advance to subordinate their political independence in order to "make Parliament work," the political basis for a Bolshevik tactic of "critical support" to the NDP (i.e., at least organizational independence from the bourgeoisie) was eliminated. Any worker who voted for the NDP did so with the knowledge beforehand that Lewis intended to reconstitute his parliamentary bloc with Trudeau. Thus there existed no contradiction between what such a worker would expect the NDP, as the party which claims to support the trade unions, to do, and what it would in fact be compelled to do in fulfilling its role as the labour lieutenant of capital.

Toward the New Democrats the SL advocated a policy of conditional opposition to its candidates. Calling on the NDP to break its bloc with the Liberals, we pointed out that until and unless it did so, there was no political basis for electoral support (however critical) to Trudeau's camp followers. In the July elections the Spartacist League called for a vote only to candidates of the RMG and the LSA. Wretched as their programs were, these candidacies at least represented an attempt, however distorted, to pose an independent working-class pole to the open class collaborationism of the NDP and the other "left" organizations which ran in the election.

However, neither the militant trade unionist "minimum" program of the RMG nor the social-democratic "transitional" program of the LSA shows the way forward for the Canadian working class. This can be provided only by building a Canadian section of a reborn Fourth International, a party based on the program of Lenin and Trotsky, of irreconcilable opposition to class collaboration and of uncompromising struggle for the political independence of the proletariat. In the recent Canadian elections this program was expressed only by the policies of the Spartacist League. ■

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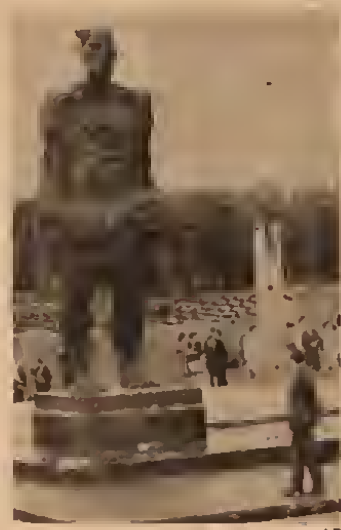
NIXON ON STAGE: Waving to crowds in Cairo (top left), speaking in the Kremlin Green Room, signing guest book at Khatyn, greeting bystanders in Brussels (bottom left), viewing Khatyn war memorial and before pyramid with Sadat.

NEWSWEEK



AP

NEWSWEEK

Continued from page 1

"Peace" Junket...

to make more" (*Newsweek*, 8 July). Not even Vice President Ford, it seems, would do.

Meanwhile, the arms build-up reported earlier this year (see "Nixon Beefs Up Pentagon War Arsenal," *WV* No. 42, 12 April) is proceeding apace. The government is asking for roughly $95 billion in new spending authority for the coming year which, if it passes Congress (as initial votes indicate it will), represents the first rise in military spending in five years. Perhaps even more significant was the 48 to 37 Senate vote last month endorsing the administration's decision to develop highly accurate MIRVs, with the capability of destroying the USSR's land-based missile force if the U.S. orders a nuclear "first strike." Until recently the Defense Department had opposed achieving a "first-strike capability," since this would presumably encourage the Russians to achieve the same... and use it (*New York Times*, 11 June; *Wall Street Journal*, 12 June). This only confirms what we wrote a few months ago on the subject of the fabled détente:

> "Peaceful coexistence is really and truly a reformist illusion. A few months ago it might have appeared that Brezhnev and Nixon were like-minded reactionaries trying to run a dual world empire, a view shared by many left liberals, 'Third Camp' socialists, syndicalists and Maoists. However, U.S. imperialism is not content to maintain the status quo with the Soviet Union, engaging in mutually advantageous deals. With ambitions toward world empire, U.S. capitalism strives to dominate the Soviet Union."
>
> —"U.S., USSR Summer Détente Cools," *WV* No. 30, 15 October 1973

Although eager and willing to make disadvantageous deals with the imperialists in exchange for promises of peace when someone else's revolution is at stake (Vietnam, for instance), the Russian bureaucracy becomes understandably more reticent when the material basis for its own existence is involved. Thus Brezhnev was unwilling to bend to Nixon's demands to limit the number of warheads per missile. Such a concession would prevent the USSR from overcoming the sizeable gap which currently exists in the number of deliverable warheads (about 7,100 for the U.S. compared to roughly 3,300 for the Soviet Union).

The sombre atmosphere of Moscow was in stark contrast to the bizarre festivities which attended Nixon's journey through the Near East the week before. Every Arab ruler from the most reactionary to the most "progressive" was stumbling over his neighbor trying to get into the good graces of the world's number one imperialist warmonger. This spectacle must have caused a certain amount of consternation among the likes of the pro-Moscow Stalinists, Maoists, Healyites and others who have heretofore sung the praises of the "Arab Revolution" with its "anti-imperialist" Nasserite/Baathist bonapartist regimes. The idea that a defeat of Israel would strike a blow against imperialism has been neatly demolished by the current reality: a partial Israeli defeat resulted in *increased* dominance by U.S. imperialism in the Near East!

And if Richard Nixon can represent the aspirations of the Arab peoples, then surely Senator Henry Jackson can enter Mao's Hall of Fame reserved for such progressive friends of China as the Shah of Iran and Emperor Haile Selassie of Ethiopia. Jackson (the "Senator from Boeing") is an inveterate cold warrior, anti-communist liberal and rocket rattler. He recently countered Nixon's efforts at U.S./USSR rapprochement with his own simultaneous pilgrimage to Peking. Of course, such goings-on are as much a part of Jackson's campaign to win the Democratic nomination for president in 1976 as Nixon's trips were an effort to stave off impeachment. But behind Jackson's sudden concern for Chou En-lai's health and support for diplomatic recognition of China lies hardnosed bourgeois realism. Jackson and the bulk of the American bourgeoisie well realize (as Nixon seems to want to ignore) that the Soviet Union is the primary stumbling block for U.S. imperialism. In the context of beefing up the Pentagon's arsenal, what is more natural than cementing an alliance with "People's China," which coincidentally favors a strong NATO and views Russia as its main enemy.

Against the efforts of the nationalist bureaucracies of the degenerated and deformed workers states, who willingly sacrifice every vestige of proletarian internationalism to the cause of their own peaceful coexistence with Nixon, Trotskyists pose the need for a militant defense of the social conquests of the Russian and Chinese revolutions. We call for political revolution to oust the parasitic and criminally shortsighted bureaucracies, the precondition for the military and economic unity of the USSR, China, etc. against imperialism. The military defeat of the USSR at the hands of the U.S. would sound the death knell for China as well. Not "peaceful coexistence" with the bourgeoisie but international proletarian revolution! ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Canada Elections:

Liberals Win, NDP Routed

TORONTO, July 10—The recent Canadian parliamentary elections resulted in Pierre Trudeau's outgoing minority Liberal government being returned to office with a solid majority, winning 141 of a total 264 seats. The Liberals' success can be attributed largely to the dissatisfaction of the Canadian electorate with weak minority governments and frequent general elections.

The extent of the Liberals' sweep was indicated by the unexpected upset of David Lewis, national leader of the social-democratic New Democratic Party (NDP), in the riding (election district) which he has held for the last nine years. Lewis was ousted by an unknown Liberal, Ursula Appollini.

The Liberals increased their standing in Parliament by a total of 32 seats. The bulk of these came from Ontario, where they gained 15 members of Parliament (MPs) at the expense of the Progressive Conservatives as well as three from the NDP. The Liberals also picked up seats from the PCs in the Atlantic provinces, from the Social Credit party in Quebec and from the NDP in Saskatchewan and British Columbia.

The NDP not only lost 15 of its 31 seats in the elections, it also saw its share of the popular vote fall from 18 to 16 percent. Its most serious losses were in highly unionized British Columbia, where the NDP lost all but two of the 11 seats which it had won in the last election. The NDP's losses in B.C. can be largely ascribed to disillusionment with the provincial NDP government of David Barrett. Hans Brown, NDP campaign chairman in B.C., blamed the defeat on the parliamentary bloc with the Liberals (*Globe and Mail*, 9 July).

Tweedledum and Tweedledee

The main issue in the campaign was inflation. In the last year inflation in Canada has been 10.4 percent, slightly above the rate in the United States. The Progressive Conservatives, who saw their representation in Parliament reduced from 107 to 95, had campaigned on a program of curtailed government expenditure and for the implementation of a 90-day wage/price freeze. They proposed a freeze as the solution to inflation in Canada because of their claim that "the major part of our inflation is homemade, not international in origin" (*Globe and Mail*, 8 June). In other words, the unions were the culprits.

PC federal leader Robert Stanfield argued that Canada has had wage and price freezes before and that "they achieved their purpose and the country disciplined itself and prospered" (*Globe and Mail*, 24 May). However, as the campaign wore on and the Tories' poll ratings sagged, Stanfield began to lay less stress on the "discipline" and more on the "flexibility" involved in his proposal.

Despite Stanfield's "softening up," however, the program of the PCs represented the views of a generally more parochial and shortsighted section of the bourgeoisie, which wishes to solve the problem of inflation for itself by direct state disciplining of the working class into accepting the burden of a deteriorating economic situation.

On the government side, Prime Minister Trudeau, leader of the Liberal Party, announced after his election in 1972 that the fight against inflation would be a "top priority." The twenty months since then, however, have only accelerated the rate of inflation in Canada. This time the Liberals campaigned essentially on an economic program of "more of the same." The Liberals' position on inflation was summed up in their economic statement, which noted that: "Although it may be of small comfort, the fact is that Canada's price performance compares very favourably with that of other industrial nations" (*The Canadian Economy. Performance, Prospects and Problems*, 2 April 1974). This is a weak position, but given the timidity of the NDP and Conservative attacks on the government it was enough to win the elections.

The Liberals recognize that inflation is primarily a result of Canada's integration into an international capitalist economy. The Canadian bourgeoisie cannot effectively protect itself against the effects of international inflation without a sharp attack on the workers' living standards and/or a severe curtailment of foreign trade, both of which would have catastrophic effects on its own economy. Trudeau opposed Stanfield's proposed wage/price controls on the grounds that "they generate social unrest and violence" (*Globe and Mail*, 4 May). However, the Liberals' difference with the Tories on the advisability of implementing controls at this time is merely tactical as Trudeau has stated publicly that his government has contingency plans for instituting controls if they "become necessary" (*Globe and Mail*, 4 May).

The Liberals campaigned largely on the basis that they were the only party capable of providing a "strong government" which could represent both the English-speaking and French-speaking populations in the Canadian state. Trudeau advised NDP supporters who wanted a government which could "get things done" that they were throwing their votes away in voting for the NDP (*Toronto Star*, 14 June).

NDP: Trudeau's Camp Followers

The biggest loser in the election was the New Democratic Party. David Lewis, national leader of the NDP, had promised throughout the campaign that if his party once again held the balance of power, it would "make Parliament work" (i.e., again bloc with the Liberals as it had done since 1972) "not for 18 months, but perhaps for 2, 3 or 4 years" (*Globe and Mail*, 18 June). It seems, however, that many NDP supporters who were really serious about "making Parliament work" decided that they might just as well follow Trudeau's advice and vote Liberal.

NEW YORK TIMES

Prime Minister Trudeau

The NDP's "program" for combating inflation called for preventing the largely American-owned companies involved in the key primary sector of the Canadian economy (mining, lumbering, etc.) from selling Canadians "their own" raw materials for "inflated world prices." Lewis proposed establishing a "National Marketing Board" which would set up a two-price system for primary goods: a "fair" price for domestic consumption and the current world price for exports.

Lewis claimed that such a two-price system would benefit that sector of the Canadian bourgeoisie engaged in manufacturing by cheapening its costs of production. According to his utopian scheme, this in turn would lower the price of consumer goods and thus partially offset the effects of inflation!

In addition, the NDP proposed establishing a Price Review Board which would have the power to immediately roll back prices of selected commodities. Finally, it proposed increased corporate taxes and reduced income taxes as the means by which to "dampen wage and salary demands," thus supposedly helping to arrest inflation.

Seeking to assert his desired role as political spokesman for the Canadian labor bureaucracy, Lewis went on record on a number of occasions as being opposed to any sort of wage freeze, such as Stanfield's PCs were proposing. This produced a public split between Lewis and the more "right-wing" elements within the NDP, led by Premier Ed Shreyer of Manitoba. In an interview with the *Toronto Star* on June 7, Shreyer stated that "any practical, workable policy of anti-inflation restraint has to affect both sides of the equation—incomes as well as prices."

Lewis was able to patch up this embarrassing open split and a few days later Shreyer issued a public statement of lukewarm support for federal NDP policy. However, throughout the campaign Stanfield continued to make reference to the fact that Shreyer and the other two NDP provincial premiers, Alan Blakeney of Saskatchewan and David Barrett of British Columbia, were both on record as being in favour of wage and price controls.

Quebec: Pivot of the Election

Issues arising out of the existence of a substantial French-speaking minority, concentrated in the province of Quebec, were a dominant theme of the campaign. For the Conservatives, the key to a parliamentary majority lay in winning, for the first time, a substanial number of seats in Quebec. However, the Tories have traditionally represented the most chauvinist and reactionary attitudes of English-speaking Canadians toward Québécois and the French-speaking minority elsewhere. This and the PC's hard-line anti-union economic program (hardly likely to win support from the militant Québécois workers) led to the Conservatives' inability to make any inroads on the Liberal majority in Quebec, although they did manage to retain the three seats they won in 1972.

For the New Democrats Quebec is also key in a negative sense, due to their failure to win any support at all from French-speaking workers in the elections. The NDP has never won a parliamentary seat from Quebec. In this election the social democrats received, as usual, a half-hearted endorsement of the FTQ (Quebec Federation of Labour), one of the two largest labour organizations in the province. (The FTQ is affiliated to the Canadian Labour Congress and, through it, to the AFL-CIO.) In his statement calling for a vote for the NDP, FTQ President Louis Laberge said he was making the endorsement "even though it [the NDP] is far from understanding the national question in Quebec" (*Toronto Star*, 4 June). The New Democrats do not recognize the right of self-determination for Quebec.

The more nationalist CSN (Confederation of National Trade Unions) did not take a position in the elections, although its Montreal Council called for abstention in the federal elections. In the past, CSN leaders have occasionally made noises about forming a provincial labour party based on the unions, but ended up supporting candidates of the Parti Québécois. This is a petty-bourgeois nationalist party which has received a sizeable chunk of the vote from urban working-class ridings in Quebec provincial elections. Following its past practice, the PQ called for abstention in the current federal elections.

For the Liberals the significance of Quebec is precisely the reverse of the situation for the Tories and social democrats. The French-speaking province is the prime base of support for Trudeau, having voted more or less solidly Liberal in federal elections ever since World War I. After the government's heavy losses in 1972, the Liberals were virtually reduced to a party of the French-speaking minority. Most of its Ottawa delegation came from Quebec (56 out of 109 Liberal Members of Parliament) and French-speaking pockets elsewhere in the country.

The significance of Quebec for Liberal Party fortunes in this election was highlighted by the furor over a bill introduced by the provincial government of Quebec regulating the language question. The bill was introduced by Quebec Premier Robert Bourassa, evidently with the aim of attracting nationalist support for the Liberals. However, the bill was criticized by the PQ as not going far enough toward making French the single official language in Quebec. And in English-speaking Canada the language issue was seized upon by reactionaries such as former

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WORKERS VANGUARD 25¢
No. 50 2 August 1974

Cyprus Fiasco Topples Greek Junta

Greek Cypriot demonstrators greet Makarios in N.Y. UPI

All Outside Troops Out of Cyprus!
Down with Caramanlis!
For Immediate Elections!
Toward a Workers Government!

JULY 29—Though the final resolution of the current Cyprus crisis is still in doubt, it is clear that its origins lie in the declining political fortunes of the rightist military junta in Athens and an unstable stand-off between ethnic Greek and Turkish elements on the island. Acting through the 650 Greek officers who command the Cyprus National Guard, General Ioannidis hoped for a dramatic success with the coup July 15 in Nicosia, one which would drape the junta in the mantle of Hellenic nationalism and rally all true Greeks to its side.

However, unluckily for him and for the short-lived Greek Cypriot junta headed by one-time terrorist Nikos Sampson, subsequent events demonstrated the direct dependence of *all* of the principals in the Cyprus drama on the imperialist powers, chiefly the U.S. It is true that Henry Kissinger's room to maneuver in the Near East is being daily reduced as the various interested parties demand concrete results instead of diplomatic razzle-dazzle. But it has certainly not escaped the notice of Kremlin bureaucrats that out of the confusion have emerged governments in Greece and Cyprus which are precisely what Washington ordered.

The ousting of the "red bishop" Makarios on Cyprus, now replaced by the respectable conservative Clerides, and the painless elimination of the bungling Greek junta (long an international embarrassment to the U.S.) in favor of a civilian cabinet headed by the reactionary Caramanlis and responsible to the military, in the person of President/General Gizikis, did not simply fall from the skies. The *Manchester Guardian Weekly* (27 July) reports that Kissinger engineered the installation of Clerides as one of the secret conditions for Turkey's signature of a ceasefire; and the *Economist* (27 July) notes that it was the U.S.' halt on delivery of military supplies (some aircraft were held up in Spain) which convinced the Greek army to back off from a direct confrontation with Turkey in Thrace and toss the ball back to the politicians.

Archbishop Makarios DESTINO

Cyprus, as the international diplomatic and military activity during the current crisis has demonstrated, is not just another island. Strategically situated in the eastern Mediterranean, it lies at the juncture of the interests

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Impeachment Hearings Drag On

Nixon's the One!

The original draft Articles of Impeachment produced by the legal staff of the Judiciary Committee of the House of Representatives proposed to impeach Richard Nixon on five distinctly separate wide-ranging, although related, grounds. As we go to press, only one Article, on the Watergate "cover-up" itself, has been adopted for consideration by the full House. The Committee sought to avoid acting on all five because this would reveal far too much about the nature of contemporary American politics. But the momentum of hypocritical bourgeois disavowal of Nixon may get out of hand.

Mary McCarthy is quite right of course, and everybody knows it, when she argues concerning "Nixon's role in the Watergate cover-up" that Nixon was the central instigating conspirator and director of the Watergate caper and every other thing that his boys got into.

The politicos seem to be waiting for an ultimate Watergate tape to disclose a comprehensive confession of guilt by Richard Nixon. But Nixon taped *himself* in order to prove for the benefit of history that he smelled like a lily. Unfortunately for him, of course, the comprehensiveness of his self-bugging does disclose willy-nilly a mass of workaday detail concerning his chicanery. But to expect his own confession as such would be to assume that he's a lot more clinically crazy than he lets on.

The problem for the entire bourgeois establishment is still just an expanded version of Nixon's problem: how to "contain" the repercussions of having a paranoid crook as American President. Bits and pieces of Nixon's practices have of course been undertaken by every "strong" president since Franklin Roosevelt. So long as the victims were reds, Mafiosi, blacks or truculent labor leaders, this was fine. Nixon's sin is to have turned these tactics against "respectable" enemies, and to have accompanied it with pervasive financial shamelessness that would have made the worthies in the Grant and Harding administrations uneasy (besides, Grant and Harding themselves were not the prime movers, just dullards).

But the biggest cat of all got let out of the bag when one of Nixon's Republican supporters in the Judiciary Committee said that the one charge that could lead him to vote to impeach was the illegal bombing of Cambodia. However, the Committee has dropped reference to that or any of Nixon's other real crimes against working people.

Since the beginning of the "American century" (opened, as you prefer, either by Roosevelt's pushing the Japanese into Pearl Harbor or Truman's atom bombing of a couple of Japanese cities, in good part as a foretaste of the way the world was going to be run in the new postwar "democratic" era) American imperialism has been hegemonic, until 15 August 1971 that is. It has pillaged and plundered, virtually unimpeded by those snivelling Stalinist bureaucrats in the Kremlin, Peking and lesser capitals.

The executive branch of the American government has been the principal arm of American imperialism in the continuous exercise of every kind of mass arson, rapine, butchery. There has been nothing special in this role for American imperialism. It is a characteristic feature of every predominant ruling class in its time. Nixon is the current personified arch-criminal of American imperialism. His chief victims have been the Indochinese peoples. Again we say: Impeachment is not enough! Extradite Nixon to Hanoi.

As we print these words we can hear our "leftist" critics saying, "That's all very well, but in today's America such a proposal can only be an empty, though moral, stance. Why, it would take a socialist revolution to do that." Yes, indeed, simple justice does require a socialist revolution. Therefore, let us get moving down that road. We call upon all you "practical" radicals and laborites: now is the time to demand that a Nixon not be replaced with a Gerald Ford, but that two inextricable demands be raised, mobilized for, fought for: new, early presidential elections and the fielding of a slate of labor and socialist candidates pledged to social justice for the working people of America and the world; to the expropriation of the capitalist class of exploitation, racism and mass murder.

Democracy in the USec?

Letter from a Former Member of the SWP

July 20, 1974
Oakland, California

Dear Editor,

I just read your latest issue (*WV* No. 49, July 19, 1974) on the IT purge. As an individual with first-hand experience of the SWP's "democracy," I can only say that the IT expulsion will go down in history as one of the worst examples of bureaucratic violation of minority rights in the Trotskyist movement. Not even my own frame-up and expulsion can compare to this atrocity; at least I got a trial! In keeping with the Stalinist school of fabrication, the present leadership of the SWP has written another "dark" page in the history of the Trotskyist movement which will certainly bring shame to the Cannonist heritage of that party. Let them rejoice at their "coup," but let them also suffer complete isolation from the workers movement. Cannon once wrote that the SWP has no place and no room for strikebreakers; that was 20 years ago. Today, it can be said that the SWP has no place and no room for *revolutionists!*

When comrade Greengold and myself were still in the SWP, we wrote a document entitled "For Democracy? Yes, Comrade Massey! But Just Who Is For Democracy?". In this document we criticized both the SWP and IMT for suppressing the documents of the Revolutionary Internationalist Tendency with regards to the international discussion. We also criticized the IT for not protesting against the violation of our rights. We also added this sentence: "...We can safely, but sadly predict based on our experiences in the SWP that there will be more undemocratic procedures by those who in the leaderships of the two tendencies preach piously of 'democracy'." The date on the article is July 20, 1973—one year ago! The fact that the ax took one year to come down on the heads of the IT comrades takes little away from our correct Marxist analysis of the deep-going opportunist nature of the IT leadership and its refusal to break with the politics of the USec majority *which helped prepare its expulsion* at the hands of the reformist SWP!

One more point on your article. You state on page 4 that "... it [the IT] stood by while the Revolutionary Internationalist Tendency, led by Gerald Clark, was suppressed, framed up and expelled, and all [its?] appeal not only denied but ignored through the common action of both the SWP and the IMT...." This is true in general, but a few facts should be pointed out. The IT, and Massey in particular, did protest *my* expulsion from the SWP in the Berkeley branch, and Massey did send a letter to Jack Barnes (a copy is enclosed) to this effect. But it did nothing about the suppression of the RIT documents and Appeal to the World Congress, nor did it make a squeak about our expulsion at the special SWP convention which followed or at the YSA convention. The letter of protest sent by Massey must be seen then as a formality, a gesture on his part to cover his ass. As soon as I was outside the SWP all "protests" were dropped.

Comradely yours,
Gerald Clark

WV replies: We are indebted to Comrade Clark for clarifying the conduct of the Internationalist Tendency toward the frame-up political expulsion of RIT supporters from the SWP last August (see "SWP Uses Watergate Methods Against Trotskyists," *WV* No. 29, 28 September 1973). IT leader Bill Massey did indeed protest against Clark's expulsion in a letter dated September 6 to the SWP's National Secretary, Jack Barnes. Massey sharply condemned the expulsion as "groundless": "In short the procedures were set up to make a complete mockery of the trial procedures.... the evidence if that is what it can be called was even worse." He charged that "It seems that this was a coordinated effort to remove the RIT from our ranks.... the case does not hold water as it has been presented. Instead it is the basis for a scandal against the Party for which the leadership is responsible in large part if not solely."

Massey's principled action in defending Gerald Clark intersected both the IT's desire to make factional capital at the expense of the SWP majority and its (understandable!) fear that the SWP would at some future date initiate a similar politically motivated purge against the IT itself.

However, when an RIT supporter was expelled from the Communist League of Australia (an organization which is aligned with the United Secretariat Majority faction, which the IT supports) the IT was not quite so quick to protest—in fact, the IT has blandly ignored this expulsion by its factional allies, just as it has ignored the RIT's appeal to the USec leadership. For the IT, apparently proletarian democracy is merely a convenience, to be invoked against one's opponents but to be quickly shelved for petty factional advantage.

Resignation from the Canadian RMG

In our last issue we reported on the expulsion of supporters of the Internationalist Tendency from the SWP (see "SWP Stages Mass Purge," WV No. 49, 19 July). The SWP, prime mover of the minority "Leninist-Trotskyist Faction" of the United Secretariat, further undermined the stability of the USec rotten bloc with its ruthless action against the IT, which is aligned with the International Majority Tendency (IMT) of the USec.

Now the USec Majority's Canadian supporter, the Revolutionary Marxist Group, has provided a strikingly parallel example of the fate of left oppositionists when the IMT has the upper hand. It has suspended Mark London, an RMG political committee member, on vague charges of alleged indiscipline and disloyalty. The suspension followed a Control Commission investigation, subsequent to which a member of that Control Commission resigned from the RMG!

This suppression of the democratic rights of oppositional RMG members helped to precipitate the resignation from the RMG of Comrade Williams (printed below), in solidarity with the Spartacist international tendency.

To the Revolutionary
Marxist Group:

Having reached basic agreement with the political positions of the International Spartacist Tendency, in contradistinction to the politics of the federated conglomeration known as the United Secretariat (USec), I am resigning from the RMG.

My decision to resign is prompted by the understanding of the need to reforge the democratic centralist Fourth International of Leon Trotsky. My political history has provided me with a number of years of experience in both wings of the warring USec. I have been a member of the RMG from its inception, having been first won to the Revolutionary Communist Tendency, its predecessor inside the League for Socialist Action. Previous to this, I was a member of the youth group of the LSA, the Young Socialists. As a member of the YS I served as a regional organizer in a number of areas and was also a member of the Central Committee of that group. Given this experience, the political bankruptcy of both the official USec section in Canada [LSA] and its Canadian sympathizing group [RMG] is clear to me. The only thing which prevents these reformist and centrist elements from betraying the working class in the manner of the Ceylonese LSSP or the Argentine PST is their relative weakness.

From the time of its reunification in 1963, the USec has been constructed on the same Pabloist basis which was the motive force behind the original split in the Fourth International in 1953. Pabloism continues to this day, disclaimers of both USec wings notwithstanding. Pabloism is a revisionist current which betrays Trotskyist revolutionary internationalism by liquidating the task of building revolutionary parties, in favor of adaptation to existing petty-bourgeois nationalist and Stalinist forces. Nothing makes this clearer than the following quote from the 1963 [USec] document, "Dynamics of World Revolution Today":

> "The victory of the Cuban revolution has led some tendencies in the international labor movement to put a question mark on the necessity of building revolutionary Marxist parties. Such a conclusion is all the more unfounded in view of the fact that Fidel Castro, as a result of his own experience in a living revolution, today stresses the decisive importance of building Marxist-Leninist parties in all countries."

You have never corrected this liquidationist orientation, as it is intrinsic to your politics. Recent examples of this non-Trotskyist method can be found in the capitulation to forces such as the Tupamaros, the NLF, the PRT and countless other petty-bourgeois and Stalinist misleaderships. Time and again, as situations arise in which tasks of the working class are posed in an immediate way, the USec centrists refuse to raise the call for a Trotskyist vanguard party, the necessary prerequisite for a proletarian revolution which can open the road to socialism. In Chile and in France, to use only two examples, the USec has conveniently shirked responsibility to point out to the working class the perilous road of the popular front.

The petty-bourgeois nationalist social-democratic and Stalinist misleaders consistently serve the interests of the bourgeoisie and blunt the full revolutionary force of the working class. Ultimately, they have been responsible for betraying the workers revolution to bourgeois victory, attempting either to lull the workers to sleep with pious pacifism and calls for "democracy" or to simply deliver the workers to the class enemy through blatant collaboration which can only end in slaughter and repression of the class. Time and again, as these forces block the road to proletarian revolution, the centrist United Secretariat drags the banner of Trotskyism through the mud by its craven capitulation to these forces! Comrades—there are no short cuts to the world socialist revolution. Implacable political struggle must be waged against all misleaders of the international working class!

For some time now, I have attempted to fight within the RMG for political clarification, raising at every opportunity my objections to the revisionism of the IMT (as well as the outright reformism of the LTF), as it manifests itself both internationally and within the RMG. Particularly, my document "Out of the Impasse," written in opposition to the adaptation to clandestine organizational forms (cell structure), fighting for a working-class orientation based on the full Transitional Program, was written to this end. This document also contains the beginning of clarification on the issues of the recent election, calling into question the hidden coalition between the NDP and the Liberals, which the RMG and the LSA conveniently overlooked in their rush to give unconditional support to the NDP. A later document, "The Tasks Before Us," and an oral presentation in the branch meeting show clearly my evolution to the revolutionary politics of the International Spartacist Tendency. The latter document is written not only in counterposition to the centrism of the RMG and the IMT, but also against the workerist opposition presented by Mark London. The consistent Pabloist revisionism of the RMG leadership and their unwillingness to engage in principled political struggle, as demonstrated by their witchhunt tactics, bureaucratic suspension and attempted expulsion of London, lead me to conclude that the RMG is a moribund, non-revolutionary organization. I am therefore resigning in order to direct all my efforts to the building of the only principled communist tendency, the International Spartacist Tendency.

The Spartacist Tendency represents the continuity of Marx, Lenin and Trotsky. It is to my knowledge the only international grouping which has maintained consistent independence from all the betrayers of the workers revolution (social democrats, Stalinists and Pabloists). I declare my solidarity with the 1966 Declaration of Principles of the Spartacist League and urge all members of the RMG to study this document seriously.

I leave you with a short quote, taken from Leon Trotsky, which reads as if it were written about the RMG today: "A small organization which has no unified program and no really revolutionary will is less than nothing, is a negative quantity."

Williams

July 25, 1974

WORKERS VANGUARD

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Cop Terror, Legal Executions on the Rise

During recent months instances of vicious slayings by police of unarmed, defenseless victims—usually for the most petty crimes or none at all—have been so numerous that they cannot be dismissed as isolated incidents. They denote an accelerating trend toward "cop justice" in which the functions of judge, jury and executioner are carried out on the spot according to the passing fancy of trigger-happy "law enforcers." Most of the victims have been black or Latin and, needless to say, their killers have gone scot-free.

In Atlanta 22 persons have been killed by the cops over the last year and a half. All but one were black. This spring 19-year-old David Jack was shot in the back after taking a fake roll of bills from decoy cop R. L. Durham, who was posing as a wino. Jack was completely unarmed. When asked at a hearing why no warning shot was fired, Dectective F. H. Sutton testified:

> "It is department policy. Officers are suspended for one to five days if they fire a warning shot. We're told to shoot to kill or wound."
>
> —*Militant*, 7 June

More recently, 17-year-old Brandon Gibson, unarmed and held by two cops, was shot point-blank in the head by a third. A few days later a memorial procession for young Gibson of 500 persons was brutally attacked by his butchers! A unit from the elite Special Weapons and Tactical Squad, later reinforced by mounted policemen, swooped down on the marchers with clubs swinging. Fourteen known arrests were made and at least seven of the injured required hospitalization.

Atlanta's black Democratic mayor, Maynard Jackson, has refused to abolish the hated stakeout squad or other terror units of Atlanta's police force. He attempted to fire the blatantly racist police chief only after it became evident that potentially explosive outrage was growing over police slayings of blacks. Chief Inman refused to step down, obtained a court injunction against the dismissal and now feels that he has a free hand as a result of court rulings that city officials have no power to curb him.

In California, Tyrone Guyton, a 14-year-old black youth, was brutally murdered in cold blood by an Emeryville policeman last fall as he was fleeing from a stolen car: And across the bay in San Francisco, Mayor Joseph Alioto unleashed a vicious racist "stop-and-search" campaign against the entire population of young black males in the city under the pretext of netting the so-called "Zebra killer."

One of the grossest and most outrageous examples of "cop justice" took place in New York City. Policeman Thomas Shea, who last year shot an unarmed 10-year-old, Clifford Glover, in the back, was acquitted on June 12 by a Queens court. The jury held that the cop, who was in plain clothes and had been riding in an unmarked car, shot the unarmed child "in self-defense."

Two incidents in Boston recently have also raised the issue of arbitrary cop violence. In one of them an unarmed youth, James Wilds, was shot and killed by two white policemen July 11 as he was fleeing from a car which the authorities claimed had been used in a prison escape in New Hampshire. In the second, Walter Robey was shot during a scuffle with tactical police over a cop's gun. A bullet passed through Robey's stomach and into a cop's leg. The cop was immediately rushed to the hospital while Robey was hauled off to jail and left to die in his cell of gunshot wounds and internal bleeding. Both

GUARDIAN

Atlanta Mayor Maynard Jackson

Wilds and Robey were black. The only "punishment" meted out to the killers was being taken off the beat and given desk jobs.

Supreme Court Upholds Illegal Police Actions

The recent rash of killings by the cops has been accompanied by a codification into law of increasing arbitrary powers for the police. Last December the Supreme Court gave policemen the authority to search persons without a warrant. As long as a police officer has made a valid "custodial arrest" he needs no other excuse to search thoroughly for any other sort of incriminating evidence. In other words, a cop can use a traffic violation as a pretext for conducting a search!

In January the Supreme Court followed this up by ruling that grand juries may use illegally obtained evidence as a basis for questioning witnesses. Moreover, Section 1001 of Title 18 of the U.S. Criminal Code now makes it a crime for a person to lie to any federal official. The liberal *New York Times* (11 July) commented that "Any citizen —not under oath and not informed of the danger—who so much as looks cross-eyed at any petty federal bureaucrat or investigator can be hauled before a grand jury and indicted for an offense that carries a jail term of five years."

The class character of bourgeois "justice" was clearly pointed out in New York state last May when Governor Wilson signed a bill to restore the death penalty. This statute was enacted precisely to give the cops greater rein to carry out their butchery in the streets. The law *requires* the death penalty for those who kill policemen and prison workers. But cops who murder innocent victims are repeatedly held by the

MILITANT

Cops attack Atlanta march against police terror, June 1974.

courts merely to have committed "justifiable homicide" and released.

Senate Passes Police-State Measure

Amid all the Watergate hullabaloo the impression has been created that Congress and the Democratic Party are seeking to protect constitutional legality against transgressions by the power-crazed Richard Nixon. In fact, however, recent Congressional actions show a pronounced rightward shift among bourgeois politicians. Senate votes on arms (authorizing the administration's decision to attempt to achieve nuclear "first-strike capability"), against school integration by busing, and restricting trade with the Soviet Union are completely in line with the reactionary Nixon majority on the Supreme Court.

The Senate passed a bill last March restoring the death penalty in order to protect some of the highest-placed criminals in the land—those responsible for daily oppression and violence against the working class and poor, the butchers of thousands of Vietnamese workers and peasants, those now being exposed as having engaged in wholesale extortion, blackmail and theft, i.e., leading capitalist politicians and other government officials. This bill mandates the death penalty for killing of the President, Vice President, President-elect, Supreme Court justices and federal "law enforcement" and "corrections" officers.

This omnibus bill also calls for the death sentence for treason, espionage, sabotage, murder for hire, murders committed "in an especially heinous, cruel or depraved manner," and when death results from kidnapping, hijacking, escape from custody or blowing up of government buildings.

The bill completely redefines "treason," eliminating the requirement that a state of war must exist before the charge can apply. "Treason" will henceforth encompass "insurrection against the authority of the U.S." with intent to "overthrow, destroy, supplement or change the form of government of the U.S." "Insurrection" is not defined, but many judges have ruled in the past that strikes by organized labor and mass, peaceful demonstrations are "insurrection."

The restoration of the death penalty, already approved by the Senate and so far encountering no significant opposition in the House, is only one section of S-1400, a bill so repressive that its sponsors are trying to shove it through Congress on a piecemeal basis. This notorious "law and order" bill was written by Watergate defendant and former Attorney General John Mitchell under the direction of soon-to-be-indicted Richard Nixon. And what does "law and order" mean to these arch-crooks who have committed heinous crimes not only against the American working people, but against the international working class? It means the preservation of their own class rule, not only in terms of protecting their gun-toting thugs (the cops), but even prohibiting peaceful criticism of the government and its policies.

The bill forbids "demonstrations outside courthouses" or attempts "to influence the judicial process" through mass protest actions. Stiff penalties are provided for those who conceal or otherwise assist a person sought on charges of "treason." Another section resurrects the Smith Act, overturned by the Supreme Court as unconstitutional, and provides a 15-year jail term and $100,000 fine for any person who "incites others to engage in conduct which then or at some future time would facilitate the overthrow or destruction by force of that government or. . . organizes, leads, recruits members for, joins, or remains an active member of an organization which has as a purpose the incitement."

Furthermore, under the proposed legislation a three-year prison sentence and fine of $25,000 are provided for "movement of a person across a state line" or use of the mail or telephone "in the course of the planning, promotion" of a riot. A "riot" is defined as an "assemblage of five" (!) which creates a "grave danger" to "property." S-1400 also reaffirms a 1968 statute granting the president virtually unlimited authority to wiretap domestic activities which he believes constitute a "danger to the structure" of the government.

The all-purpose anti-everything bill would curtail rights of free assembly and provide for severe penalties for a number of peaceful protest activities. It encourages the use of undercover spies and agents provocateurs, would virtually eliminate insanity as a legal defense and contains penalties for the use of marijuana or dissemination of any material "depicting nudity." In addition, stiff fines and prison terms would be imposed for those who disclose "classified" or other embarrassing inside information on administration abuses. The prosecution would no longer be required to prove that those accused of "leaking" news did so with "intent to injure the United States or bring advantage to a foreign power."

Class Offensive Against Cop Terror and McCarthyite Legislation

The current wave of cop terror and this vicious anti-communist "law and order" bill are but few among many manifestations of the lengths to which even the "liberal" and "democratic" bourgeoisie will go to preserve its class rule. Such attacks can effectively be fought only by a *working-class* counter-

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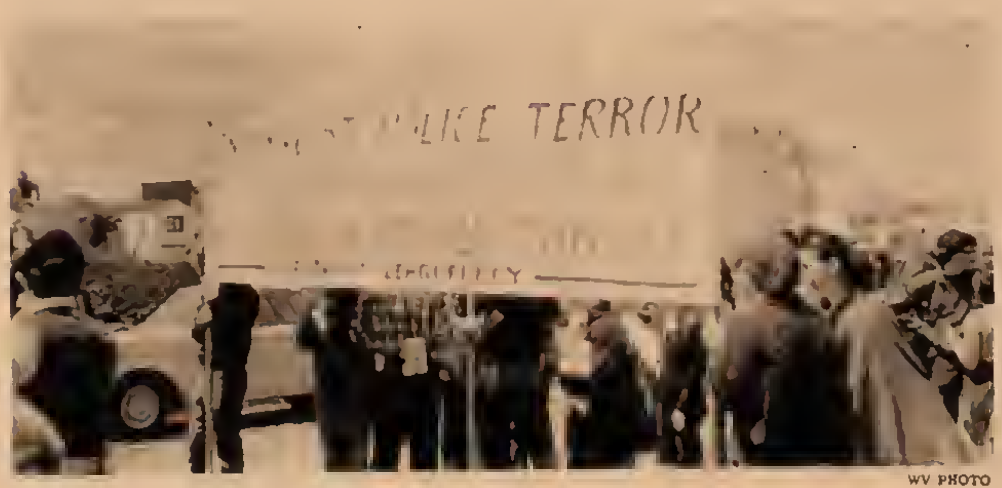
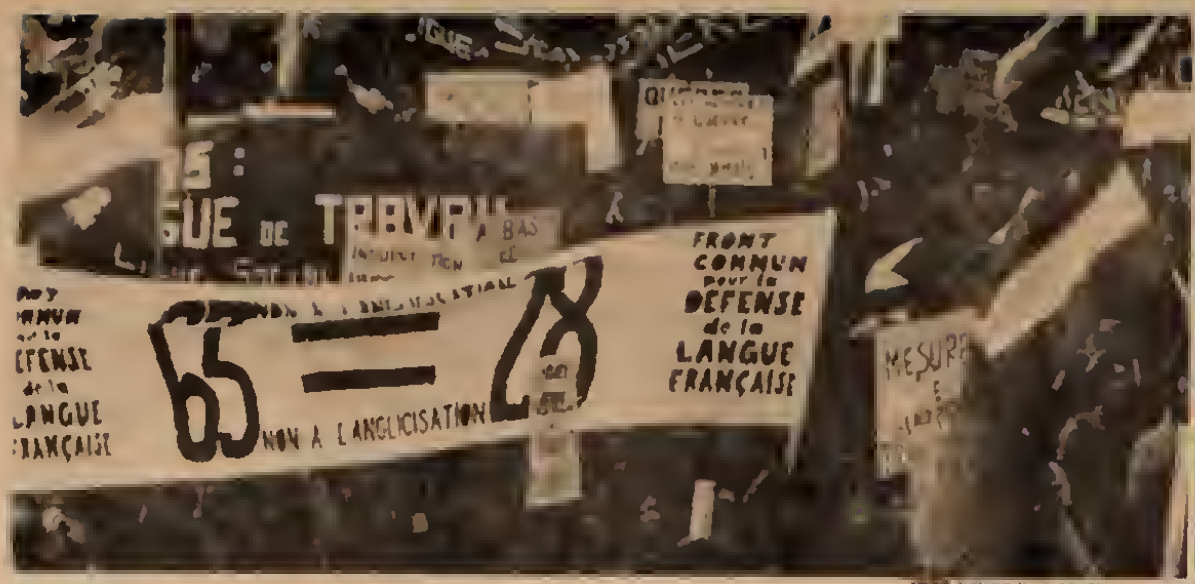


WV PHOTO

Bay Area SL/RCY demonstrators protesting murder of Tyrone Guyton.



JEFF WHITE/LABOR CHALLENGE

LIBERATION

Left: Montreal language demonstration in October 1971 protests "anglicization." Right: Demonstrators demand French be language of instruction in schools.

Language Controversy in Quebec

One of the controversial issues in the recent Canadian elections was a bill introduced by Quebec's Liberal Premier Bourassa which proposes to make French the official language of that province. Reaction to Bill 22 has been almost unanimously negative. Opposition ranges from pro-English elements on the one hand, to the bourgeois separatist Parti Québécois (PQ) and even ostensibly Marxist organizations on the pro-French side. Yet no political group in Quebec, either bourgeois or "socialist," has called for a solution to the language question based on principles of democracy and non-discrimination.

An understanding of the current dispute must begin with the recognition that Quebec has the essential social and economic prerequisites to constitute a nation separate from the rest of (predominantly English-speaking) Canada. It is composed in the large (80 percent of its population) of a distinct people who share a common culture and language, live in a common territory and have a common, at least potentially separate, political economy.

On the other hand, Quebec is well integrated into the wider Canadian and North American economy. In the absence of a substantial Québécois bourgeoisie (only 6 percent of industrial capital in the province is owned by French Canadians), local industry is dominated by English Canadian (46 percent) and U.S. (40 percent) companies. Today, most Québécois are workers, employed by the same corporations as their class brothers and sisters in the rest of Canada.

Moreover, French Canadian workers have in recent years been the most militant section of the North American working class, frequently sparking cross-Canada strikes (e.g., the 1973 rail strike and the nationwide postal walkout this spring). Thus, under present circumstances, a separation of Quebec from the rest of Canada would be seriously detrimental to working-class unity.

Economic Development Weakens French Language in Quebec

One result of Quebec industrialization in the last two decades has been a shift of the political center of gravity in the province to the cities and the 1960 ouster of the clerical-reactionary Duplessis government which had ruled (except for the World War II years) continuously since 1936. The incoming Liberal regime under Jean Lesage launched what it called a "quiet revolution"—a series of social reforms including universal education, liberalization of social welfare provisions, nationalization of the electrical power industry and modernization of the Labour Code (e.g., recognition of the right to collective bargaining).

At the same time there was a parallel growth of pressures toward assimilation of Québécois into the dominant English Canadian culture. This is seen in the increasing use of English, particularly in the province's financial-industrial center Montreal. The situation has been exacerbated by a declining birth rate in the French Canadian population and a spate of non-French-speaking immigrants. The immigrants (Italians, Greeks, etc.) see English as the language of economic opportunity, as do many French-speaking Québécois who do not wish to see their opportunities limited to low-wage Quebec. Consequently, from 1961 to 1971 the English-speaking population gained about 100,000 in the province while French speakers increased by only 4,000.

Chauvinist Discrimination and Nationalist Reaction

Québécois and French-speaking populations throughout Canada are subject to real social and economic discrimination. incomes of French-speaking workers within Canada as a whole are only 80 percent of those received by their English-speaking counterparts, while the wages of French Canadian workers in Quebec are only 60 percent as high. This is largely due to the clustering of French workers into the lower occupational categories as a result of discriminatory promotion policies. Systematic educational discrimination is evidenced by the fact that twice as high a percentage of English-speaking as French-speaking students goes on to college. Language discrimination (against those who speak only French) is practiced at all levels of the occupational scale above the most unskilled.

Reaction against this chauvinist discrimination has extended to wide sections of the Québécois population. In the Joliette Firestone strike last year, for instance, a major demand was that French, not English, be the "language of work." But beyond such obvious democratic demands—in an overwhelmingly French-speaking plant—much of the agitation has centered on nationalist demands that instruction in the schools be solely in French. This focus is a direct result of the rapidly increasing number of French speakers with post-secondary education during recent years and of the lack of a corresponding increase in the number of professional positions (teachers, lawyers, journalists) available to them.

As part of the "quiet revolution," a network of public community colleges (the CEGEPs) was set up beginning in 1967, to provide modern technical and pre-university education. By the next year there were nearly two dozen of them, housed in makeshift facilities and with no prospects for their graduates. So in October 1968 some 10,000 angry CEGEP students occupied their buildings and took to the streets demanding a new French-language university and jobs.

The same year a League for Educational Integration (LIS) was formed to contest school board elections in a Montreal suburb, on a program calling for French-only instruction. When the nationalist slate won and attempted to implement its program two years of turmoil resulted, one demonstration (in September 1969) leading to fights between French- and Italian-speaking youths. Also in 1969 a campaign was launched by CEGEP students, the LIS and the Montreal council of the Confederation of National Trade Unions (CSN) to turn English-language McGill University into a French-language institution.

The conservative provincial government's answer to this nationalist agitation was a wave of repression and Bill 63, which set up separate English- and French-language school systems. instruction in English was to be made available where there was a demand for it. Despite a mass march of 30,000 protesting the bill and bilingualism, it was passed by a legislature oriented to attracting outside investment.

The Liberals' Non-Answer

Having come to power in the wake of the 1968-69 language demonstrations, Bourassa's Liberal government has been trying to come up with a solution which would win nationalist support yet at the same time not drive away English Canadian and U.S. capital from Quebec. Its answer (Bill 22) would freeze English-speaking and French-speaking elements in their respective schools by basing admissions on demonstrated competence in the language of education. This would permit the children of English-speaking middle-class elements to continue in their exclusive schools. However, for non-English-speaking immigrants access to fluency in the dominant language of Canada would be cut off: lack of prior competence in English means automatic funneling into the French-language system.

Consequently, one of the most immediate responses to the government bill was protest from immigrant groups. The *Wall Street Journal* (11 June) quoted a Greek-language newspaper editor in Montreal as saying: "We came to North America for security. But if our children learn only French, they will have no qualifications if they want to move outside of Quebec. People are very scared." The Federation of Italian Associations of Quebec has also protested against the bill.

The bourgeois-nationalist Parti Québécois has opposed the Bourassa bill on the grounds that it does not go far enough toward establishing French as the sole official language of Quebec:

> "A language act can have only one objective, and that is to make Quebec French. From reading this bill it becomes obvious that this is not the objective that will be achieved.
>
> "In certain areas where it institutionalizes bilingualism it takes us even further away from the objective than we were a day ago. This bill is unacceptable . . . (because) it allows assimilation to continue both at work and in the schools."
>
> —quoted in *Labor Challenge*, 10 June

The PQ is pushing instead for a bill which would rule out *any* chance for immigrants to receive English-language instruction. But, unwilling to confront the economic consequences, it would maintain the present separate school systems for the English-speaking minority. Thus the PQ-sponsored bill would if anything increase the extent of social/economic discrimination according to language. Not concern for democratic rights but the bourgeois ideology of nationalism stands behind its position.

Fake Trotskyists Call for "Consistent" Nationalism

The League for Socialist Action/Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière (LSA/LSO—Canadian section of the "United Secretariat") stands to the right even of the PQ on the language question. For the LSA/LSO the problem with the PQ is that it is not nationalist enough. As part of a struggle *against* assimilation these fake Trotskyists advocate "strong protection in law against encroachment and degeneration [!] by English" (*Labor Challenge*, 24 April 1972). Although somewhat discomfited by immigrant opposition to Bill 22, the LSA/LSO assures its supporters that immigrants "would not object to sending their children to French schools immediately, if the law were such that it applied equally to all, including the English" (*Labor Challenge*, 10 June 1974). In other words: equal oppression for all non-French speakers.

As against the PQ's "timid" attempt to impose French on immigrants, the LSA/LSO replies:

> "Revolutionary socialists counterpose to this a policy of French unilingualism—full legislative protection for French as the sole language of education, work and government. Only in this way can the rights of the majority, which are under attack, be defended."
>
> —*ibid.*

The shamelessness of these opportunists knows no bounds. The logical consequence of their position is that the 200,000 French speakers in New Brunswick (40 percent of the population of that province) must be forced to use English! French-speaking children must attend classes taught in English, court proceedings would be unintelligible to a monolingual French Canadian, minority workers would be unable to read the union contract—all in order to defend the "rights of the majority"!

No doubt LSA/LSOers would reply that French speakers are the *oppressed*; they would not even think of supporting English unilingualism, since English speakers are part of the oppressor nation. But just who in Quebec would be most affected by the language bill? Above all it is the *immigrants*, who earn less, have less

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Seamen protest repression in Chile.

International Labor Boycotts: When and How

As a result of the global intensification of class struggle during the past few years, the tactic of labor boycotts against reactionary regimes has become increasingly widely employed. The most prominent recent example is the refusal of British Rolls Royce workers to handle aircraft engines owned by the Chilean Air Force.

As statements of working-class solidarity reflecting internationalist consciousness labor boycotts against right-wing regimes should be encouraged and supported by revolutionaries. However, the "hot-cargoing" or "blacking" (refusal to handle) of goods is not a cure-all capable of overthrowing anti-labor regimes. Unlimited, generalized trade bans are ineffective except in special circumstances, and in some cases can actually have a negative impact on the workers' struggles.

Boycotts should be used to force concrete concessions and not as a permanent act of moral protest. Thus, for instance, it is not in the interests of the workers' democratic rights or of socialist revolution to cripple the economy of states like South Africa, Spain or Chile by boycotting their exports. A forced contraction of foreign trade will not only not succeed in eliminating bonapartist or racist regimes, but can actually weaken the working class and its capacity to struggle, because of unemployment.

A labor boycott of exports, such as Chilean copper or Rhodesian chrome, should be used only when it can force important concessions such as the freeing of political prisoners or the enforcement of strike demands in those industries. During intense social conflict (civil war, revolutionary upsurge) a boycott might be called for to deprive the ruling class of its export earnings. But a permanent, open-ended boycott "on principle" of states like Iran or South Africa would actually be harmful to the interests of the workers movement.

What is in the interests of the workers movement is a standing boycott of *arms* to such countries (indeed to all, even "democratic," capitalist countries, except in particular cases where a colonial nation is under imperialist attack). In virtually every existing situation military equipment uniquely and solely serves the interests of the ruling class as a means of domestic repression or nationalist/colonialist expansion. The action of the Rolls Royce workers, in refusing to service Chilean military aircraft engines, is preferable in every respect to a general boycott of Chilean exports.

Moralistic Consumer Boycotts

During the 1960's various consumer boycott campaigns arose out of the petty-bourgeois/liberal/radical milieu, notably against South African oranges in Britain and against tourist travel to Spain in Scandinavia. The Swedish movie *I Am Curious (Yellow)*, in which the heroine is endlessly picketing travel agencies, well depicts the futile nature of these consumer boycotts. Equally ineffective were the campaigns by groups such as SDS and Progressive Labor in this country to force churches and universities to sell their stock in Gulf Oil (because it had investments in Angola) or the Chase Manhattan Bank (which helps finance the South African economy).

Such consumer boycott campaigns made no demands on the target governments and were unrelated to social struggle in the boycotted countries. In short, they constituted and were conceived of as a gesture of moral protest pure and simple. The logical conclusion of such policies would be the demand raised by the Czech "left-communist" Neurath at the Fourth Congress of the Comintern in 1922, for the "boycott of all capitalist products"! (Bukharin's response that this demand had nothing to do with Marxism seems overly generous. More accurate would be to note that such moral protests have nothing to do with material reality.)

These boycotts were an expression of liberal ideology, drawing a fundamental line between "democratic" capitalist countries and dictatorships. During the post-war period the U.S. government (operating within the framework of bourgeois democracy) has played an infinitely more reactionary role than third-rate despotisms like South Africa or Spain. Yet no left-liberal group advocated a general boycott of U.S. goods, such a project being obviously fantastical. Because the consumer boycotts organized by petty-bourgeois radicals against right-wing police states are ineffectual, potentially damaging to the workers in the target countries and an expression of liberal ideology, communists not only oppose them politically (i.e., argue against them), but do not honor such boycotts in practice.

Standing boycotts "on principle" of reactionary states are uncommon for trade unions. To begin with, moral idealism is a characteristic of petty-bourgeois radicalism, often reflecting a sense of class or race guilt on the part of the socially privileged. The organized labor movement generally avoids purely moralistic protest. The pressures of the class struggle militate toward that action which can win real gains. Consumer boycotts are so ineffectual that capitalist governments as well rarely bother about them. In contrast, international labor boycotts are directly effective and consequently are political dynamite. They either accomplish a good part of their aims or are met with hard government opposition, including legal and/or military supression. The trade unions, particularly with the present reformist leaderships, defy their governments only when there is an immediate, clear and pressing purpose, and not as a gesture of moral repugnance.

Louisiana students demand boycott of Rhodesian chrome in 1972. ILA dockers refused to unload ship.

JAMES W. TERRY, III

Boycotts in Inter-Imperialist Conflicts

An important qualification must be made to the generalization that bourgeois democratic governments always oppose labor boycotts against right-wing police states. At times, inter-imperialist conflict becomes sufficiently intense that capitalist governments seek to mobilize their own masses against "the enemy power" by appealing to democratic principles or even labor solidarity.

For example, during the Italian conquest of Ethiopia in 1935-36, the British Tory government organized an economic boycott through the League of Nations against the "fascist aggressor," a boycott which was supported by the Labour Party. The Trotskyist movement correctly opposed the boycott against Italy, seeing it as essentially serving the interests of British imperialism in Africa and making no real contribution to the national liberation of Ethiopia.

Conflicts between the imperialist powers may again produce a League-of-Nations, anti-Mussolini-type boycott justified on the basis of democratic or pacifist rhetoric. However, the current labor boycotts do not have that character; they derive solely from within the workers movement, gaining the reluctant support of certain reformist leaders, and are strongly opposed by their governments. Since the U.S. government, in particular, is the shameless supporter of every murderous military clique from Santiago to Saigon, this question is of particular relevance to the U.S.

ILA Action Against Rhodesia

The International Longshoremen's Association (ILA) has long been a corrupt gangster-ridden union, traditionally in the far right wing of the American labor movement. However, in the past decade the ILA has become increasingly black in composition. In addition, as a holdover from the openly Jim Crow practices of earlier decades, in the South the ILA maintains de facto segregated all-black and all-white locals. Under present conditions this has the effect of concentrating the more militant black workers together in a single unit. The increasingly unstable situation poses an obvious threat to the right-wing white leadership of Gleason & Co. So in the past few years the ILA bureaucracy—and notably Tony Scotto, head of the Brooklyn local (largest in the union)—has supported certain "progressive" policies in order to accomodate to its radically changed social base. For example, Scotto associated himself with John Lindsay's anti-war activities during the late 1960's.

During the past year groups of black dockers centered in Norfolk, Baltimore and Philadelphia (and with the support of various "third-worldist" organizations) have pushed for a boycott of chrome and other mineral exports from Rhodesia. Surprisingly, last February the Executive Council of the ILA passed a resolution supporting the anti-Rhodesian boycott. To quote Tony

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SL/RCY demands labor action against Chile junta in Bay Area demonstration, June 1974

Bitter Coal Strike Drags On

Bloody Harlan Once Again

HARLAN COUNTY, Kentucky—Amid scenes of picket-line violence reminiscent of the bloody battles fought here during the 1930's, the bitter Brookside miners' strike passed the one-year mark on July 26. Since picketing began at the neighboring Highsplint mine three weeks ago, two strikers have been shot by company thugs, a machine gun has reportedly been set up in the mine office and dozens of Kentucky State Police have been mobilized to herd out-of-state scabs into the pits.

HARLAN DAILY ENTERPRISE

State troopers arresting pickets at Highsplint mine in July.

The presence of one state trooper for every three strikers and the repeated arrests, despite a previous court decision ruling the picketing legal, led to widespread rumors last month that United Mine Workers (UMW) president Arnold Miller would call a nationwide coal strike in support of the Brookside miners. However, on July 16 Miller abruptly canceled a press conference which had presumably been called to deal with the possibility of a national work stoppage. Later in the week miners were led to believe Miller would announce the industry shutdown at a rally here on July 21.

At that rally, attended by more than 4,000 people (mostly miners and their families), Miller was introduced by UMW vice president Mike Trbovich as "the man who who will tell you what to do." Yet the possibility of a national strike was not once mentioned from the speakers' platform during the meeting. Instead the union chief announced that he would meet the following day with Kentucky governor Wendell Ford "to see his response before giving you an alternative."

To date the response of the bosses' government has been typified by the fact that, while dozens of miners have been arrested on trumped-up charges, nothing at all has been done in response to reports of a machine gun in the mine office. Strikers say they were fired at by this gun on July 8; moreover, state police admit that a company employee has applied for a license for an automatic weapon! As for the miners' "constitutional rights," one Brookside striker expressed the situation well: "What good is the right to picket if the state police can come in here and break the picket line?" (quoted in the *Mountain Eagle* [Whitesburg, Kentucky], 18 July).

At a brief press conference after the rally, Miller said he was "reasonably certain" he will call a national miners' "memorial period" focusing on mine safety and, in particular, on enforcement of the 1969 Coal Mine Health and Safety Act. (Under the present contract the union has the right to call such "memorials" for a period of up to ten days.) However, Miller refused to set a deadline for such a work stoppage, hinting only that it would be called "when it is most appropriate." He also said the memorial period would "not hinge on what happens here."

Miller's purposely vague speech was a disappointment to many of the union members present. Clearly the UMW bureaucracy intends to continue its "strategy" of refusing to broaden labor support for the crucial Harlan struggle. So far, in more than a year of bitter struggle, Miller's defeatist tactics have proven completely impotent.

Miller is trying to use his currently strong bargaining power vis-à-vis the major coal producers to put pressure on the union's adversary in Harlan, the Duke Power Company. As a result of the "energy crisis" steel companies are now down to a four- to nine-day supply of coal. Consequently even a short coal work stoppage could have powerful consequences. But Miller is not seeking to mobilize the union's strength to win the Brookside strike and immediately extend the victory through a massive organizing drive in Kentucky and Tennessee. Rather he wants to induce Duke Power to negotiate through a "judicious" display of power, emphasize to the Bituminous Coal Operators Association the UMW's favorable bargaining position and perhaps allow mutinous miners to blow off steam in a *limited, legal* walkout.

A History of Successful Union-Busting

The struggle at Brookside began in 1965 when Harlan Collieries, owner of the mine, decided not to renew the UMW contract. A long strike ensued, marked by considerable violence, with the company eventually succeeding in driving out the union due to the treacherous misleadership of the UMW's gangster president, Tony Boyle. In July 1970 the Duke Power Company, through its subsidiary Eastover Mining Company, bought the Brookside mine. (Around the same time Duke also purchased the nearby Highsplint mine and the Arjay mine in Bell County.)

Only five days later, while the UMW was in the process of an election card drive, the new management abruptly signed a sweetheart contract with the bogus "Southern Labor Union," a company scab-herding outfit. Naturally the contract was never voted on by the "membership." The wages provided by the "SLU" contract were as low as $1.89 per hour for some workers, and there were no health and safety provisions whatsoever.

Not until 1970 were Brookside miners able to vote in a secret-ballot election conducted by the National Labor Relations Board, for their union representation. When they finally got a chance they voted down the "SLU" and selected the United Mine Workers as their bargaining agent by a 113-55 margin.

The key issue in the Brookside strike is the miners' right to be represented by a legitimate union, not the company-front "SLU." Also in dispute is the need for a safety committee elected by the workers and adequate hospital insurance to cover sickness and injuries. (Both are routine provisions of the contract in 1,300 UMW-organized mines.) In the standard Mine Workers' contract, a union safety committee has the power to close down the mine, any part of the mine, or any particular piece of machinery it determines to be immediately dangerous to life or limb.

Despite NLRB decision ruling pickets legal, police escort scabs into mine.

However, if this occurs, miners are laid off without pay until the danger is fixed. Also, the UMW contract permits mine operators to remove members from the elected safety committees if an outside arbitrator decides that their actions are "arbitrary or capricious." In actual fact, the safety provisions of the contract are almost never used. Miller prefers to rely on the Nixon-appointed, coal operator-dominated Interior Department instead.

The second major issue is the necessity of real hospitalization coverage. Under the SLU "contract," Brookside miners paid one dollar a week into the union welfare fund. This fund totaled only $10,000 per year, a pitiful sum inadequate to cover major illness or injury among the miners. Thus most hospitals did not accept the SLU card. In comparison, the UMW contract requires coal operators to pay a "roy-

UMW strikers at Brookside mine.

WV PHOTO

UNITED MINE WORKERS JOURNAL

Brookside women led picketing in Harlan County last October.

UNITED MINE WORKERS JOURNAL

Picketers thrown into jail by mine-owning Judge Byrd Hogg.

alty" of 75 cents per ton to finance the health, hospitalization and retirement benefits of the miners. At Brookside this would amount to approximately $400,000 per year for the 180 miners and their families.

Wages have not been a main factor in the strike, as SLU members are now paid at rates similar to those of the UMW. However, portal-to-portal pay, standard in the UMW contract, is a major demand. At present, Brookside miners are forced to travel more than one hour from the time they enter the mine until they reach the coal face—all without pay. During this route they are forced to crawl over one third of a mile on their hands and knees. The same applies at the end of the shift.

Until recently picketing has continued at Brookside around the clock, with Eastover Mining making several attempts to recruit strikebreakers and resume production. However, the strikers, greatly aided by women from the Brookside Women's Club, have successfully prevented scabs from entering the mine. On the other hand, the strike has been unable to prevent Duke Power from obtaining the coal it needs for its generating stations in North Carolina. Duke, with total assets of $2.5 billion, is one of the nation's largest purchasers of coal. While its reserves have reportedly been cut from a normal 70-day supply to a 40-day level as the result of the strike and defaulting by commercial suppliers, Duke still claims to have available coal stocks in excess of those held by the Tennessee Valley Authority, the nation's largest utility.

Nineteenth-Century Conditions

Conditions in the mines and the dilapidated housing of many of the workers reflect the incredibly depressed conditions of Appalachia. Brookside miners live in the company-owned miners' camp only because they are unahle to afford or find anything better. Only three of the 30 houses in the camp even have indoor plumbing. Moreover, a report from the Harlan County Health Department in October of last year revealed that the drinking water at the Brookside coal camp is "highly contaminated" with fecal bacteria. The coliform count is 24, almost five times the highest permissible "safe" level.

Conditions in the mines are no better. Federal mine inspectors report numerous safety violations. In Brookside No. 3 mine proper weekly examinations for hazardous conditions can not even be carried out because of water accumulations of 18 inches or more in four different parts of the mine. Federal statistics show that the Brookside operation had a "disabling injury rate" three times the national average in 1971.

There has been a determined company campaign to crush the strike and the union from the very beginning, although the bosses' violence has been stepped up lately. Early in July a 66-year-old retired miner was shot twice by a Duke security guard while walking a legal picket line. The company openly paid the bail for the gunman's release. A week later another miner was shot in the leg while picketing. On one occasion last October, three Brookside miners riding in a pickup truck, including some of the leading union militants, were shot at by a Duke-employed strikebreaker using a high-powered rifle. The bullet missed one of the strikers by two or three inches. The man who did the shooting was later promoted to foreman at another of Duke's mines.

The union's exposé of attempts to bribe leading union militants has been effectively used to discredit the company before public opinion. The UMW has obtained documented proof of an attempt to break the strike by buying off two strike leaders, who in turn were supposed to convince other men to go back to work. The strikers, armed with tape recorders concealed in their clothing, recorded the conversations of the bribery attempt. In addition, photographs of the meeting were taken with telephoto lens showing money being handed over to the strikers.

Local courts are naturally rigged in favor of the company. An initial restraining order limited pickets at Brookside to two. However, rather than have union picketers arrested, women from the Brookside Women's Club marched on the picket line, placing themselves in front of entering vehicles and successfully preventing scabs from entering. When a jury was convened in October to hear charges that these union supporters had violated the anti-picketing injunction, it appeared that the accused would be acquitted. Instead, Judge Byrd Hogg, a mine owner himself, summarily dismissed the jury! Hogg proceeded to fine the women, retired miners and strikers $500 each, plus imposing a six-month suspended sentence. When they refused to pay the fine, the women were jailed. They brought their children to jail with them rather than leave them at home alone.

Intervention of the Bourgeois State

The first principle of class-struggle trade-union pqlicies is independence of the workers from the bosses and their state. Thus the Spartacist League, unlike most of the ostensibly socialist left, gave no support to Arnold Miller in his campaign for the UMW presidency. Hiding behind the facade of the "Miners for Democracy," an opposition caucus that was disbanded as soon as Mlller, Trbovich and their buddies gained control of union patronage, the basic thrust of Miller's campaign was to rely on the supposedly "neutral" Labor Department and bourgeois courts (see "Labor Department Wins Mine Workers' Election," *WV* No. 17, March 1973).

The 1972 elections were brought about because of a successful court suit *against the union* mounted by liberal lawyer Joseph Rauh. With Boyle thoroughly discredited and widely despised, the Nixon government was glad to step in to ensure that "reformers" like Miller would take over, thereby forestalling the possible emergence of a militant left-wing opposition in the union. From the Taft-Hartley Act in the late 1940's, to the Landrum-Griffin Act and Robert Kennedy's union-busting "investigation" of the Teamsters in the 1950's, to Labor Department intervention in UMW elections and the current spate of government "equal opportunities" court suits against the unions, intervention by the capitalist state into the internal affairs of the unions *always* serves to weaken the labor movement.

A Class-Struggle Program for Miners' Victory

After winning the 1972 UMW election with the aid of the Nixon government, Miller spent the next months sending his lieutenants through the coal fields to put down a wave of wildcats over dangerous working conditions. Rely on government safety inspectors, the miners were told, and abide by the Boyle contract until we can negotiate a new one. When gasoline-starved West Virginia mine workers walked out this spring to protest an arbitrary state rationing law, UMW leaders at first ignored this "illegal" strike, then told the men to go back to work.

The reform UMW leadership is so subservient to bourgeois public opinion, trying desperatly to appear as "responsible labor statesmen," that it has not even made use of weapons which were *legally* available to it. Thus the Mine Workers is one of the few U.S. trade unions to have negotiated contractual provisions for union safety committees able to shut down production in the face of dangerous working conditions. But when does the UMW ever utilize this power? Another example: even though the NLRB ruled last fall that picketing at Highsplint mine was legal, not until July did the union attempt to carry out such picketing. In the meantime, Highsplint mine was delivering 3,500 tons of coal daily to Duke Power!

In addition to subservience to bourgeois legality and bourgeois public opinion, Miller has consistently preached a Chavez-like pacifism in the face of blatant company and police violence. And, rather than industrial action to achieve victory for the Brookside miners, the UMW strategy has been to talk with the governor and organize an impotent consumer protest campaign against Duke Power's request for an electricity rate increase in North Carolina as a substitute for such action.

What is needed is a militant policy to unite the tremendous potential power of the labor movement in support of the Harlan strikers. The way to prepare for bituminous coal negotiations in the fall is not to demonstrate "reasonableness" (i.e., capitulation) now, but rather to call an *immediate nationwide coal strike* to achieve victory for the Brookside strikers and launch a massive organizing drive in non-union Southern coal fields. To answer the unrestrained police and company violence against the strikers, a class-struggle union leadership would organize systematic *armed defense of the picket lines* and *occupation of the mines*. (If they were concerned lest their mines and expensive equipment be harmed, coal operators would certainly be more inclined to negotiate.) Instead of reliance on pro-company government bureaucrats to correct safety violations, militants must demand that the UMW *shut down production in dangerous mines*.

Miners' problems are no different than those facing the rest of U.S. workers and, moreover, even with a militant UMW leadership they could not hope to achieve lasting gains without a generalized working-class upsurge against capitalism. Thus in the face of runaway inflation and mounting unemployment it is necessary to call for a full cost-of-living escalator (sliding scale of wages) and a shorter workweek with no loss in pay—make the bosses pay for the economic crisis. And against the union leaders' support for the twin parties of capital and impeachment of Nixon (i.e., put Ford in

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Cyprus...

of several great and not-so-great powers. (The island has been referred to as the largest unsinkable aircraft carrier in the region.) NATO naval presence in the Israel-Egypt arena, Russian access to its Syrian naval resupply facilities and the ability to supervise the flow of oil from the Arabian peninsula were all directly affected by the Greek coup on the island. Even the now toothless British lion, usually grovellingly servile before U.S. foreign policy, managed a growl in its own behalf in the face of an initial Washington "tilt" toward Sampson and the junta.

The National Question in Cyprus

To this complex international situation must be added the difficult ethnic composition of the Cypriot population. Although temporary ceasefires have been prettified in the 1960 constitution and other imposing-sounding documents, in reality Greek and Turkish communities on the island remain deeply hostile and far more integrated into the social life of their respective mother countries than into any kind of binational Cyprus. *None* of the solutions available under present social-economic conditions can possibly satisfy the aspirations of both majority and minority. *Enosis* (union with Greece), "double *enosis*" (partition between Greece and Turkey), ceding sections of Thrace to Turkey in exchange for incorporating Cyprus into Greece and even the continuation of some sort of federated independent Cyprus would involve destructive forced mass population transfers and would contain within them the seeds of further bloody communal and national wars.

"The Cyprus Problem" cannot be solved under capitalism, that is under social and economic conditions which necessarily set one nationality against another; only through the establishment of a proletarian state power and laying the basis for a socialist economy, in which the fruits of labor would be used for the benefit of all, is there any hope of social justice for such interpenetrated peoples.

In modern times Cyprus has always had a Greek majority, although when it was under the sway of the Ottoman Empire this majority was occasionally subjected to bloody purges by the Turkish overlords. Falling under British rule in the latter part of the nineteenth century, it provided fertile grounds for the classical colonial policy of divide and rule. Turks thus tended to favor British rule, while pro-*enosis* forces dominated among the Greeks.

This situation ended in 1959 when the pro-*enosis* Greek guerrilla forces (EOKA) led by the former World War II fascist collaborator Colonel Grivas and Archbishop Makarios managed to exert sufficient pressure by their terrorist actions to force Greece, Turkey and Britain to look for a new arrangement. The result was the independence of Cyprus, guaranteed by these three powers, under the patchwork constitution of 1960, which simply codified the existing stalemate.

The constitution elaborated a complex dual government structure according to which all important legislative acts were subject to veto by either ethnic grouping. Positions in the administrative apparatus, National Guard, constabulary and public services were to be distributed to each ethnic group by prearranged and arbitrary percentages, as were ministerial posts in the government. These arrangements granted the Turkish minority a substantially greater proportional representation in the government (30-40 percent) than its share of the island population.

The whole house of cards, which in any case was operative only on the condition that both Greece and Turkey accepted the stand-off, fell apart at the first test. Makarios, the first and (to date) only president of Cyprus, attempted almost immediately to "amend" the constitution by abrogating all veto rights, reneging on the required percentages in public employment and in particular on the specified 40 percent Turkish makeup of the armed forces. The Greek majority was naturally outraged at the "preferential hiring" provisions of the constitution. The Turkish minority, on the other hand, opposed any amendments since it rightly suspected that this would only be a first step toward *enosis*.

UPI

Greek Premier Constantine Caramanlis

The squabbling soon degenerated into the civil war of 1963-64 which led to the reintroduction of British troops as mediators of Cypriot affairs and to a period of several years of terror and counter-terror against the populations of both communities. The fruits of this period (ending in 1967) were the creation of rigid Turkish enclaves and the addition of yet another military contingent, the UN "peace-keeping" force. At present there are *six* different armies on the island!

Ethnic Turkish minority scattered in enclaves throughout Cyprus. In cases of intermingled peoples democratic solution to national question is possible only under proletarian rule.

The Archbishop Leans Left

Since independence the largest political force on the island has been the Communist Party (AKEL—Progressive Party of the Working People), which controls a labor federation enrolling half the organized workforce. AKEL received 40 percent of the vote in the last elections and routinely wins all the seats it contests (only 9 out of a total of 35 last time); it could undoubtedly win double as many. In general the Stalinists have given backhanded support to *enosis* and sought a deal with Makarios.

The Archbishop, in turn, has always been more pragmatic than the now-deceased Grivas, who was a committed anti-communist ideologue. While personally a conservative, Makarios was willing to cooperate with the "reds" provided they did not contest his fragile hegemony over the island's political structure.

The affair between AKEL and the Archbishop was transformed into a marriage as a result of the 1967 colonels' coup in Athens. From that time until last week, union with Greece would have meant, in practical terms, sending AKEL and labor leaders straight into the jails of the junta's torturers. The Stalinists were understandably less than enthusiastic about this prospect. Sensing a similar mood in the Greek Cypriot community, Makarios switched from support for *enosis* to tacitly advocating independence for Cyprus. Apparently his political sense was accurate, for 97.5 percent of the ethnic Greek voters cast their ballots for him in the last presidential elections.

It is ironical that Makarios' more recent difficulties stem from his earlier pro-*enosis* position. It was he who in 1964 invited Grivas to return to the island along with the 650 Greek officers who took over control of the National Guard in contravention of the 1960 constitution. The "unspeakable Nikos Sampson" (*New York Times*, 20 July) was actually a staunch supporter of the Archbishop until 1971. Thus the basis of the coup was laid by the Archbishop, and by its consistent support for him the AKEL also bears responsibility for it.

Class Struggle vs. Class Collaboration

True to their traditions the Stalinists responded to the officers' coup by once again swearing undying loyalty to the head of the Greek Orthodox Church on Cyprus: "AKEL strongly and angrily condemns the fascist coup staged in Cyprus from outside and urges the people to offer resistance and to rally around the President of the Republic, Archbishop Makarios, who was elected by the people," read a report in the American CP's *Daily World* (17 July). The report "forgot" to mention that only Greek Cypriots voted for the president (ethnic Turks elect the vice president). The Stalinists also neglected to call for a policy of revolutionary defeatism upon the invasion of the Turkish troops (which turned the Cyprus fighting into a Greek-Turkish war in which the working class must oppose both sides). But most of all they "forgot" to mention the need for working-class independence from the bourgeoisie.

As against the Stalinist program of collaboration with "progressive," "left," "anti-imperialist" or even, as in Cyprus, with quite conservative bourgeois forces, Marxists must put forward the program of proletarian struggle against all sections of the class enemy. This does not mean we rule out specific, purely tactical agreements for united *action* against a common enemy. Thus in the first days following the Cyprus coup, up to the point of the Turkish invasion, there was a basis for united action—namely calling for the overthrow of the junta—which could have embraced the majority of the island's population, both Turkish and Greek. But not for a minute would this have meant abandoning a policy of political opposition to Makarios and to the Greek and Turkish bourgeois nationalists.

For a historical moment the interests of democracy were flatly counterposed to nationalism among the dominant people on the island. This was seen in the reported instances of pro-Makarios Greeks who were saved by ethnic Turks from the initial National Guard onslaught, and notably in a first-ever united Greek and Turkish Cypriot demonstration against the junta, in London on July 16. At that time the basis existed for a vast popular uprising which would very quickly have become transformed into a battle on class lines within the Greek community. But the condition for successfully preparing this struggle is that the Marxist party not sacrifice its independent proletarian perspective. The absence of revolutionary leadership—to seize and lead forward this exceptional chance for class struggle across national lines against the reactionary coup—led straight to the renewed national antagonism and communal violence. By shamelessly aligning itself with Makarios, personification of the ethnically polarized status quo, the Stalinists bear direct responsibility for the degeneration of a historic opportunity for class unity into a resurgence of bloody national hatreds among the masses.

A Trotskyist party in Cyprus would have called for the formation of an ethnically united workers militia based on the unions, and for democratic and transitional demands which could have transcended communal conflicts by uniting the working people in struggle against capitalism. Important among these demands would have been a call for expropriation of the large landowners (including, notably, the Greek Orthodox Church). It would have put forward the perspective of a workers government based on soviets. In contrast, by giving political support to Makarios, AKEL was simply paving the way for a return to the ethnic politics which have polarized Cyprus on national lines for centuries.

Following the Turkish invasion it was necessary to take a revolutionary defeatist position in Cyprus, against both armies in the field. Certainly no support could be given to the Cyprus National Guard and Greek troops who, if victorious, would have rounded up several thousand leftists and butchered them. But while the Turkish invasion opened up the situation and led to the downfall of the Greek junta, proletarian revolutionists could give no support to it as well. Otherwise they would have been endorsing the nationalist atrocities committed by the Turkish forces and giving support to Ankara's goal of, at a minimum, establishing a military foothold and at best forcing a partition of the island. The correct call was to demand the immediate withdrawal of all outside armed forces from Cyprus.

The Fall of the Greek Junta

Although the recent events may have strengthened the moderately liberal government in Turkey vis-à-vis the military, the fundamental impact of the Cyprus crisis will be felt in Greece. In Athens it has already led to the stepping down of the reactionary junta that has ruled the country with an iron fist for the last seven years. The military has, however, not disappeared from the political scene, as witness the fact that the junta's "President," General Gizikis, continued in office.

We can now expect to witness a period of increasing class struggle and leftist militancy in Greece. The bourgeoisie is clearly worried about this, which is one reason why they have kept a tight lid on Athens both during and after the first night of the new regime. As the 27 July *Economist* commented apprehensively, "Nobody knows, when the repression of a dictatorship is lifted, what forces have been growing unseen below it: who has secretly prepared the best organisation, who commands the biggest army of the streets, whose slogans will appeal most to unpractised ears."

There are several similarities to Portugal in the Greek situation follow-

Two Views on:

Which Way for the Portuguese Revolution?

Co-sponsors:
Spartacist League/RCY
Portuguese Committee for Democratic Action

Speaker for the Spartacist League:
NANCY ROSSI: Workers Vanguard special correspondent recently returned from Lisbon

BOSTON August 1, 7:30 p.m.
Boylston Hall, Harvard University

ing the installation of the Caramanlis government. But there are also important differences. For one thing, there is no apparent leftist sector of the armed forces, and the Communist Party (the KKE) is badly split, with the stronger group, the "internal party," being estranged from Moscow and social-democratic in orientation (similar to the Carrillo CP in Spain or the Australian CP, both of which have experienced splits by pro-Moscow loyalists.) Another important factor is the long history of Greek Trotskyism, which after World War II was quite strong. Today both the "United Secretariat" of Ernest Mandel and the "International Committee" of Gerry Healy have Greek sections.

The struggle for political independence of the working class is certainly as crucial in Greece as it is in Cyprus. The absence of a Makarios-like figure and leftist officers in the army may in fact make it difficult for the Stalinists to find someone to sell out to; Caramanlis seems determined to include no one to the left of timid liberals in his cabinet. This will not, however, prevent the reformists from trying. And judging from press accounts of Athens crowds cheering a general's car following the junta's appointment of the civilian cabinet, there are still widespread democratic illusions among the masses which must be dispelled.

The key weapon for confronting these illusions and polarizing the masses along class lines is the Transitional Program of the Fourth International. In the struggle to build a Trotskyist party in Greece, the key to taking the struggle forward, it will be necessary to raise demands which demonstrate clearly that the *demokratia* expected of Caramanlis and Gizikis is a sham. We call therefore for immediate elections to a constituent assembly; no amnesty for Ioannidis and the criminals of the military junta—try them by elected people's tribunals; immediate withdrawal of all outside (including Greek) troops from Cyprus; Greece out of NATO, U.S. bases out of Greece; restore all democratic rights, including the right to strike and for the labor/socialist press to be published and distributed—annul the ban on the KKE; expropriate the bourgeoisie, down with Caramanlis—toward a workers government.

If a revolutionary Trotskyist organization is not crystallized to struggle for such a program, and if ostensible Marxists content themselves with tailing after the masses, not only will great opportunities be lost and the way be opened for the Stalinists to reconsolidate their former hold on Greek workers. In addition, with a popular civilian government in power and much of the population in uniform as the result of the mobilization of reserves, the generals and reactionary politicians could well attempt a confrontation with Turkey over Cyprus. With nationalist passions on the island already inflamed by the recent days of communal fighting, this could lead to mass murder on both sides. Thus as long as bourgeois law-and-order is not threatened by a united mobilization of the workers against capital, the fall of the Greek junta can actually lead to an intensification of nationalist conflicts on Cyprus. ■

Continued from page 3

Cop Terror...

attack. As a July 19 Boston Spartacist League leaflet in response to the murders of Wilds and Robey stated:

> "It is only racially united labor action that can put an end to police terror because it is only the labor movement that can uncompromisingly defend the democratic rights of working people and all the oppressed, including the right to bear arms. We must seek to weld this struggle to defend our democratic rights to the massive power of the labor movement—only beginning to reveal itself again in the growing strike wave in this country. For the trade-union movement to stand idle in the face of these vicious attacks is to force the discontent of blacks to find expression in self-defeating acts of individual terror or ghetto explosions, as opposed to organized effective struggle against their oppression."

Both in Oakland and Boston local committees were formed by predominantly or exclusively black forces to protest the arbitrary police terror. While the orientation of these coalitions has been reliance on liberals and "community control of the police," SL supporters have intervened to raise the demands of "Disarm the Cops" and "Dissolve the Police—For Racially United Workers Militias Based on the Trade Unions."

An SL proposal to the People's Coalition Against Police Brutality in Roxbury (Boston) called for the formation of a principled united front rather than a class-collaborationist political bloc with bourgeois liberals:

> "That we start an action committee open to all those groups and individuals who demand that 'THE MURDERERS OF WILDS AND ROBEY BE ARRESTED AND TRIED' and 'DISARM THE COPS.' Participation in the committee should not be based on agreement with any particular program or set of ideas; each participant should be free to raise their own program and ideas in addition to the slogans of the committee. "That the main active orientation of the committee be toward the mobilizing of active union support around these two demands."

Spartacist supporters also fought against the exclusion of whites by the Roxbury Coalition, pointing out that only *racially united* labor action can effectively deal with cop brutality.

The CP's Raleigh Rally: "Write Your Congressman"

In contrast to this *class* program, various fake lefts choose to petition the liberals or put forth the classless demand of "community control of the police." The reformist, Stalinist Communist Party's answer to S-1400 is to "write your congressman." In other words, beg the bourgeoisie to betray its own class! To fight political repression the CP has formed yet one more class-collaborationist paper coalition, this one going under the name of National Alliance Against Racism and Political Repression. The NAARPR's main component, aside from the CP, is a motley collection of priests and ministers.

At a July 4 demonstration in Raleigh, North Carolina, called by the NAARPR to protest the death penalty, Angela Davis said: "They must be trembling in Washington to see us holding hands today. Black, brown, red, yellow and white. Trade unionists, nationalists and progressive independents. And, yes, ministers and communists. Because," she said, putting her arm around Rev. Ralph Abernathy of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, "here is a minister, and here," tapping her chest with her forefinger, "is a communist" (*New York Times*, 5 July 1974). Abernathy pointed out that it wasn't only

Angela Davis in Raleigh GUARDIAN

Nixon who could collaborate with Communists: "If that trickster in Washington can go to Russia and sit down with the head of the Communist Party, it is with pride and honor that I march with Angela Davis."

SWP's Community Control of the Police

The reformist, ex-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party poses community control of the cops as the solution to police brutality. In response to killings by cops in Atlanta, Vince Eagan, SWP black candidate for governor of Georgia, stated:

> "The present police, who have no interest in stopping crimes against Black people, must be replaced by a force drawn from and responsible to the Black community."
>
> —*Militant*, 14 June

Instead of trying to mobilize working-class defense of protests against police terror in Atlanta, Eagan said it would be better for Mayor Jackson "to be out there today demonstrating with us, because they [the cops] wouldn't touch him" (*Militant*, 12 July). In other words, if the cops are willing to attack a demonstration led by Hosea Williams of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, the answer is not to call for united action by the labor movement together with black organizations, but instead to appeal to the mayor!

The "community" contains elements from all classes, including the bourgeoisie. A police force, whether "drawn from and responsible to the community" or not, is necessarily responsible for protecting the interests of the dominant class, namely the bourgeoisie. Cops are the hired guns of the capitalist class, and "community control of the police" is simply a formula for complicity in the repression of the masses. Whoever fails to recognize this basic fact is rejecting the entire Marxist theory of the state and preparing the way for bloody betrayals. Given its view of cops it is no wonder the SWP has been running candidates for sheriff in Houston, Atlanta and elsewhere in recent years. No doubt they will administer capitalist law and order in a manner "responsible to the community" if elected.

Effective defense of the interests of the working people and poor must come from the working class itself. For example, recently in Detroit, a black family which moved into an all-white neighborhood suffered attacks from its white neighbors who threw rocks through the windows, etc. A UAW local sent rotating patrols to defend the house and repulsed the attackers. This family certainly could not have been protected by its own "community"!

It is necessary to bring about united working-class action against such atrocities as the cold-blooded murder of defenseless victims in the streets, the reinstitution of the death penalty in the hands of the capitalist butchers and Nixon's frenzied attempt to reinstate the witchhunt atmosphere of the 1950's. However, ultimately only a workers government which expropriates the bourgeoisie and crushes the inevitable armed resistance of the ruling class can do away with cop terror. Police brutality will continue as long as does the capitalist class which relies on such methods to preserve its own privileges.

- —Convict the killers of Glover, Jack, Gibson, Guyton, Wilds and Robey!
- —Disarm the cops! Only racially united workers militias can protect the working people!
- —Dump the bureaucrats—For a workers party based on the trade unions!
- —Toward a workers government—Smash racial oppression through proletarian revolution! ■

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Labor Boycotts...

Scotto, "We believe in human dignity. The only support that we as longshoremen can give the African majority in Rhodesia is to boycott it" (*Guardian*, 20 March)!

The action of the Gleason/Scotto bureaucracy becomes considerably less surprising in light of the fact that Rhodesian exporters use South African shipping documents so that it is virtually impossible to identify Rhodesian products. One of the leading groups behind the boycott, the Militant Action Dockers in Baltimore, recently pointed out that Rhodesian ore is slipping through under false documents and demanded that all cargo even *suspected* of being Rhodesian be boycotted.

The intention of U.S. dockers to use their economic power against the white supremacist government of Rhodesia is highly praiseworthy. The tactic chosen, however, is unwise. If effective it would weaken the proletariat in Rhodesia, particularly such a key group as the miners, who are likely to play a vanguard role in any social revolution. In this particular case, the boycott also has limited effectiveness due to the difficulty of identifying Rhodesian exports.

While we disagree with the general policy behind the ILA boycott, we do not simply call for the boycott to be dropped and no action taken against Ian Smith's Rhodesia. Even if poorly conceived, the boycott is an anti-racist action. To simply call for an end to the boycott would mean a bloc with racist and reactionary elements in the ILA, probably including actual agents of the State Department. Therefore, we give critical support to the ILA's anti-Rhodesia boycott, while calling for its replacement by a far more effective measure against Ian Smith's regime—namely, a labor boycott of all arms shipments to Rhodesia, South Africa and Portugal!

Campaign to Free Chilean Prisoners

The military overthrow of the Allende government last September produced the strongest reaction by the world labor movement to any right-wing takeover in the post-war period. The murder, torture and imprisonment of all leftist or union militants the junta could get its hands on have infuriated virtually every class-conscious worker throughout the world. Moreover, the military overthrow of a constitutionally elected government in a supposedly stable "democratic" country has made even right-wing social democrats and sections of the labor bureaucracy nervous. Allende's assassination casts a shadow over the political future of a Giuseppe Saragat, a François Mitterrand or a Tony Benn. Thus the Chilean coup has had an effect on the world labor movement similar to, though on a lesser scale than, the victory of Nazism in Germany and of clerical fascism in Austria in 1933-34.

Influential social-democratic politicians, like Willy Brandt in Germany or Saragat in Italy, do not lift a finger for political prisoners in Iran, Greece or South Africa, but are compelled to do something about the victims of the Chilean junta. For that reason capitalist governments where the social democrats have weight (e.g., Italy, West Germany, Britain, Sweden, Australia) have taken certain diplomatic actions against the Chilean government. This diplomatic semi-isolation contributes to the instability of the Pinochet regime and is upsetting to its main international guardian, U.S. imperialism. There is, therefore, strong pressure on the junta to buy diplomatic respectability by making concessions on the prisoner question.

The existence of widespread international protests over Chilean prisoners involving diplomatic pressure by certain capitalist governments allows the tactic of selective labor boycotts to be used in a way that would be totally ineffective and even counterproductive if used against long-established rightist regimes like Iran or Spain. For example, if following the announcement of the execution of a Chilean leftist, German or British dockers dumped several tons of Chilean copper into the Elbe or Thames, the junta might be less inclined to carry out its bloodthirsty plans in the future.

The international Spartacist tendency has played a leading role in defending Chilean "far-left" prisoners being held by the junta. Spartacist agitation has concentrated on preventing the threatened execution of two leaders of the Castroist MIR (Revolutionary Left Movement), Bautista Van Schouwen and Alejandro Romero. The SL/US not only organized militant demonstrations in defense of Chilean prisoners, but has also initiated selective picketing of Chile-bound ships (see "Hot-Cargo Military Goods to Chile! Labor Out of the AIFLD!" *Workers Vanguard* No. 47, 21 June 1974).

One such SL-initiated action was in San Francisco last February, where dockers halted work until a union business agent arrived to order them back. The reason for the initial positive result of the picketing was that the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) Local 10 had previously passed a resolution to boycott trade with Chile. While this represents an exemplary act of international labor solidarity, which the Bridges leadership of the ILWU has so far done nothing to implement, it was marred by a rather fantastic demand. The Local 10 resolution calls for a boycott "until such time that the junta or government in Chile restores full rights to the trade unions." This is equivalent to calling upon Vorster's white-supremacist regime in South Africa to abolish apartheid and give blacks the vote!

Restoration of trade-union rights cannot be achieved through outside economic pressure, but only through violent social struggle within Chile itself. Internationalist longshoremen would have done better to link the boycott to a demand the junta could actually be forced to grant, such as freeing political prisoners. And while a total boycott of Chilean trade was a necessary demand in the immediate aftermath of the coup, today a call for a labor boycott of military shipments to the junta would be more appropriate. But despite the somewhat utopian character of its demands, the ILWU Chilean boycott resolution does represent an effort to turn the economic power of the American working class against the murderous Chilean junta; class-conscious workers should therefore give it critical support and demand of the ILWU leadership that this resolution be implemented. Correctly used, international labor boycotts can be invaluable in the campaign to free left-wing prisoners, a necessary step in organizing the Chilean socialist revolution. ■

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...Transit Strike

lic transit taxes on wage earners again after this strike is over. Instead, mass transportation should be *free* and under workers control. The striking ATU local has gone on record for free public transportation. But a struggle for this demand, like a struggle to extend real cost-of-living protection throughout the entire economy, to all the workers (through a universal and unlimited sliding scale of wages), would require mobilization of the whole working class in a political struggle against the capitalist system. This is something the present union leaders are unwilling even to contemplate.

Bureaucrats Prevent Spreading of Strike

Indeed, Local 192 president Ed Cordeiro has proven all too willing to bargain away the "unreasonable" escalator clause. Ominously, the official AFL-CIO paper now reports that "the much-discussed cost-of-living escalator clause is no longer the hang-up" (*East Bay Labor Journal*, 19 July). Faced with an intransigent employer and an angry membership, Cordeiro has resorted to flashy demonstrations designed to blow off steam harmlessly while a deal is worked out.

First there were bombastic threats to close the BART subway system with picketing. These were immediately countered by threats from other ATU officials—notably Mel Schoppert, a district vice president—to order ATU members working for BART to cross Local 192's picket lines! Some picketing was held until the inevitable court injunction was issued and line-crossing began. Predictably, Cordeiro had never *officially* called on any of the other transit unions to strike together with the AC Transit workers, nor does he have a class-struggle program to deal with such intra-bureaucratic scabbing, even within his own union!

Cordeiro called a mass union meeting followed by a march to AC Transit headquarters, and was quoted as threatening to lead a sit-in of the offices. The demand was that Bingham *personally* take part in the negotiations to lend them more authority. When the militant march reached Bingham's office, no sit-in was held but glass doors to the office were broken and police called. After 45 minutes Bingham agreed to enter the negotiations, whereupon Cordeiro boasted, "We won our objective by sticking together"!

The Spartacist League was the only left organization to join the strikers in the march on AC Transit headquarters with signs and a banner. The banner called for a strike on the part of all Bay Area transit workers. An SL leaflet pointed to collusion between the union bureaucracy and the capitalist politicians and government, which fake militants like Cordeiro fully endorse. It called for no reliance on state mediators or bourgeois politicians like "friend of labor" San Francisco Mayor Alioto, and for a workers party and a workers government. Several of these slogans were also raised by militants in the union, who distributed a leaflet to strikers, "For a Bay Area-Wide Transit Strike." The leaflet denounced the strike-breaking intentions of the AC Transit bosses, courts and government, called for unity among all transit workers in the area and for a labor party.

What is needed is a network of caucuses throughout the transit unions, and all unions, to raise a class-struggle program, including the extension of real "escalator" protection to all workers, workers control over "public" industries and free public transportation at the expense of the giant corporations. Such caucuses would also call for expropriation of the corporations under workers control and would work for a workers party based on the trade unions to fight for such a program. Only such a course of consistent political struggle against the class-collaborationism of the bureaucracy is capable of carrying the struggle beyond the few militant gestures of the Cordeiros. ■

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Bloody Harlan...

the White House), militants must call for immediate elections and a labor candidate opposed to both Democrats and Republicans.

How can the ranks of labor be won to a program of working-class independence? About this there are wide divergences among ostensibly socialist groups. The vast majority of the U.S.

UMW President Miller at Harlan.

left has repeatedly demonstrated its instinct for tailing after whatever is popular. In the case of the UMW, this means giving "critical support" to Miller, despite his use of the capitalist courts and Labor Department against the union. What these tailists got was Miller's subsequent campaign to suppress wildcats and enforce the Boyle contract.

As opposed to these various reformist and centrist tailists, the Spartacist League calls for the construction of national class-struggle opposition caucuses in the unions, based on a full program of transitional demands, which seek to defeat (and not merely pressure) the pro-company bureaucracy. Similarly, while many left groups seek to avoid any demands which are even remotely political, the SL emphasizes that the struggle for a new militant leadership in the unions is fundamentally political and cannot be separated from building the Trotskyist vanguard party, which must centralize and lead forward the entire working class to a lasting victory over the capitalist system of exploitation. ■

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Iowa AFSCME Local Calls for New Elections, Workers Party

While AFSCME sanitation and other city workers were embroiled in a two-week-old showdown strike against the city of Baltimore, an AFSCME local in Iowa, Local 12 (University of Iowa Employees), has raised important demands pointing to the urgent need for revolutionizing the program of the labor movement. The Local recently passed five resolutions addressed to the August meeting of the State Federation of Labor. One of these correctly characterized the governor of Iowa as "a representative of business" and "our enemy," demanding that he not be invited to speak at the convention. Another resolution cited the phony energy crisis and the bloated profits of oil companies, calling for the latter's nationalization without compensation under workers control.

One of the resolutions concerned the impeachment of Nixon. It pointed out that Nixon's worst crimes were those "directed against the working people of the U.S. and the world." It called on the Federation to repeat its demand of one year ago that Nixon be impeached, and demanded "that the Federation call not for the assumption of the presidency by Gerald Ford, but for new presidential elections.... enforced by a nationwide general strike if necessary." The resolution concluded with a call for a workers party based on the trade unions, "militantly opposed to the parties of big business," and to the "current union leaders" who are "dedicated" to the parties of big business.

The Local also elected Loren Schutt, one of the authors of the resolutions and a long-time activist in Local 12, to represent it at the state convention. While the resolutions did not touch all the important questions facing labor (and did not mention the need, particularly relevant in AFSCME, to get the cops out of the unions), they did raise a major challenge to the complacent pro-capitalist labor bureaucracy on a number of central points. It is the extension and development of a class-struggle program—and a caucus based on such a program—throughout the union which can give real meaning to these resolutions and at the same time open the road to victory for workers such as those in Baltimore, who are locked in conflict with the capitalists and their state.

Continued from page 4

Quebec Language Controversy...

mobility and suffer more discrimination than even the French-speaking majority. Perhaps, though, according to the LSA/LSO "logic," these are merely "apprentice oppressors" who must at all costs be stopped from breaking out of their Montreal ghettos!

Leninism and the Language Question

Far from protecting the democratic rights of oppressed minorities, the LSA/LSO seeks to curry favor with Québécois nationalists by supporting the latter's bourgeois aspirations to become a new ruling class—in this case through oppressing minorities within their "own" nation. Just how much these supposed socialists' paeans to "consistent" nationalism, protests against assimilation and calls for legally enforced unilingualism have to do with Leninism can be seen by examining Lenin's own writings on the language question:

> "The development of nationality in general is the principle of bourgeois nationalism; hence the exclusiveness of bourgeois nationalism, hence the endless national bickering. The proletariat, however, far from undertaking to uphold the national development of every nation, on the contrary warns the masses against such illusions, stands for the fullest freedom of capitalist intercourse and welcomes every kind of assimilation of nations, except that which is founded on force or privilege....
>
> "The proletariat cannot support any consecration of nationalism; on the contrary, it supports everything that helps to obliterate national distinctions and remove national barriers: it supports everything that makes the ties between nationalities closer and closer, or tends to merge nations. To act differently means siding with reactionary nationalist philistinism."
>
> —"Critical Remarks on the National Question," 1913

Did Lenin make an exception here for oppressed nations, in the sense of implying that their nationalism was progressive, that *their* languages (but not those of oppressor nations) should have privileges, etc.? Not at all. In fact, he was arguing precisely against Ukrainian "nationalist-socialists" and Jewish Bundists who were fighting assimilation in the Russian empire. Summarizing, he stated:

> "The national programme of working-class democracy is: absolutely no privileges for any one nation or any one language; the solution of the problem of the political self-determination of nations, that is, their separation as states by completely free, democratic methods;... Working-class democracy contraposes to the nationalist wrangling of the various bourgeois parties over questions of language, etc., the demand for the unconditional unity and complete amalgamation of workers of *all* nationalities in *all* working-class organisations...."
>
> —*ibid.*

No Privileges for Any Language!

A policy of unilingualism would be a step backward not only for the immigrant populations but also for the French-speaking working class. Quebec is sandwiched between the much larger English-speaking domains of the U.S. and the rest of Canada and is thoroughly integrated in the North American economy. This does not negate the right to self-determination, but it does make bilingualism a tremendous benefit for Québécois workers. On the one hand, full mobility of labor is necessary to eliminate Quebec's status as a haven for low-wage industry. More importantly, the revolutionary fate of French Canadian workers depends on their ability to forge the closest links with their class brothers and sisters in English-speaking Canada and the U.S. Self-imposed national and linguistic isolation would be most harmful to this goal.

On the other hand, Trotskyists oppose all national oppression, such as attempts to *force* the use of English on French-speaking Québécois, or to require the use of French by native English speakers and immigrants. As opposed to nationalist calls for unilingualism, communists must demand a unitary state school system, under teacher-student-worker control, with bilingual instruction.

It is logical that the majority of the population will desire French as the language of instruction, just as it is logical that internally there will be a single language of the state bureaucracy. But it is something quite different to make this mandatory by law. On the contrary, English-language instruction should be provided in areas where there is a substantial demand for it—not, however, as presently occurs in a separate school system. Likewise, official documents for public information, court proceedings and the like must be available in English in places where there is a substantial English-speaking population (in Montreal it is 40 percent). Only in this way is it possible to ensure that French-speaking minorities elsewhere in Canada (parts of Ontario and the Maritime provinces in particular) enjoy similar rights.

To encourage greater integration of the workers of all nationalities it is also important to provide language instruction in the other major language(s) thereby encouraging multilingualism. Demands must also be raised for special free language courses in French or English for immigrants, an end to all national and language discrimination in hiring and the provision of translators for and official union materials in all major languages spoken in a workplace.

As against the nationalism of the LSA/LSO and PQ, and against the Liberals' discriminatory Bill 22 and the Bill 63 now in force, Marxists must demand: no special privileges for any language! In Canada, with a long history of discrimination against French speakers by the English-speaking majority, it is particularly important that this fight against the forcible suppression of minority languages be waged by communists in the English-speaking regions. Only by fighting for the democratic rights of minorities can the chauvinism and nationalism which now divide the workers be undercut and a basis of mutual trust and proletarian solidarity be laid as the foundation for a united socialist revolution. ■

Continued from page 12

Detroit Phone Workers...

membership of such nonsense, he simply maneuvered to make it increasingly difficult for the workers to hold a militant strike against his wishes.

Continuing this tradition of class collaboration, one of the first steps of the Watts administration has been to employ the strike authorization vote itself as a direct obstacle to a strike. Disregarding militant membership meetings that had been held in several areas right before the deadline, Watts declared that a strike vote would be taken by mail ballot over a period of *two weeks!*

In the past, strike authorization has been obtained at the convention a few weeks prior to the strike. However, the watchwords of this year's meeting were, more than ever, complacency and betrayal. In fact, the most significant event of the Kansas City convention was the physical exclusion of the only phone workers' opposition group with a militant program of class struggle—the Militant Action Caucus (see *WV* No. 48, 5 July).

The Company's offers during this year's bargaining were an insult. Predictably, its real offer was saved for the last minute. Even the CWA's bargaining committee, hand-picked by the top leadership, was forced to admit that the offer was totally inadequate. With inflation raging at a 12 percent annual rate the offer called for a mere 6.5 percent increase for the lowest paid workers, ranging up to 10 percent for the highest. As in the last three-year CWA contract, the offer called for *no* cost-of-living protection in the third year and only minimal annual adjustments in the first two!

Though Watts indicated that the total value of the settlement had to be more on the order of a 14 percent hike rather than the Company's offer of under 10, the CWA recently signed an agreement with General Telephone for a mere *6 percent* wage increase, with token cost-of-living adjustments which are to be *subtracted* from the general increase of 36 cents in 1975! These are the real "historic" fruits of the agreement with the Bell System to "bargain nationally," i.e., to eliminate local contract ratification, which outgoing President Beirne trumpeted so loudly as a great victory. Because of this agreement there will be no "legitimate" local strikes, such as the six months' 1971 New York strike, to slow down the onrushing tide of betrayal.

Watts hastened to reassure the Company that even if the union did call a strike there was no hope of making it effective, due to the company's increased use of highly automated equipment and its multitude of "supervisors," who will be allowed to cross picket lines by Watts and Co. (*New York Times*, 19 July). It would never occur to Watts and his toadies, just as it never occurred to Beirne, to use militant action to make a strike effective. Scabbing by supervisors can be effectively dealt with by occupying phone company installations (the sit-down strike).

"No contract, no work," a fundamental trade-union principle, is apparently a primitive relic of the past as far as the present bureaucrats of the CWA are concerned. Moreover, phone workers need a large wage increase, a uniform nationwide pay scale and a full and unlimited cost-of-living escalator. They need protection against layoffs through a shorter workweek at no loss in pay—they, not the company, should benefit from automation. They need an end to "absence control," full sick pay and a one-year contract with the right to strike. All these points were raised in the contract program of MAC, which was distributed at the CWA convention.

Watts, however, is basically interested only in securing the agency shop, and will probably settle for an "offer" not substantially different from the one he already has. While the bureaucracy simply wants to expand its dues base, which has shrunk due to automation, what phone workers need is a closed shop and union hiring hall to take control of hiring out of the hands of AT&T. ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

CWA Ranks Restive Before Contract

Detroit Phone Workers Wildcat

JULY 23—Following the expiration last week of their contracts with the giant AT&T monopoly, top officials of the Communications Workers of America ordered the membership to continue working without a contract. However, their anger heightened by management harassment and the current miserable contract (which provided no cost-of-living protection at all during the last year), the half million CWA phone workers did not see things the same way as their do-nothing leaders. In traditionally militant Michigan frustrations exploded in a wave of wildcat walkouts beginning last Thursday.

At a meeting of Detroit Local 4001 (plant) on the night of the deadline, 600 angry workers insisting on the necessity for strike action completely overwhelmed the local leadership. They demanded to know what the union was for, and at one point a motion was put forward "that the president and the exec board be thrown out the door." Backed into a corner, the Local's president was inspired to agree that, since there was as yet no word on the results of last-minute bargaining, there would be a strike the next day. He thereby managed to clear the hall. Of course, the "word" from the International came later, and no strike was organized by the local officialdom.

Some departments walked out anyway. The Detroit Long Lines local (4050) also struck, and in Lansing phone workers picketed union headquarters to protest the anti-strike policy. While International pressure succeeded in forcing the Long Lines local back to work the following day, the Traffic (operators) local (4000) went out over the weekend. By Sunday and Monday generalized wildcatting had been sparked throughout the Detroit area.

Detroit phone workers were organized into one strong consolidated local until 1968. Then, following a militant wildcat against the sellout contract negotiated by the International, CWA President Joseph Beirne (head of the union for the last 31 years until he stepped down last month because of poor health) split up the bargaining unit into a number of separate departmental locals. There are at present *six* different locals in Detroit's main phone building.

While this division generally plays into the hands of the company, in this case due to widespread anger in the union ranks the operators' militancy spread rapidly. Picket lines were dispatched to a number of garages and other installations throughout the city and in five surrounding towns. Though their Local president implored and beseeched them to take down the lines, the operators stood their ground and were able to keep out a large number of workers.

Operators, who are mostly women, are poorly organized throughout the country, mainly due to the CWA's failure to fight for their needs (and in many cases even to include them in the union). The role played by the Detroit Traffic local in the recent wildcats is one more example of the untapped militancy which is ignored by the chauvinist pro-company labor bureaucracy.

WV PHOTO

Detroit operators wildcat last month.

In the San Francisco Bay Area militant strike meetings were also held. Supporters of an opposition group, the Militant Action Caucus (MAC), presented motions in the Oakland and San Francisco locals condemning in advance any extension of the contract and demanding a strike on the deadline. In Oakland Local 9415 the motion was ruled out of order by Local president Ibsen on the grounds that the outcome of the vote was irrelevant since such a strike would be illegal!

When his decision was overruled by the membership, Ibsen's flunkies filibustered to keep the MAC motion from coming to a vote, driving scores of disgusted members from the room. A "straw poll" conducted earlier in the meeting by the International rep had revealed overwhelming sentiment for a strike. The strike motion was narrowly defeated, however, due to the filibuster's successful decimation of the attendance.

Following in his master's footsteps, the new CWA president Glenn Watts sought to avert a strike at all costs. Beirne had repeatedly proclaimed his conception that strikes ought to be replaced by more "harmonious" methods. But rather than try to convince the

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Extend Bay Area Transit Strike!

OAKLAND, July 20—Over 1,600 bus drivers, mechanics and clerical workers in Division 192 of the Amalgamated Transit Union have been on strike since the beginning of July in a dispute of great interest to all workers, in view of present intolerable rates of inflation. The strike, against the East Bay's AC Transit (public bus system), involves a unique cost-of-living escalator clause negotiated in the last contract two years ago.

The clause contains a compounding factor under which workers get an increase every quarter based on the *full* increase in the consumer price index since June 1972—not merely since the previous quarter. Because of the unanticipated (by management) massive acceleration of inflation, the workers' increases escalated at a dramatic rate—much too dramatic for management, which declared the whole thing a "mistake" and refused to pay the increases!

An "Escalator" Clause as it Should Be!

Bus drivers were to have gotten successive quarterly increases of 2, 4, 9, 14, 21, 27, and lastly 36 cents, totalling $1.13 for the life of the contract. The clause aided lower paid workers the most, as it should, with a total increase of 36 percent for beginning typist-clerks (from $4.17 to $5.69 per hour), compared to a 32 percent increase for top mechanics (from $5.91 to $7.80). The consumer price index rose (only!) 18 percent in the same period. (Figures are from the *San Francisco Chronicle*, 4 July.) Consider the effects such an escalator clause would have if extended throughout the economy: the giant corporations would think more than twice about jacking up prices if they knew they would be punished not only by an immediate wage increase for all their workers, but also by a rising *rate* of increase for each price hike!

The Transit bosses must have been dumbfounded when they discovered this "error," which had been duly signed by their bleary-eyed official negotiator (who is still on the job!) at the 3 a.m. end of a long bargaining session. But being management, it was easy enough for them to simply unilaterally abrogate the contract. Such simple solutions are denied to the workers: the contracts and laws that protect them are designed to serve only the interests of management. But in this case, even the capitalist courts could find no excuse to overturn the legally signed contract, and in an unusual event, rather than challenge "sacred" legality itself, a court upheld an arbitrator's ruling in

WV PHOTO

RCY-organized contingent at July 19 AC Transit strikers' demonstration.

the union's favor. The accumulated increases were finally paid in June, just before the contract ended, in a $2.3 million total settlement.

The strike was sparked when management refused to keep paying wage increases due under the old agreement while a new one was negotiated. (The union leadership was quite willing to keep its members working during negotiations, thus avoiding a militant strike.) As could be expected, management spokesmen denounced the cost-of-living clause as "horrendously expensive" and demanded that it be ended at once. The next hourly increase to bus drivers under the clause, due this month, would have been 41 cents.

As the strike began, there were rumors that management wanted to *take back* some of the increase under the old agreement, resulting in an actual wage cut. In an attempt to dispel these rumors and start a back-to-work movement, Transit Director Bingham sent a letter to all the workers inviting them to return at their full wages as of when the strike began, including the increase, and boasting that these were the highest wages paid to bus drivers in the country (no thanks to management)! Bingham also blasted the strike as "anti-public."

Working people are already taxed heavily enough to support the "public" transit system. Management will no doubt raise the fares or increase pub-

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WORKERS VANGUARD 25¢

No. 51 16 August 1974

Nixon Flees, Ford Reigns

DAILY NEWS

Ruling Class Tidies Up White House

Who Elected Ford?

Extradite Nixon to Hanoi!

AUGUST 12—It is sweetly ironic that by becoming the only U.S. president ever to resign from office, Richard Milhous Nixon, professional anti-communist, crook and elected representative of the American capitalist class, should finally achieve that which he has so long and so earnestly pursued: a "Presidential first." For the bourgeoisie, of course, Nixon's resignation is a preferred solution to the problem of easing a self-evidently paranoid thief and liar out of the presidency with a minimum of disturbance to the functioning of U.S. imperialism. As Nixon noted in his farewell speech, his continuation in office or a full impeachment "might be a dangerously destabilizing process."

With Nixon's "confession" last Monday (admitting to obstruction of the Watergate break-in investigation by attempting to induce the Central Intelligence Agency to persuade the FBI to halt its inquiry on grounds of "national security"), the president in effect threw himself upon the mercy of the American bourgeoisie. For the latter the question was how to most expeditiously remove the commander-in-chief of the leading imperialist power. For a moment there was a flurry of disagreement: the liberal *New York Times* wanted impeachment; the conservative *Wall Street Journal* advocated resignation. But all agreed on two things: an "orderly transfer of power" and speed.

The game now over for Nixon, the bourgeoisie desired nothing more than to sweep the whole Watergate scandal under the rug. A long impeachment hearing and Senate trial could only have had the effect of implicating still more eminent bourgeois politicians and revealing too much about the swindles and chicanery that are, in fact, the everyday content of bourgeois politics. Hence, after brief reflection, the entire capitalist establishment rallied behind Nixon's resignation and is urging that he not be prosecuted.

Thus, while his underlings are being shipped off to jail one by one, the man behind it all is to be allowed to slither off into the realm of lucrative corporate consultancies and ghosted memoirs (valued at $1,000,000), retaining a $60,000 annual "pension" and $96,000 a year for "office expenses." Typically, the day after his resignation Nixon was reported to be meeting in California with his "financial advisors" Bebe Rebozo and Robert Abplanalp. This whole affair was made even more ludicrous by the debate as to whether this gangster had the "legal" right to pardon himself! (The *New York Times* concluded he did but that public opinion would not stand for it.)

Nixon Ousted for Crimes Against the Bourgeoisie

Although Watergate represented the most serious "constitutional crisis" since Reconstruction, the political repercussions growing out of the scandal have had an extremely narrow focus, concentrating on the person, not the politics, of the Nixon administration. Watergate has not reflected a major political rift within the ruling class. Indeed, the overriding concern of the bourgeoisie throughout the crisis was that Nixon was becoming so discredited that he was no longer capable of administering an effective national government.

While political differences existed between Nixon and other ruling-class elements (e.g., on relations with the USSR), the impeachment/resignation drive was simply an attempt to modify the president's behavior toward the rest of the ruling establishment, but not to change the political complexion of the regime. This is apparent from the evident willingness of all wings of the liberal establishment to see Nixon replaced with the neanderthal reactionary Gerald Ford.

An impeachment based upon the notion of "illegal" war-making activities would have threatened, as did the Nuremberg decisions, to unmask the complicity of the entire U.S. capitalist class. Representative Walter Flowers, a Democrat from Alabama, in defending Nixon from a "bad rap" pointed out the obvious implications of such an indictment: "We might as well resurrect President Johnson and impeach him posthumously for Vietnam and Laos as well as impeach President Nixon for Cambodia. We might as well resurrect the memory of John Kennedy for Santo Domingo and the Bay of Pigs. President Eisenhower had his U-2 incident. President Truman in Korea" (*New York Times*, 31 July).

The results of the months of "arduous" work by the Committee are, in summary, the following: Richard Nixon obstructed the Watergate inquiry; he bullied his peers by subjecting them to the surveillance of the Internal Revenue Service and FBI (such surveillance is a routine feature in the life of any ostensibly socialist organization in this country); he failed to "control" his subordinates; and, finally, he ignored authorized subpoenas issued by the Committee itself.

Moreover, the fifty-six allegations of possible Nixon crimes, presented to the House Judiciary Committee on March 1 by its legal staff, were soon stripped of all charges stemming from his reactionary policies or which could be construed to imply that Nixon had committed crimes against the working people. The remainder was quickly distilled to articles which charged the president, in essence, with crimes against the class he represents—the American bourgeoisie.

These "horrors" should be contrasted with his merciless slaughter of many hundred thousands of Southeast Asians; his utter disdain for the welfare of the poor and working people in the U.S.; and his efforts to end "permissiveness" by encouraging murderous police and National Guard assaults. It is for the crimes which he perpetrated against the capitalist class that Nixon was ousted from the White House—his crimes against humanity await the tribunals of the working class.

Presidential "Privilege" Extended

The "momentous" Supreme Court ruling of July 24, hailed as a slap at presidential prerogative and as restoring the "separation of powers" instituted by the U.S. Constitution, actually explicitly authorized extensive and unchallengeable "executive privilege." This substantial widening of the scope of legally recognized presidential powers is merely the judicial acknowledgement of the fact that the world's most powerful and imperial bourgeoisie requires a strong executive arm in order to quickly and efficiently prosecute its aims.

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FURTHER NOTES ON THE IT:

Between Purgatory and Limbo

The Internationalist Tendency, which was expelled en masse from the SWP over the 4th of July, remains suspended in mid-air while its Pabloist masters wrangle among themselves trying to decide what response to take toward the SWP's provocative expulsion. (For earlier details and political background, see "SWP Stages Mass Purge" in *Workers Vanguard* No. 49, 19 July.)

Apparently the present disintegrative potential within Pabloist revisionism is limitless. As the "United Secretariat of the Fourth International" (USec) teeters on the brink of split between its reformist "Leninist-Trotskyist Faction" (LTF) and its petty-bourgeois centrist "International Majority Tendency" (IMT) wings, the IMT itself is beginning to polarize. Behind these new divisions (which are now being brought to a head by the question of formalizing the split with the SWP's faction, the LTF) lie counterposed centrist appetites.

Like the SWP in the early 1960's, Ernest Mandel would like to build support campaigns to enthuse over guerrillaist and nationalist movements. The more active elements centered on the French Front Communiste Révolutionnaire (made desperate by its "severe organizational regression" in the last year) would like a more direct policy. Reportedly this division within the USec Majority is sharpening the enaemic factionalism within the British International Marxist Group, as IMG leader John Ross sides with Mandel while Tariq Ali lines up with the French, or so the story goes.

Thus faced with the threat of a split with the SWP, the USec Majority finds that the "New Mass Vanguard" that it's chasing is actually a couple of different animals. Mandel's "New Mass Vanguard" is perhaps compatible with the SWP's highly legalistic posture but the more tactically extremist elements' "New Mass Vanguard" is much too bristly for the poor tame SWP to swallow.

But twist and turn as they will, the disintegration of the United Secretariat, caught between its own multiple anti-Marxist revisionisms and a rising line of working-class struggle, goes on. The USec has had open splits in Canada, Mexico, Australia, Peru and Spain. Since its 10th Congress this February which was supposed to stop this sort of thing, it has had splits in Argentina and now the United States. Meanwhile "cold" splits prevail in England and Denmark, and the German and Italian sections threaten to blow apart any minute. Today the "United Secretariat of the Fourth International" reminds one, in the disparity between its pretensions and its rotten reality, of the Holy Roman Empire, which was neither Holy, nor Roman, nor an Empire.

Historic Impulse Repeats Itself

When anti-proletarian revisionism came to flower in 1953 in the SWP, the well-known nationwide revisionist faction was led by Bert Cochran, Harry Braverman, George Clarke and Mike Bartell (supported by the European Pabloists). But the Cochran group had no supporters in the Buffalo or Los Angeles branches of the SWP. In those localities the revisionist appetites had already been corralled into two smaller independent factions, the Marcy and Dennis Vern-Sam Ryan groups respectively. With no opportunity for the success of get-rich-quick political schemes in that period the already jaded Cochranites went to pieces within a few years.

The Internationalist Tendency of today has no direct experience with that period, but as a tendency it is politically parallel to the Cochranites of that time and it is backed by most of the same old Europeans of Pablo's entourage, Ernest Mandel, Pierre Frank and Livio Maitan. If the IT today reaches out to Milton Zaslow's Socialist Union, hopes to orient to the Youth Against War and Fascism and enthuses over the newly-discovered theses of Vern-Ryan on Stalinism, it does not do so out of historical memory but because this is in its political genes. Milton Zaslow used to be Mike Bartell; the Zhdanov-like Sam Marcy runs the Youth Against War and Fascism; and Vern-Ryan wrote the Vern-Ryan theses. Truly a case of déjà-vu.

Savage Red-Baiting of the IT

Even prior to its expulsion from the SWP the IT was subjected to threatening and sinister public smears by tools of the House Committee on Internal Security and the FBI. Thus anti-labor newspaper journalist Victor Riesel wrote in his 22 March column:

> "It is easy to trace the terrorist international.... Today this is the United Secretariat of the Fourth International run by Germain-Mandel in Brussels. Its American affiliate is the Socialist Workers Party, still non-violent though it has a deviation called the International [sic] Tendency which believes in terror and its grim variations. It has cells in New York and the Oakland-Berkeley area and points in between such as Bloomington, Ind., Houston, Texas, and in eight other cities."

SWP National Secretary Jack Barnes stated on March 25, according to the *Militant* of 5 April, "that the SWP is *not* 'the American affiliate' of the Fourth International" and "that there are no tendencies, no 'devlations,' no 'dissidents' and no members in the SWP that advocate terrorism." Under the subheading "Agents Provocateurs" the *Militant* went on to quote Barnes: "It is not excluded, of course, that the FBI might 'discover' a 'member' who would echo slanders such as those made by Riesel" and "We know cops try to infiltrate our ranks." Thus the SWP "defended" its Internationalist Tendency, expelling it a few months later.

The government attack on the IT has resumed. In the *Congressional Record* of 24 July a Congressman Ashbrook states:

> "... the Socialist Workers Party, the American Trotskyite organization, has expelled 69 of its members because they support the proterrorist majority of the Fourth International.... The group just expelled which calls itself 'The Internationalist Tendency' supports terrorism but has not engaged in such activity. The two leaders of the 'Internationalist Tendency' William Massey and John Barzman are now operating out of headquarters in Chicago....
>
> "Last year the SWP through their surveillance of the 'Internationalist Tendency' secured a secret letter written from France by Barzman to his comrades in the United States.... Barzman's secret letter was published in the confidential Socialist Workers Party Discussion Bulletin and was reprinted by the House Committee on Internal Security in its hearing on 'The Theory and Practice of Communism,' part three—Expocuba. The letter re-

Stalinists, Nationalists Brutally Attack L.A. Socialist Collective

We reprint below excerpts from a press release by the Socialist Collective, a group of black socialist militants in Los Angeles, denouncing a vicious assault on its members inspired by the Communist Party and Republic of New Africa. This cowardly beating is only the latest in a series of anti-communist attacks on workers democracy by Stalinist and black and Chicano nationalist forces in L.A. Earlier this year the Spartacist League was undemocratically excluded from a conference on immigration by the CP-dominated CASA. As consistent opponents of gangsterism within the left, the Spartacist League vigorously condemns this brutal attempt to suppress the politics of the SC by means of physical coercion. We call on all left-wing, socialist and militant labor organizations to do likewise.

The SL has important political differences with the Socialist Collective. We do not believe that black nationalists are "fascists," since a real fascist movement in this country would be directed *against* the black population (including even the most reactionary nationalist and bourgeois black politicians). Neither do we count the cultist/personalist "Symbionese Liberation Army" as part of the left, as the SC did in an earlier leaflet. As socialists we oppose all forms of race-baiting, including the SC's referring to the Communist Party as "white folks." We reject the Maoist view that the rulers of the USSR are "State Monopoly Capitalists." The Soviet Union is not a capitalist regime but a deformed workers state, whose collectivist property forms must be unconditionally defended by Marxists, despite the counterrevolutionary policies of the parasitic bureaucrats who today rule in the Kremlin.

The SC is sometimes reputed to be Trotskyist, an accusation that is entirely unfounded, as can be seen from its call in a recent leaflet ("Class Struggle in the Black Community") for the establishment of "democratic dictatorships of the proletariat and the peasantry" in Africa. Lenin raised this demand at the time of the first Russian Revolution of 1905, but later transcended it when he called, in his 1917 "April Theses," for "all power to the soviets"—the dictatorship of the proletariat.

When the subject came up during the trade-union debate of 1920-21, Lenin first referred to the Soviet Union as "a workers' and peasants' state," but soon after corrected himself: "I should have said: 'The workers' state is an abstraction. In reality we have a workers' state with the following peculiar features, (1) it is the peasants and not the workers who predominate in the population and (2) it is a workers' state with bureaucratic deformations.'"

But whatever our political differences with the Socialist Collective, these are questions to be discussed in open debate within the workers movement, not "resolved" by such thug attacks. Moreover, the CP/RNA-inspired assault was a deliberate attempt to prevent any expression of independent working-class politics in the black community, just as the CP has sought to exclude opponents of its class collaborationism from the Chicano movement and Chile solidarity demonstrations.

For the CP this attack is the expression of a long history of bureaucratic suppression of political opponents to its left, extending back to its degeneration in the late 1920's as a

Notice

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vealed that Barzman has received advice and instructions from Alain Krivine and Gerard Vergeat. Krivine was arrested by the French government as one of the main instigators of the violence that led to the outlawing of the Communist League. Vergeat has among his other duties liaison with Arab terrorist groups and is attempting to organize an Arab Trotskyite organization. "One of the complaints made by Massey against the SWP was that—'the SWP leadership has refused to put forth an adequate defense of the 'Internationalist Tendency' which has been the target of a series of attacks not only on the part of the House Internal Security Committee of the U.S. Congress, but on the part of a number of its pimp journalists.'...if Mr. Massey and his friends confine themselves to sitting around the coffee table and talking, obviously the authorities will take no action against them. But if they decide to translate talk into action, they will find that the authorities know where to locate them."

Clearly the defense of the fT against this campaign of witchhunting, red-baiting threats is an elementary obligation on the part of all sections of the labor and socialist movments, not least those who call themselves "Trotskyist." This is especially so because the IT cannot now even speak out in its own defense. Both the SWP and the fT's political leaders in the USec Majority are trying to keep the split a secret (after all, to date it's only been reported in *Workers Vanguard* and the *Congressional Record*). Furthermore and in any case the IT presently has no press of its own.

The Spartacist League states categorically that the comrades of the fT are not police provocateurs; they are genuine and dedicated socialists. We stand ready to enter into common action with any other section of the socialist movement in defense of their full rights and good name. We demand of the SWP similar action. ■

result of Stalin's usurpation of the Russian party and the Communist International. Along the way, the "gravedigger of the revolution" ordered the assassination of Leon Trotsky, several thousand Left Oppositionists and virtually all surviving members of the Bolshevik Central Committee which led the 1917 Russian Revolution. The shameless reformists of the Communist Party are today faithfully living up to their Stalinist heritage.

While various left groups who witnessed the bureaucratic expulsion of the Spartacist League from the March immigration conference in L.A. either remained silent (International Socialists) or suggested to the CP that there were "better ways" to suppress Trotskyist politics (the Socialist Workers Party's response), we hope that these fake socialists do not adopt the same criminally abstentionist attitude toward this Stalinist/nationalist assault on the Socialist Collective. Only by a principled struggle for workers democracy, by opposing all gangsterism and undemocratic exclusionism within the left, will it be possible for the revolutionary vanguard to raise the proletariat to a consciousness of its historic interests and tasks. Physical suppression of tendencies within the workers movement always serves the ruling class.

Catcalls Greet Democratic Governor

Jersey Hardhats Demand Jobs Now

UPI

TRENTON, N.J., 29 July—A throng of 25,000 construction workers from throughout New Jersey besieged the state capitol here today demanding jobs. With government statistics reporting a 30 percent unemployment rate among building tradesmen in the state and 20,000 fewer workers employed in the industry today compared to a year ago, the demonstrators were in a militant mood. "We want work!" chanted the crowd on several occasions. Signs included demands for "Work, Not Welfare," "We Need More Construction Now" and "End the Depression in N.J."

While the demonstration was tightly controlled by the union bureaucrats who called it (with the approval of contractors, who gave tradesmen the day off so they could attend), the workers roundly booed Democratic Party bigwigs who had been invited to speak. Governor Byrne, elected with AFL-CIO backing, received a chorus of catcalls when he attempted to put the blame for unemployment on Nixon and promised jobs by 1976. "Jobs, Not Promises," responded the hardhats.

The bureaucracy clearly staged this demonstration to dissipate burgeoning militancy among the rank and file. Following Nixon's 1971 wage freeze the construction unions—traditionally leaders in wage increases—knuckled under, accepting pay hikes substantially less than the current rate of inflation. So when controls were lifted this spring, angry construction workers unleashed a wave of strikes throughout the country. But while wages have gone up since May, so has unemployment, often dramatically.

Governor Byrne is quite right to point out that the problem is not limited to New Jersey. Neither is Nixon alone responsible. In fact, the current slump in the construction industry is simply the second front in the developing economic crisis that first hit auto production late last year. The problem cannot be solved without a frontal attack on the capitalist system and both of the bosses' parties.

The Militant Solidarity Caucus of UAW Local 906 (Mahwah Ford) attended the demonstration with signs calling for "Jobs for all—30 hours work for 40 hours pay" and "No gov't. interference in union affairs—For a workers' party based on the trade unions." The New Jersey AFL-CIO support for Democratic Governor Byrne and George Meany's current blubberings about what a great president the arch-conservative, anti-labor Republican Gerald Ford will make underline the fact that winning these demands requires a struggle to oust the present sellout pro-capitalist labor bureaucracy.

But the emphatic opposition to both Democratic and Republican Party politicos at this afternoon's rally shows that this perspective can win wide support in the current period of sharp governmental instability, mounting unemployment and grinding inflation. Not Ford in the White House, but new elections and a workers party!

Socialist Collective Press Release

On Saturday, July 20, 1974, nine members of the Socialist Collective (seven men, one of which was crippled, and two women) were viciously attacked by some forty, armed men from several "Pan African" and poverty program, hustler-type organizations (under the guidance and directives of members of the Communist Party, U.S.A., and the so-called Republic of New Africa). Consequent to the assault, one member of the Socialist Collective had to have six sutures beneath his left eye, another suffered from three cracked and two broken ribs, and another (a young woman) suffered a breakdown due to emotional distress. Others suffered from various injuries stemming from the cowardly ambush.

The attack was pre-meditated and well co-ordinated by Communist Party member, ex-[*Los Angeles*] *Sentinel* columnist and *Sepia* employee, Emily Gibson and by Ed Bradley, who is the National Treasurer of the Republic of New Africa. The attack was moreover politically motivated from the Communist Party's point of view, as they, through their black "cadre", *i.e.* Gibson, etc. fired up racist animosities of members from the now inactive African Peoples Party (not affiliated with the African Peoples Revolutionary Party), the Umoja Center, the Pan-Africanist Congress, and the professional poverty pimp gang known as the Sons of Watts: the nationalists were told by Emily Gibson that the Socialist Collective is an organization run by whites and were in fact agents of "white folks" who were sent into the black community to disrupt and destroy some fantastic nationalist notion of "Black Unity". Ignorant of the facts, fired up by emotions and blind fanaticism, the Pan-Africanists, in the name of black people(sic), savagely and piggishly brutalized the nine SC members. Ignorant of the facts, fired up by emotions and blindly misled by the Communist Party, which *is* a predominantly "white" organization, the *fascists*—and we don't use this term loosely (American black nationalists are known anti-labor, anti-communist, pro-capitalist thugs that have historically terrorized the revolutionary left), acted on the side of "white folks", *i.e.*, the Communist Party, against "black folks", *i.e.*, the Socialist Collective. Politically, the nationalist attackers stood on the side of the State which itself has been trying (without success) to terrorize the SC. By attacking the SC the nationalists stood with the State Monopolist Capitalists of the Soviet Union whose policies the American Communist Party represent, and who have historically, in the name of the movement, repressed and suppressed independent working class activities against capitalism. Objectively, the Pan-Africanists, by attacking the Socialist Collective, attacked also the black community....

Since the Socialist Collective was formed early this year, it has had repeated political conflict with the Communist Party. During planning meetings for a Chile demonstration to be held May 11, 1974, the Socialist Collective was excluded from meetings by Communist Party members and threatened with violence if the SC resisted. The incident of July 20th was the carrying out of that threat.

Until stated otherwise, the Socialist Collective is holding the Communist Party and the Republic of New Africa responsible for the July 20th assault....We are therefore calling on all left, trade unions, socialists, "Pan-Africanists", Intercommunalists, and democratic organizations to stand with the Socialist Collective and condemn the Republic of New Africa and the Communist Party for using goons to attack nine Black Socialists in South Central Los Angeles.

Socialist Collective

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Food riot in New Delhi.

Protests Against Hunger and Corruption Plague Gandhi Regime

India is at present experiencing the convulsions of what is perhaps its most critical social crisis in the 27 years since independence and partition. In 1969, after a crushing defeat in the general elections, Prime Minister Indira Gandhi managed to successfully restore the credibility of her compromised and factionally crippled Congress Party. First demagogically denouncing a section of the Congress "old guard" as representatives of the vested interests, Gandhi then split from her scapegoats.

Taking advantage of the disillusionment with the ostensibly left alternative presented by Stalinist-led popular front governments in the states of Kerala and West Bengal, Gandhi proclaimed the post-split Congress Party now to be the party of "democratic socialism" and raised the slogan "garībī hatāo" "Remove Poverty!" An ensuing wave of "Indira euphoria," expressed in the Congress sweep of the 1971 Parliamentary elections, was further sustained with the national chauvinfsm whipped up after Gandhi's victory over Pakistan in the Bangladesh war of 1971.

In the intervening period, however, the aroused illusions of the Indian masses have been cruelly shattered by the alarming and deepening economic crisis of the past several years. The stagnant national growth (a total of 7 percent in 1971-74, with an actual decline in 1972-73), uncontrollable inflation and spiraling unemployment (in the last year alone increasing to over 25 percent and 35 percent respectively), critical shortages of all basic necessities coupled with the monstrous growth of a parallel black market economy and flagrant corruption at all levels of government have produced agonizing hardships for the already impoverished and desperate masses.

A partial indication not only of the growing rejection of the bankrupt "socialist" policies of the Congress but also of increased receptivity to reactionary caste, communal and linguistic polarization were the February state elections in the politically pivotal traditional Congress stronghold of Uttar Pradesh. While in 1971 the Congress polled 49 percent as against the combined 37 percent of the right opposition parties, in 1974 Congress slipped to 32 percent and the total right opposition vote climbed to over 49 percent. But the depth of the discontent and the complex shifts in the moods of the masses are revealed far more forcefully by the massive anti-government upheavals that have rocked the states of Gujarat and Bihar this year.

Popular Unrest in Gujarat

The struggles which were soon to engulf Gujarat had their origins in some isolated demonstrations opposing the sharp increase in dormitory meal costs by students of the engineering colleges at Ahmedabad and Morvi in early January. When their grievances were summarily dismissed and protests violently suppressed by the police, student demonstrations of support occurred throughout the state, leading to bloody clashes with the police and government closure of all colleges and universities.

At the same time the Fourteenth August Workers Committee, a front of leftist trade unions in Gujarat, issued the call for a January 10 Ahmedabad *bandh* (a political general strike involving the cessation of all public, commercial and industrial activity) in protest of rising prices and increased repression. Seeking to launch a massive student movement around demands for lower dormitory food rates, a shake-up in the corrupt administration, reopening of the schools and ending repression, the student activists likewise called for a *bandh* for the same day.

This joint student/union agitation intersected an especially vulnerable state Congress regime. There was pervasive bitter recognition that the critical shortage of foodgrains following a bumper harvest in the wealthiest state of India was possible only because corrupt politicians, in collusion with hoarders and black marketeers, were failing to enforce the established system of state procurement and distribution of grain.

In addition, the local Congress Party was wracked by an internecine struggle between the Chief Minister Chimanbhai Patel and the party dissidents whom he had ousted from the previous Ministry. Hoping to increase their constituency for a factional struggle against the Patel Ministry, these dissidents had organized an "Anti-Price Rise Conference" on January 5 in Ahmedabad which served to fuel the simmering discontent over inflation.

The agitation against price rises and corruption crystallized a deep sullen popular dissatisfaction. The successful Ahmedabad *bandh* instantaneously triggered large-scale rioting throughout the state; mob attacks on granaries, government provision stores and property; and local *bandhs* which spread to more than 70 towns. The government responded with the imposition of a month's curfew. During the next weeks these bread riots, political demonstrations and violent clashes with the police escalated despite the most vicious state repression, culminating in a massive 36-hour statewide *bandh*. Civil disorder became so prevalent that Gandhi was forced to clamp curfews on 43 towns and deploy in over 60 areas the Army, Border Security Force, Central Reserve Police and State Police.

Student Vanguard Emerges

Under the impact of this totally unanticipated and staggering explosion of mass fury, the leading student activists were jolted from their initial narrow student-centered demands and inspired to raise some banner of revolt that could rally and lead the anti-Congress upsurge. Students were called upon to form Nav Nirmān Yuvak Samiti (Youth Committees for Building Anew) and organize around the demands for the resignation of the hated Patel Ministry, an end to all government corruption and an end to shortages and inflation.

But the Youth Committees emerged in a unique political vacuum. The eruption of social turmoil brought to the surface for the first time an almost universal alienation from the traditional left and right opposition parties based on the sentiment that these parties had all to some degree abandoned their professed scruples to unprincipled electoralism in their effort to replace the ruling Congress in the assembly and in Parliament. The leadership of the Youth Committees, which ideologically ranged from vague utopian socialism to frustrated conservatism, therefore established the Youth Committees as adamantly non-partisan.

As a result of their courageous militancy and idealistic fervor for some fundamental but vague "building anew," the students in the Youth Committees rapidly came to the head of the growing upsurge as the recognized leadership. It is essential to realize that formations like the Youth Committees represent a response to conditions of manifest social crisis and polarization by the volatile petty-bourgeois studentry, but lack the class basis and coherent program to become a stable,

Aftermath of bloody Hindu-Muslim communal clash in Delhi, May 1974. Riot was provoked by para-military arm of the Jan Sangh, which controls the city government.

AP

independent instrument in the class struggle. As demonstrated by the 1971 JVP student-youth uprising in Ceylon, this year's student demonstrations in Thailand and the 1965 Indonesian student riots, such student movements ostensibly based on populism, nationalism, or even moral revivalism are quite capable under certain conditions of developing in a leftist, liberal bourgeois or even in an openly rightist direction.

With the powerful class organizations of the Gujarati proletariat still under their established Stalinist, social-democratic and Gandhian yellow-union leaderships, workers supported and entered the struggles essentially on an atomized, individual basis. Thus the student movement to a significant degree expressed the felt desperation and frustration of the urban petty bourgeoisie and lumpens. But it is precisely this large layer that has provided the social basis of the reactionary Jan Sangh, although the latter mobilizes not around populism, but on the basis of caste and communalism.

Fall of the Gujarat Government

On February 9 the beleaguered Patel Ministry, already weakened by the defections of all politically sensible Congressmen, was finally forced to resign, the state legislative assembly suspended by New Delhi and "President's Rule" (federal intervention) imposed on the state. Although the downfall of the Ministry fully satisfied Congress Party dissidents, who only desired a rapid return to political normalcy and the reconstitution of a new Congress Ministry, the political climate of Gujarat remained inflamed and the popular mood combative.

When the Youth Committees initiated a new campaign demanding the complete dissolution of the state legislative assembly, violent mass demonstrations once again broke out. Unable to supress the anti-government upheaval that had already claimed 103 dead, 310 injured and 8,053 arrested, New Delhi was forced on March 15 to dissolve the state assembly, thereby completing the fall of the Congress government in Gujarat.

After almost delirious celebrations over this truly Pyrrhic victory in Ahmedabad, the mass movement simply dissipated, and along with it the amorphous Youth Committees. The student movement for "building anew" collapsed entirely, and its central leadership was to split several months later along cliquist lines and amid mutual recriminations of dishonesty and corruption!

During the Gujarat movement both the reformist and reactionary opposition parties—the social-democratic Socialist Party, the left-Stalinist Communist Party (Marxist), the right-wing Hindu communalist Jan Sangh (People's Party), the monopolist-capitalist Swatantra (Freedom) Party and the rival Syndicate Congress—could support to different degrees the classless demand for dissolution of the government, each hoping thereby to gain in the inevitable elections to the new state assembly.

The pro-Moscow Communist Party of India (CPI), with the reformist theory of a "two-stage revolution" and its class-collaborationist corollary of strategic alliance with the "progressive" section of the national bourgeoisie represented by Indira Gandhi, could in the early stages of the agitation gingerly pursue a policy of calling for the resignation of the venal Patel Ministry. As the CPI noted: "His image is so tarnished that no one—not even Congressmen—are prepared to defend him publicly" (*Link*, 3 February).

But when the demand for bringing down the entire Congress-controlled state assembly was raised, the CPI more than adequately demonstrated its servility before the Congress High Command by denouncing "the hand of inimical foreign agencies supporting the fascistic forces running the new phase of the agitation" (*Link*, 3 March).

Anti-Corruption Movement in Bihar

As the anti-government demonstrations reached their peak in Gujarat, a similar movement began to develop in the destitute state of Bihar. Jayaprakash Narayan—national hero of the 1943 anti-colonialist "Quit India" struggle, founder-leader of the Socialist Party and presently foremost figure of the reactionary-utopian Sarvodaya (Gandhian social uplift) movement—had initiated a moralistic anti-corruption campaign among the traditional politically-alfiliated student federations in February. Narayan's exhortations for a "partyless democracy" led to the creation of the Chhātra Sangharsh Samiti (Student Action Committee) as the organizing center for a new student movement "uncorrupted" by any affiliations with political parties.

In early March the Student Action Committee and Jayaprakash Narayan's "Youth Peace Corps" jointly called upon students to "repeat Thailand and Gujarat in Bihar" by building an anti-corruption, anti-inflation movement to force the resignation of the badly factionalized and notoriously corrupt Ministry of Abdul Ghafoor. Shortly alter, the Patna University Students' Union, controlled by the powerful student front of the reactionary Jan Sangh, called for a *gherão* (forcible detention by surrounding) of the Bihar State Assembly in Patna on March 18.

Preceded by the news of the fall of the Gujarat government and by violent student demonstrations in Patna and Bettiah leading to the closure of all the schools, the Patna *gherão* drew over 10,000 students. It ended in mass civil disorder, clashes with the Border Security Police and the imposition of military rule. The student agitation catalyzed widespread anti-government actions as in Gujarat, producing an all-Bihar *bandh* on March 23 and a huge march in Patna on April 8 in defiance of the curfew. When on April 12 the police fired indiscriminately into a peaceful demonstration at Gaya, mass outrage demanded an end to the state Congress government. While the Jan Sangh students had advocated the dissolution of the assembly from the outset of the Bihar movement, it was only now that Jayaprakash Narayan and the SAC adopted this demand.

As long as the dissolution demand had been confined to the Jan Sangh, the CPI did not actively oppose the growing movement to force the resignation of the despised Ghafoor Ministry. Thus, the Stalinists opined that "The resignation of the Ghafoor Ministry was the only way to save democracy [i.e., the Congress government]" (*Hindusthan Times*, 23 March). But, following the same scenario as in Gujarat, as soon as the demand to bring down the state government received the authority of Jayaprakash Narayan and the mass backing of the SAC, the CPI was forced to mobilize its relatively strong forces in Bihar to prop up the isolated Congress regime. Events in Bihar then developed into pro- and anti-dissolution campaigns.

The CPI organized the competing Bihar State Youth Struggle March, which "exposed the fact that the Chhātra Sangharsh Samiti [the SAC] is being aided and abetted by black marketeers, profiteers, hoarders, etc., in their sinister campaign for the dissolution of the Bihar state assembly" (*Youth Life*, 8 May). On June 3 the CPI, with the thinly concealed assistance of the government, organized a mass demonstration of nearly 100,000 in Patna marching under such slogans as "American Agent Jayaprakash Get Out of Patna!" and "Don't Disturb Democracy!"

The counter-demonstration of the Student Action Committee, led personally by Jayaprakash Narayan two days later, however, drew about one million and carried petitions for the dissolution of the assembly bearing two million signatures. The Stalinists were concerned only in demonstrating to the Congress that the CPI could indeed provide the extra force for the maintenance of Congress rule: "... had the CPI not valiantly fought the forces under Jayaprakash Narayan, the Congress would have surrendered long ago" (*Link*, 16 June).

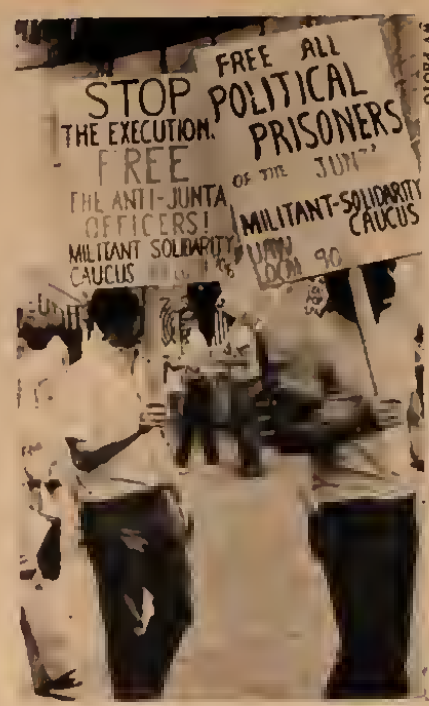
As demoralization hung over Gujarat, the Bihari students continued to mount populist campaigns, and similar protest movements soon spread to other states. But the announcement in April of a nationwide strike by trade unions representing the two million workers of India's enormous state-owned railways came as a far more threatening challenge to the continued rule of the Congress government. Such working-class action would completely paralyze the failing economy, and thus constitute a political confrontation directly posing the question of state power.

TO BE CONTINUED

India in crisis: Popular front governments elected in Kerala and West Bengal in 1969. Gujarat and Bihar recently experienced mass protests over food shortages, government corruption.

Militants Protest Chile Death Sentences

WV PHOTO



WV PHOTO

On July 30 the Chilean junta announced draconian sentences for some 64 prisoners, including 56 Air Force officers and enlisted men. Four were condemned to death. Two days later a picket was held in front of the UN protesting the sentences.

As in recent NYC Chile demonstrations, the SL/RCY contingent was the largest in attendance. It is significant that only five days earlier the reformists (CP, SWP and hangers-on) had attracted several thousand people to Madison Square Garden to hear Mrs. Allende; but to stop the executions they mobilized only two dozen supporters. On August 5 the death sentences were commuted to 38-year prison terms.

INDIA IN CRISIS

The Meaning of Recent Social Convulsions

An Eyewitness Account

Speaker: Charles O'Brien
RCY National Committee
Spartacist League

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Slump/Inflation: No End in Sight

DAILY WORLD/JAPAN PRESS SERVICE

JULIGER

Top: Japanese postal workers demonstrate last year. Bottom: Turkish workers strike at Cologne Ford plant, September 1973.

Italy's famous art museums are being closed and Italian families are now supposed to consume 10 percent less meat on orders from the international bankers. Rumors of a military coup needed to impose "austerity" flourish; so does talk of bringing the CP into the government to help sell the needed "sacrifices" to the working masses. In short, Italy has entered a period of sharp economic and political crisis in which bourgeois democracy and the capitalist order are called into question. It is generally recognized that the current situation has not been caused by the internal particularities of Italian society. Rather, Italian "austerity" and its threat to bourgeois democracy are the most acute manifestation of the world slump in the face of unprecedented global inflation.

Riding the Inflation Tiger

Following a period of stagnation among the advanced capitalist countries, beginning in 1971 there occurred an exceptionally uniform and sharp worldwide boom. The unanticipated world demand quickly ran up against a bottleneck in primary product supply, with world food output actually declining in 1972. This is at bottom a reflection of the anarchy of capitalist production. Induced by physical shortages, the supply bottlenecks of primary products became and have remained essentially speculative and cartel-manipulated.

This trend culminated in the action of the oil cartel in quadrupling prices of crude petroleum last fall. The oil cartel is an alliance between the propertied classes in the Near East and a *section* of U.S. capital. (The repatriated profits of the oil majors, about $2 billion, were the largest positively increasing item in the U.S. balance of payments during early 1974.) The dollar value of world oil imports has gone from $20 billion in 1972 to a projected $100 billion this year (*Foreign Affairs*, July 1974).

The fourfold increase in oil prices has had both a major inflationary impact and a contractionary effect on production, while playing havoc with the international financial system and radically altering the balance of economic power among the major capitalist countries. For the first time since 1958 there is a general worldwide slump, but this time with a major aggravating factor—an unprecedented massive inflation throughout the capitalist world. National income in the major capitalist countries fell at an annual rate of 1.5 percent in the first half of 1974, with inflation running at 15 percent a year (OECD, *Economic Outlook*, July 1974).

The slump has predictably generated a dog-eat-dog trade war with virtually all countries trying to cut imports and expand exports through dumping. As the London *Economist* observed, recent relatively optimistic forecasts by various governments are based on the assumption that each country will increase its share of world trade—an obvious mathematical impossibility. The Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) arrives at the prediction that Japan, Britain and Italy can right their economies by assuming that West Germany and the U.S. would permit themselves a $9 billion balance of payments deficit this year. Perhaps Santa Claus will help too.

Only quite recently have the ministers in the major deficit countries realized how truly grim their export prospects are, given the world conjuncture. Adopting the traditional "stiff upper lip," Britain's Chancellor of the Exchequer, Denis Healey reportedly observed:

> "There is concern in some Community countries that the pace of expansion in the U.S. isn't adequate to support the demand that is going to be necessary to world trade in the next year."
> —*Wall Street Journal*, 16 July

Throughout the capitalist world, credit is now so overextended that even a modest contraction of production will cause widespread bankruptcies. In May it was announced that the Franklin National Bank, the twentieth largest in the U.S., was in deep trouble and had to be saved by over *$1 billion* in Federal Reserve loans. Then in early June, Japan suffered its biggest bankruptcy in decades when Nihon Netsugoka, an appliance manufacturer, couldn't meet more than $250 million in debts. The biggest shock thus far came later that month when Bankhaus I.D. Herstatt of Cologne, one of the largest private banks in Germany, fell with a rumored $400 million in debt. International currency transactions were reduced to a bare minimum for days as ripples of the Herstatt collapse spread throughout the world: much of the loss was sustained by other banks, which were unable to collect on uncompleted international transactions.

Bankruptcies mean more than a quantitative contraction of output; they involve a fundamental disorganization of capitalist production and large *unpredictable* transfers of real assets within the capitalist class. For the bourgeoisie, a wave of bankruptcies is a far greater horror than either a sharp contraction of production or escalating inflation.

The relation of the capitalists to inflation has become that of the proverbial man riding a tiger. They are afraid to stay on and afraid to get off. Numerous pious statements to the contrary, all capitalist governments are continuing to expand money and credit in order to stave off bankruptcies. Interest rates, although high by absolute historical standards, are low relative to the current rates of inflation and continue to induce borrowing for speculative purposes.

With the partial exception of West Germany, the present policy of all the capitalist governments is to transform a classic crisis with massive bankruptcies into an orderly contraction of production centering on consumer goods and social services. This means a major redistribution of value from consumables to money capital through some form of austerity program—i.e., raising taxes, cutting social services and imposing state wage control. The most austere of these "austerity" programs is now being imposed in Italy.

Italy: The Big Loser

With the greatest dependence on Near Eastern oil and the highest inflation rate in West Europe, it was predictable that the Italian economy would be in big trouble as a result of the oil price explosion. Furthermore, during the past few years Italy has had massive balance of payments deficits, in part because its wealthier citizens had taken to importing mink coats and antique jade as inflation hedges. As a result it is now the world's largest debtor, owing foreign banks some $10.5 billion.

Italy's new austerity program was literally dictated by the finance ministers of its creditors, notably West Germany's Hans Apel. The program calls for $4.6 billion in new sales taxes designed to cut consumption by 5 percent. At the same time, the Christian Democratic/Socialist coalition government is empowered to lend businesses and state agencies up to $39 billion (*Wall Street Journal*, 8 July).

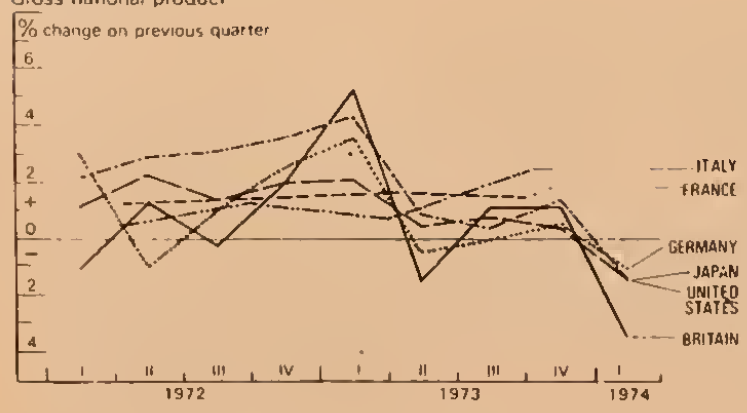
The Italian Communist Party has used the economic crisis to push its "historic compromise" with the Christian Democrats, arguing that it would only be fitting for the dominant working-class party to take responsibility for slashing the workers' living standards. Rebuffed once again by the Christian Democrats, the CP and its trade-union federation accepted the need for "austerity" in principle, while criticizing the Christian Democratic/Socialist program as inequitable. Shortly after the "austerity" program was voted in parliament the trade unions, dominated by the CP, called some regional four-hour strikes to appease their ranks. However their real policy is acquiescence.

The Christian Democratic/Socialist coalition is trying to sell the "austerity" program as the only alternative to total economic collapse. As Premier Mariano Rumor put it:

> "We know full well that we have asked heavy sacrifices of the Italians, but we must immediately tackle two great problems—to correct the balance of payments deficits and resolutely combat inflation and to guarantee the credit that is the oxygen for insuring produc-

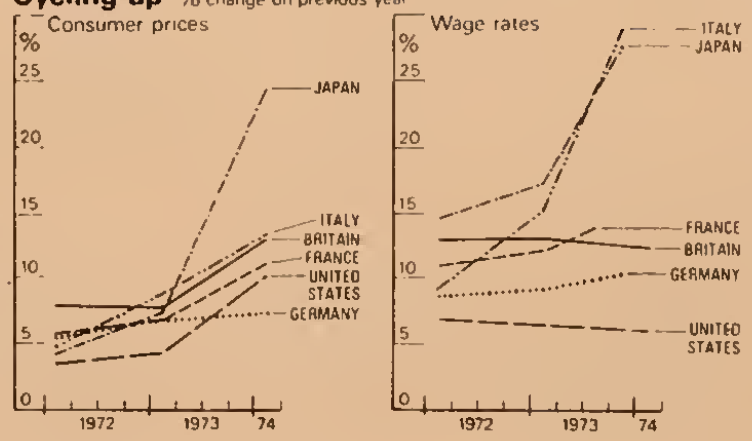
All fall down

Gross national product



Cycling up % change on previous year

ECONOMIST



Ohio public employees on strike in July.

Italian unions protest inflation, tax increases.

tion renewal, employment level and the policies of development and reforms."
—*Wall Street Journal*, 8 July

In effect, the Rumor/Saragat regime is proposing to workers the following deal: accept lower incomes via increased taxes and the government promises to sustain industrial employment through effective use of state credit. Even if the CP maneuvers the workers into accepting their side of the bargain, the Rumor/Saragat government *cannot* stave off widespread plant closures and bankruptcies. Any attempt to underwrite profit losses through credit expansion would further fuel the inflation, thus increasing the balance of payments deficit and bringing the international financial wolves down on Italy again.

The *Wall Street Journal* (19 July), in an editorial critical of Italy's economic policy, correctly asserted that higher sales taxes are not an effective substitute for a hard credit squeeze. By fall, Italy will be in a severe industrial slump with ever-mounting unemployment. The fragile agreement between international finance capital, the Italian coalition regime and the trade unions will be ripped apart.

West Germany: The Perils of the Strong

West Germany currently has the largest foreign exchange reserves in the world, some $34 billion; the U.S. is next highest at $15 billion (*Economist*, 22 June). West Germany is also the only major capitalist country with a rate of inflation below 10 percent. To be more concrete, West Germany has the largest foreign exchange reserves precisely because it has the lowest rate of inflation.

West Germany's booming trade surpluses are the direct result of a successful deflation policy undertaken last year. This cut economic growth from 9 percent (on an annual basis) in the first half of 1973 to *zero* in the second half (OECD, *Economic Outlook*, July 1974). The Schmidt/Genscher (Social Democrat/Free Democrat) regime in Bonn is now engaged in a campaign of self-praise lauding West Germany as a model of economic virtue and the Protestant ethic to be univerally emulated. To quote Chancellor Schmidt:

> "Germany's policy of economic stability is a mixture of initiatives in four areas: foreign currency, credit, taxation and budgetary measures in the classic sense of the phrase. This of course led to a fall off in domestic demand and small price increases in the home market.... It is also clear that countries which did not restrict demand were indirectly pushing their economies into buying in Germany where prices were relatively lower."
> —*Manchester Guardian Weekly*, 22 June

What Schmidt does not say is that his capacity to opt for increased unemployment in order to deflate comes from the fact that a large fraction of those thrown out of work is not German. Unemployment is concentrated among West Germany's 2.5 million foreign workers, who are simply shipped back home. Since last fall, the foreign workforce in Germany has decreased by 150,000, equal to about 30 percent of the official unemployment totals. These also contain a large fraction of foreign workers (*Economist*, 8 June). In good part, the political and economic problems of rising unemployment in Germany have been quite literally transferred to Turkey, Yugoslavia and Italy. That is the reason why stagnation-level unemployment is relatively painless for the German bourgeoisie.

Riding high on its trade surplus, the Schmidt/Genscher/Apel regime has been the prime proponent for global austerity, deflation and unemployment. However, there are limits to the degree that West Germany can drive its major trading partners into "austerity" and/or bankruptcy. Indeed, there are real limits to West Germany's ability to collect on its loans. (West Germany does not now possess the "extra-financial" mechanisms which U.S. imperialism periodically employs to collect its past-due loans in regions such as Latin America, for example.) Schmidt's Swiss banker policies run the risk of driving his trading partners into a frenzy of anti-German economic nationalism.

Schmidt's hard line on Italy and even harder line on Britain are already leading to the breakup of the Common Market, which has been a privileged German trade area. Actually, after cooperating with the Arab oil boycott against Holland and accepting Italy's reimposition of tariff barriers this spring, the Common Market has become pretty much of an empty shell.

At the time of Britain's entry we published an analysis of the Common Market ("Labor and the Common Market," *WV* No. 15, January 1973). In that article we polemicized against Ernest Mandel, theoretician/leader of the revisionist "Trotskyist" United Secretariat, for his somewhat agnostic neo-Kautskyan notion that the Common Market could evolve into a unified European capitalist government. We asserted that, on the contrary, a serious economic downturn would break the Common Market apart:

> "Such mergers will crumble along with the rest of Mandel's pipedream (he expected the common European currency to continue) at the first general downturn as all the European capitalists scurry back to their nation-states in self-protection from each other."

The current break-up of the Common Market is simply a concrete manifestation of the Marxist precept that a global economic contraction intensifies inter-imperialist conflict.

Japan: The Oil Shokku and the Seiran-Kei

Hardest hit of all by the oil crisis is Japan. Economic growth plummeted from 13 percent (on an annual basis) in the first half of 1973 to 3 percent in the second half to *-7 percent* in the first half of 1974. However, unlike West Europe, Japan has not yet confronted the labor movement with a deflationary/austerity program. The monopolies met the annual spring wage offensive with a 25 percent increase, roughly keeping pace with the inflation.

Japanese capitalism is desperately trying to get out of trouble by the time-tested method of an export drive. By a credit crunch to lower domestic trade, the government has forced manufacturers to dump on the world market in order to sustain some kind of cash flow. Thus far the tactic has been successful, with Japanese exports rising 11 percent in the first half of 1974 compared with a mere 3 percent in the second half of last year (OECD, *Economic Outlook*, July 1974). However, Japan's so-far successful export drive will not go unnoticed nor unpunished. The U.S. and West Europe will not tolerate being swamped with cheap Japanese manufactures. Japan cannot export its way out of trouble this time.

During the past three years, Japanese capitalism has suffered major blows at the hands of U.S. imperialism, not least being the collusion of the oil majors, State Department and Persian Gulf sheikdoms. To date Japan's only response has been to increase its export competitiveness even more. But in the long run, for the Japanese ruling class the attempt to counter American global political-military power solely with ever-lower export prices is unbearable. It will not be borne much longer.

Recently the militarist-revanchist section of the Japanese ruling class has emerged from the underground to become an open faction in the governing Liberal Democratic Party. In July 1973 some 32 right-wing parliamentarians, displaying a flare for melodrama, signed in blood the "Seiran-Kei Manifesto," which contained among four other demands:

> "Revise the materialistic trend and normalize education in order to enhance national moral principles.... "Challenge the priorities of national defense and security on the principle that self-preparedness alone is the way to peace...."
> —*Far Eastern Economic Review*, 13 May 1974

Behind the ultra-right and seemingly bizarre Seiran-Kei stands the powerful and respectable faction of Takeo Fukuda, who recently resigned as finance minister in order to attempt to oust and replace Tanaka as premier. The Japanese ruling class has a bitter historical memory of what global economic contraction and trade war mean for its country. The views of Takeo Fukuda, the next likely premier of Japan, on the state of the world are of great interest to revolutionary Marxists. He has been reported as saying:

> "In a way the world economic situation today resembles that which prevailed before World War II. While strenuous efforts were being exerted by countries after World War I to avoid a further major conflict, the world economy, especially after the Hoover moratorium, deteriorated into chaos. Efforts for global cooperation failed to bear fruit, egocentrism was rampant and the world economy moved relentlessly toward regionalization and the formation of economic blocs. This was, in broad sweep, the situation that prevailed before World War II, and in which I find a resemblance in the world economic situation today."
> —*Ibid.*

United States: The Stumbling Giant

Whether the present world economic contraction turns into a full-blown depression depends above all on the U.S. And the American economy gives every sign of dragging the world into a depression.

The U.S. seemed headed for a typical cyclical contraction in the spring of 1974. The oil crisis caused an earlier uneven contraction, with certain sectors (auto, housing construction) falling to depression levels while others (e.g., steel, coal) operated at flat-out capacity. The factors presently keeping a floor under output—overcoming bottlenecks, rebuilding depleted inventory levels and completing investment projects already underway—should exhaust themselves by early 1975, thereby leading to a further sharp contraction. A recent survey by the authoritative Conference Board indicated that investment appropriations have already fallen slightly in money terms (for the first time in nearly three years), which means an enormous drop in real investment commitments (*Wall Street Journal*, 30 May). Thus by early 1975 investment should plummet.

Despite Federal Reserve Chairman Arthur Burns' Jeremiah-like pronouncements about inflation, the Fed is continuing to expand credit to stave off bankruptcies. The $1.2 billion lent to the Franklin National speaks a lot louder than any amount of talk about deflating. A July 10 editorial in the *Wall Street Journal* shoots down the notion that money is tight, observing that bank deposits are increasing at a rate of 8 percent annually. Insofar as it has a choice, the U.S. ruling class is still opting for 10-plus percent inflation as opposed to running the dangers of a real credit squeeze.

One major reason for ruling-class complacency about inflation is that the union bureaucracy had done its job so well in suppressing the ranks that real wages have fallen 5 percent since last summer. However, the bureaucracy's class peace broke down this March, producing a strike wave of major proportions. So government circles are now talking about "the wage offensive" and "cost-push inflation," laying the basis for the reimposition of state wage controls.

The Nixon/Ford administration only a few months ago disbanded the control system despite some half-hearted opposition from Senate liberals. However, it soon reversed itself and is now asking Congress to revive the "Cost of Living Task Force" to apply pressure against large wage settlements. If such pressure doesn't work—and it won't—the government will move toward re-establishing the control system, probably beginning with a total wage freeze. When that happens, the struggle within the labor movement to prevent the Meany-Woodcock bureaucracy from reimposing the 1971-1973 anti-labor class peace will decisively shape the economic and political life of the country.

Labor and the World Conjuncture

The capitalist world economic conjuncture is the worst since the late 1940's. Output will continue to fall, while the rate of inflation cannot drop significantly and may well even rise. It is impossible to predict the *precise* mix of unemployment and inflation in the major capitalist countries since this depends upon the outcome of future

continued on page 8

NMU-SIU Tops Prepare Sellout Merger

NMU PILOT

From left: Gleason (ILA), Curran (NMU), Meany and Hall (SIU).

The leadership of the National Maritime Union is currently mounting a drive to ram through a bureaucratic merger with the Seafarers International Union on terms which pose a threat to the remaining democratic rights and hard-won union gains of NMU seamen. While Shannon Wall (Joe Curran's handpicked successor as head of the union) bargains behind closed doors with the SIU's Paul Hall, resolutions are being pushed through NMU port meetings around the country endorsing the leadership's handling of merger negotiations—about which the ranks know nothing.

However, the class-collaborationist basis for the drift toward maritime "unity" in recent months has been clear from the beginning. In 1972 maritime leaders were so concerned about the fate of "several companies which were fighting to stay alive" that they issued a joint statement of their determination not to strike, no matter what, since "many of them [the companies] would go under from the mere threat of a strike," according to Curran (1972 NMU "President's Report"). This is the "unity" of surrender, not of struggle. The "Principles" on which the NMU-SIU merger are to be based include an affirmation that the interests of seamen and shipping companies are the same!

In addition to likely losses on economic issues (wages, pension requirements, vacations), the biggest questions facing NMU seamen in the proposed merger deal with racism and democracy. While the NMU has many black and Puerto Rican members in all departments, the SIU only began to integrate its crews and membership after civil rights laws were passed. As far as internal democracy goes, the NMU's record is not good: red purges in the 1940's, ouster of dissident local officials, clubbing down oppositionists in the streets. However, the Hall machine in the SIU, which more closely resembles the Malia than a union, prefers wholesale bureaucratic measures including expelling an entire port.

In the NMU it has been left to the Militant-Solidarity Caucus, a class-struggle opposition group in the union, to point out the dangers of the course the union has been on under Curran and Wall. While the latter worry about how to keep the shipping companies from "going under," the M-SC raises the call for expropriation of the shipping lines under seamen's control. In contrast to the bureaucrats' flag-waving and support for protectionist legislation, the M-SC calls for international organizing and the creation of an international maritime union.

The NMU and SIU have "competed" with each other for the favor of the companies by steadily lowering manning scales; the Militant-Solidarity Caucus demands instead the establishment of a four-watch system with no loss in pay (an old NMU demand which would amount to "30-for-40") to create more jobs. And on the merger question, an M-SC resolution (*Beacon* supplement, 29 July) calls for trade-union unity while correctly pointing out that the NMU-SIU merger, on its present basis, must be opposed.

The resolution, which according to an M-SC spokesman has been raised at some port meetings in contraposition to the Wall-Hall "Principles," calls for minimum conditions for a merger, including no loss of economic benefits or democratic rights for any group or section of the unions; open negotiations with participation by an elected rank-and-file committee; a democratic vote on the terms of merger after full publicity; and that it be based on principles of trade-union struggle rather than a bogus "partnership" between labor and capital. "Unity at any price" can mean defeat as surely as can division and disunity. A real unity of maritime labor (one international maritime union including seamen, longshoremen, tugboat and canal workers) must be a step toward the greater unity of the workers against the common class enemy. ■

Continued from page 7

...Slump/Inflation

class battles and international conflict.

It is clear that a deep economic crisis coming in a period of generally rising class struggle, particularly in Europe, can lead to revolutionary situations. The Transitional Program of the Fourth International, written in 1938, is a strategic document which is valid for the epoch of imperialism, i.e., of capitalist decline. Many of its particular demands, formulated in an earlier period of sharp economic downturn, are of special relevance today. The following demands, arising out of the concrete conjuncture in the various major capitalist countries, must be raised by the labor movement if the workers are not to suffer a sharp reduction of their living standards:

• EXPROPRIATE THE OIL MONOPOLIES UNDER WORKERS CONTROL—NO COMPENSATION! The collusion of the oil majors with the Arab and Iranian ruling classes to quadruple petroleum prices within one year is one of the most purely destructive and gross exploitations of monopoly power in the history of capitalism. Swelling with profits during a world slump, the oil companies are universally hated. Politically they have become the weakest link of U.S. monopoly capitalism.

Millions of American working people who do not generally support the socialization of industry remember the maddening forms of gas rationing last winter and would like to destroy Exxon, Texaco, Mobil, etc. The complicity of the government in the "energy crisis" hoax, ordering a doubling of prices for domestically produced crude oil ("in order to attract investment"), is a convincing argument for workers control rather than administration by the bosses' state. Moreover, only the most die-hard advocates of capitalism would today argue for *any* compensation to these robber barons.

While this is a partial demand in response to a particular situation, communists would seek to develop agitation for the expropriation (without compensation) of the oil companies under workers control into the opening salvo of a general attack on capitalist private property. Of course, the nationalization of the oil companies would not in itself lead to a rational organization of energy production and use. The Labor Committee's campaign for nuclear fusion power is a typical Marcusite technocratic reformist scheme. Who is to develop and organize fusion power—governments of Nixon/Ford, d'Estaing and Tanaka? Socialist economic planning—i.e., production for use and not profit—begins only after the establishment of proletarian state power.

Nevertheless, the expropriation of the oil majors would lay the basis for the total socialization of production, not least as an attack on bourgeois ideology. No less important would be its internationalist value, cutting a few of the fingers from the stranglehold of American imperialism on the rest of the world.

ROBERTO SCHEZEN/GAMMA

"In a way the world economic situation resembles that which prevailed before World War II."
—Japan's ex-Finance Minister Fukuda

"We know full well that we have asked heavy sacrifices of the Italians...."
—Italy's Premier Rumor

SANYKEI SHIMBUN

• FULL CITIZENSHIP RIGHTS FOR ALL FOREIGN WORKERS! The systematic exploitation of foreign workers is increasingly undermining the trade-union organizations and democratic rights of the European proletariat. Key to West Germany's economic strength is the super-exploitation and systematic transfer of Mediterranean labor. The Schmidt/Genscher government can today demand that the rest of Europe deflate to correct balance of payment deficits because its own "reserve army of the unemployed" has no political rights: If they cause trouble the *Gastarbeiter* can simply be sent back to the poor Mediterranean lands. Thus a Europe-wide campaign for full and immediate citizenship rights to all foreign workers is not only called for on the grounds of working-class internationalism and democratic principles, but is also *strategically* necessary in order to fight the Europe-wide "austerity"/unemployment programs of the bourgeoisie.

• OCCUPATION OF CLOSED-DOWN PLANTS—NATIONALIZE THEM UNDER WORKERS CONTROL! In the next several months literally millions of Italian and British workers will be laid off indefinitely as entire industries are shut down. It is essential that the labor movement does not "wait out" the slump, while pressuring the government to stimulate the economy with impotent Keynesian measures. The workers must take over closed-down plants and demand that they be expropriated.

The British Labour government is formally committed to widespread nationalizations and an anti-deflationary fiscal policy. The Italian Christian Democratic/Socialist coalition has promised to minimize industrial layoffs, providing the unions will accept increased taxes. Thus the political conditions in Britain and Italy are such that a wave of plant seizures organized by the unions would not simply be crushed by the armed forces of the state. This is not, therefore, an adventurist tactic. Furthermore, a wave of plant seizures demanding nationalization would polarize the reformist parties, a crucial element for the construction of a mass revolutionary vanguard party.

Placing newly nationalized firms in the hands of the state bureaucracy in no way guarantees a full employment policy. The extensive nationalized industries in Britain and Italy are run according to capitalist profitability principles. To reverse this practice requires the organization of workers control as a counterforce to the state bureaucracy. Only nationalization under workers control can limit and partly reverse the massive unemployment which is soon to ravage the international working class. ■

Left Flounders Over Watergate

AUGUST 11—More than a year ago we pointed out what everyone knew all along but leading bourgeois politicians and news media claim to have discovered only in the last few weeks, namely that the president was indeed behind it all:

> "Obviously Nixon is directly responsible for the whole Watergate affair and the subsequent cover-up attempts."
> —*WV* No. 22, 8 June 1973

In the eyes of the capitalist class, we noted, Nixon's crime was using tactics against his bourgeois political opponents which were regularly reserved for (and used with impunity against) communists, blacks and unionists. However, for the working class the crimes of the current capitalist regime go far beyond Watergate.

Communists are the most consistent defenders of democratic rights. We oppose the lynching of blacks, cop terror, anti-union legislation—and we opposed the continuation in office of a crook and mass murderer like Nixon. While revolutionary socialists would certainly have voted for impeachment in Congress, if the bourgeoisie had attemped to remove this criminal from the presidency according to "constitutional" procedures, impeachment represents neither a *class* answer to the crimes of the bourgeois regime, nor even a particularly *democratic* one. For Nixon's crimes against Indochinese peasants, Chilean leftists and union militants, and working people throughout the world, IMPEACHMENT IS NOT ENOUGH!

We wrote last year that "For socialists to call today for impeachment of Nixon can only mean a desire to have another *bourgeois* ruler whether Agnew or a liberal Democrat" (*WV* No. 22, 8 June 1973). As it turned out, impeachment would have meant, as resignation did mean, putting Gerald Ford in the White House—an arch-conservative, racist, anti-labor Republican whom no one voted into the office of vice president (Nixon appointed him)! Neither impeachment nor resignation raised the necessity for independent working-class political action; in fact, after a brief interlude with Ford, they could only have led straight into the open arms of the Democratic Party.

Following the "Saturday Night Massacre," when important bourgeois forces first began to consider impeachment, the Spartacist League wrote:

> *"Socialists should support a congressional move to impeach Nixon. But impeachment is not enough!* . . . Consequently it is necessary for the working class to reply with a *political general strike of the organized labor movement to force new elections, so that labor can present its own candidate against the twin parties of capital."*
> —"What Labor Should Do About Watergate," *WV* No. 34, 7 December 1973

In contrast to this Leninist position, supporting "democratic" demands for the removal from office of a paranoid criminal while tying this to the need for independent working-class political action, various ostensibly socialist groups in the U.S. were all over the map on Watergate. Some, like Progressive Labor, expressed utter disinterest in the whole affair. But for the most part the dominant theme was vacillation and confusion. Doubtless the various fake lefts would now like to forget their class-collaborationist policies, muddleheaded vacillations and know-nothing abstentionism. But before they call on Ford to resign or take out a quick court suit, it would be useful to check the record on the impeachment issue.

Workers League Asks "Dictator" to Resign

After Nixon fired Archibald Cox, the Twice-a-Week Adventists of the Workers League once again trumpeted the coming of Armageddon in blaring headlines: "We Will Not Accept Dictatorship," announced the *Bulletin* (23 October 1973). A WL Political Committee Statement raved on: "By defying the courts and disbanding the Watergate investigation Richard Nixon has moved to establish a one-man dictatorship in the United States." This "military coup" was accomplished by "having in practice abolished the three branches of government."

And how did these supposed Trotskyists respond to this unprecedented catastrophe? "Resign," they meekly requested. They dressed up this ultra-reformist demand with a ritual call for a labor party. And they dressed it down for the streets of Harlem, where they apparently believe that only "right-on" reformism is appropriate: "We want Steak! No more Beans! Nixon's Got To Split the Scene!" (*Bulletin*, 10 May 1974).

Imagine WL leader Tim Wohlforth's delight when his program became, last October, the program of George Meany and the AFL-CIO bureaucracy. Meany called on Nixon to resign partly in order to spare the capitalist class any further embarrassment, but mostly to deflect attention from his own previous support of Nixon and the Administration's wage-freezing policies, and of course to increase his own clout within the Democratic Party.

However, for the political bandits of the WL this was yet another golden opportunity to "critically" support the reactionary labor bureaucracy—thereby creating illusions about Meany/Woodcock. This is nothing new for Wohlforth. When Meany refused to support McGovern in the 1972 elections, because the latter was too "leftist," Wohlforth treated this as a step toward breaking with bourgeois politics ("AFL-CIO Tops Threaten Labor Party at Miami" read the front-page banner headline of the 17 July 1972 *Bulletin*)!

However, in the case of Watergate what started out as the policy of the pro-capitalist labor bureaucracy actually ended up being the policy of the *Wall Street Journal*, James Buckley, Barry Goldwater and finally all those bourgeois politicians who wanted to spare the nation the "destabilizing" consequences of impeachment! Nobody can accuse the Wohlforth League of not doing its part to make Jerry Ford president.

SWP Abstains on Impeachment—Brings Court Suit

The stable element in the Socialist Workers Party's shifting policy on impeachment was a desire to be "part of the movement." It was of course too much to expect a straightforward political statement on the SWP's position on impeachment from its "socialist *Newsweek*," the *Militant*.

Throughout 1973 the SWP wrote numerous articles on Watergate which "proved" in great detail that the Nixon gang was somewhat less than democratic. The *Militant* saw Watergate everywhere breaking illusions in bourgeois politicians. It implied that the impeachment movement was part of that undefined "radicalizing process" the ex-Trotskyist SWP sees everywhere "growing over" into socialist revolution:

> "For when masses of people lose their illusions in the honesty of the government, it becomes harder for the capitalist minority to pretend its rule is in the interest of the majority."
> —*Militant*, 4 May 1973

So since endless exposures of Watergate dirty tricks were apparently the way to organize for socialism, the SWP utterly failed to raise a program to link opposition to Nixon to independent working-class political action. Instead, the SWP launched its "socialist" court suit.

In an interview on Watergate earlier this year, SWP national chairman emeritus James P. Cannon was amused by the policy stated in *Workers Vanguard*:

> "A. Do you know what they say on the headline? 'Impeachment is not enough!' (Laughs.)
>
> "Q. He has to be hanged by the thumbs, or something?"
> —*Intercontinental Press*, 19 January

So, apparently impeachment was indeed enough for Cannon and the SWP.

But no! As the impeachment campaign gained momentum in mainstream bourgeois circles the April issue of *Young Socialist* (newspaper of the Young Socialist Alliance, the SWP's youth group) suddenly discovered that "the impeachment movement is a diversion":

> "Impeach Nixon some say....
> "But it's not very hard to see why these solutions fall woefully short of what is needed. Is Gerald Ford any better than Richard Nixon? Most people don't think so."

And if "most people don't think so," then neither does the SWP.

In the *Militant*'s recent Watergate series, the SWP's consistent non-position on impeachment is as clear as a barrel of tar: "Impeachment in no way goes beyond the framework of bourgeois democratic forms decreed in the U.S. constitution." Well, what about it? Does the SWP support impeachment or not? And, above all, what is your alternative? Does the SWP Watersuit "go beyond the framework of bourgeois democratic forms"?

Stalinists Reinforce the Two-Party System

Stalinists, both of the pro-Moscow and pro-Peking varieties, took the impeachment issue as an opportunity to once again give implicit support to the Democratic Party. Labeling Nixon a fascist, they simply tailed behind popular sentiment for impeachment. The Maoist Revolutionary Union's populist variation on the theme was to vaguely demand "throw the bum out." However, now that the bum has been thrown out, it turns out there is a new capitalist bum to take his place.

Particularly embarrassing for U.S. Stalinists is the fact that Nixon was a lot more popular with the bureaucracies in Moscow and Peking than with American workers. As a result, the Russian and Chinese workers were kept in ignorance of the Watergate issue almost until Nixon's last day in office. Moreover, the Kremlin bureaucracy characterized Nixon's attackers as "enemies of détente." This attitude by the CPSU placed the U.S. Communist Party in a rather difficult position. Wishing to tail the "progressive wing of the bourgeoisie" (which was out to remove Nixon) at home, at the same time they remained slavishly loyal to the Russian bureaucracy's diplomatic maneuvers (which aimed at protecting Nixon from anti-détente detractors). The hardpressed CPUSA resorted to a double line, often varying its Watergate position from one day to the next ("the people are demanding impeachment" today became "the impeachment movement is a conspiracy of anti-Soviet monopolists" tomorrow). Gus Hall's May Day speech, reported in the *Daily World* of 3 May, managed to reflect both lines simultaneously:

> "The cold warriors are not against Watergate...Nixon must be impeached, but the people must be aware of the phony ultra-Right impeachers. ...They do not want to impeach Watergate. They want to impeach detente."

Like the WL and SWP, although more openly, the CP and RU fail to go beyond the limits of bourgeois liberalism to pose the need for proletarian revolution. ■

Continued from page 1

...Nixon Flees

The limits to "executive privilege" suggested by the Nixon tapes ruling are not precisely specified and are by any standard quite "permissive." According to the Court decision: "Nowhere in the Constitution, as we have noted earlier, is there any explicit reference to a privilege of confidentiality, yet to the extent this interest relates to the effective discharge of a President's power, it is constitutionally based" (*New York Times*, 25 July). What was once "nowhere" is now, it seems, everywhere.

The wiretapping high jinks of Henry Kissinger indicate the extent to which the "Nixon affair" can be seen as the harbinger of a relaxation of Federal watchdogging. Kissinger's immediate threat to resign and his tearful hysterics over the "unjust" implications concerning his involvement in wire-tap surveillance were immediately placated by a doting Senate which quickly passed a resolution stating Kissinger's "integrity and veracity were above reproach" (*New York Times*, 14 June).

Last week Kissinger was "cleared" of charges that he misrepresented his role in the wiretapping episode in hearings before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. Of course, the committee did note, in passing, certain "inconsistencies" between Dr. Kissinger's testimony and FBI reports. These "inconsistencies" turned out to be the fact that Kissinger had denied initiating any wiretaps, while an FBI memorandum unambiguously stated that the then national security advisor to the president had ordered a whole program of illegal surveillance directed at members of the National Security Council.

Labor, Nixon and the Democrats

The most immediate beneficiaries of the Watergate scandal/Nixon resignation are, of course, the Democratic Party and its loyal supporters, the American labor bureaucracy. All indications point to a Democratic Party sweep in congressional elections this fall and in the 1976 presidential elections. Thus Meany and Woodcock may be near to realizing their dream of a "veto-proof Congress" with a "friend-of labor" President. But this arrangement will not bring about the nirvana of class collaboration these venal traitors to the workers movement hope for.

The Democratic Party is above all a party of the American imperialist bourgeoisie, obligated to carry out the dictates of that class. U.S. imperialism, caught between the jaws of the vise of renewed inter-imperialist rivalry and facing a situation of international economic chaos, can only move to squeeze more and more blood out of the U.S. working class. There will be precious few sops to toss to the trade-union bureaucracy in the coming period. The stage is thus set for a sharp struggle to break the hold of the Meanys and Woodcocks on the trade unions and to lay the basis for a workers party committed to a program of class independence, to a program of class struggle that will put an end to the capitalist system once and for all.

The resignation of Nixon and accession of Ford to the presidency are a *defeat* for the labor movement, which should have used the occasion of the Watergate crisis to force new presidential elections in which the trade unions fielded an independent labor candidate opposed to the twin parties of capitalist oppression.

The result of this defeat is that there is every chance that Nixon will go scot free, living off his fat pension and expense account bled from the labor of the working class. Impeachment is too good for Nixon. A far more just reward for his crimes would be extradition to North Vietnam to face a jury of his victims. However, it is a foregone conclusion that the U.S. capitalist class, which daily condemns hundreds of men and women to long terms in the most revolting prisons for literally nothing more than stealing a loaf of bread, will do no more than possibly slap Nixon's hand. A true accounting of the crimes of Nixon and his class against humanity does indeed await the tribunal of the workers revolution, which will sweep the entire capitalist order into the dustbin of history. ■

SWP, NOW Sabotage Houston Nurses' Struggle

HOUSTON—In recent months much has been made in the radical press of the newly founded Coalition of Labor Union Women. While opportunists of all stripes instantly volunteered to be the "best builders" of this budding "mass movement," the Spartacist League alone warned that CLUW was set up and controlled by the labor bureaucracy for its own purposes. In particular, we pointed out:

> "Rigidly controlled at the top by International union officials hoping to develop a vehicle by which a few women trade unionists can maneuver up the ladder to personal success without threatening the trade-union bureaucracy, CLUW's main activity will be to funnel the restlessness of rank-and-file women workers into reformist, government-engineered dead ends.
>
> "...In contrast to the SWP [Socialist Workers Party], Spartacist League supporters have attended regional CLUW meetings in order to counterpose a class-struggle program to the fake militancy and demagogic rhetoric which prevail at these conferences.... Covering for CLUW bureaucrats, as does the SWP, only propels the struggle backward."
>
> —*WV* No. 40, 15 March 1974

The first part of this statement was amply borne out at the March 23-24 national conference of CLUW, where the union top brass successfully maneuvered to prevent the meeting from defending the United Farm Workers against the Teamsters' scab operations in California. The second part, concerning the treacherous role of the bureaucracy's leftist cheerleaders, is now being confirmed in the most disgusting manner.

An excellent example of how tailism leads to betrayal is the SWP's despicable covering for AFSCME bureaucrats in Houston. The latter have effectively sabotaged a struggle against victimization and for better working conditions and patient care by nurses at the Jefferson Davis Hospital.

Female Bureaucrats Undercut Struggle

Like most public hospitals serving working-class and poor neighborhoods, Jefferson Davis is overcrowded, understaffed and poorly equipped. Up to 75 babies a month are born outside the delivery room in unsterile conditions. In addition, the pay is substandard, even for Southern conditions, and barely 52 percent of the eligible workers are unionized (in Local 1550 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees).

When 44 hospital employees organized a "sick-out" in May to protest the abysmal conditions at Jeff Davis, the AFSCME bureaucracy did nothing to aid them. After the protest collapsed, the organizers (nine registered nurses) were fired for "unprofessional conduct." None of the RNs at the hospital are members of the union because management had led them to believe that they were ineligible for membership.

Now, more than two months since the firings, nothing has happened except that a "blue ribbon committee" has been appointed by the *hospital administration* to "look into" the situation. However, when the fired nurses went to the Houston organizing committee of CLUW to obtain support for their fight, they were met by vicious attacks by AFSCME staffers Liz Kimmel and Wilma Oliver.

At the June 25 CLUW meeting, following the nurses' presentation Kimmel attacked them for their "audacity" in taking an "illegal" action and for not going "through channels," while commenting that nurses traditionally think they are "too good" for a union. The nurses angrily responded that they had sent a letter to the union (as well as to the hospital administration) and that

MILITANT

Nurses at Jefferson Davis Hospital.

AFSCME had never done anything to organize the RNs.

CLUW/SWP Back Bureaucrats

At this point a militant oppositionist in the United Auto Workers proposed that an organizing drive be launched among the hospital workers, the only effective defense of the fired nurses, and that CLUW take a firm position of support to the nurses' struggle. Although the nurses responded favorably to the proposal, the CLUW leadership immediately rushed to the aid of the AFSCME bureaucrats. Debby Leonard, a member of CLUW's national steering committee and former SWP candidate for governor of Texas, was chairing the meeting and did her best to cut off discussion and move on to the "real business" of the meeting. This turned out to be setting up publicity committees and deciding on the date for the next meeting.

Leonard's main argument for inaction was that since Houston CLUW was not yet officially chartered it could not take positions on anything. However, by the next CLUW meeting on July 16 her position was reversed (since "everyone is asking where we stand") and she came in with a written statement. However, she refused to let the meeting as a whole consider the statement, because it would "cause too much discussion." Instead the issue was shunted off to a subcommittee where she and the ever-vigilant Kimmel would come up with a version "satisfactory to all."

At the subcommittee meeting three days later Kimmel first tried to prevent the UAW militant from attending, then insisted on deleting the demand for rehiring the nurses. Her substitute was calling for "a clear and honest investigation... which we feel must vindicate the nurses and lead to their rehiring." Leonard at first sought to retain the demand for rehiring (after all, she introduced the motion), even appealing to Kimmel's self-interest by offering to swear (on a Bible!) that at least some of the fired nurses would join the union if they were reinstated. But Kimmel refused to budge, so Leonard finally gave in. Her last stab at a justification of this capitulation was that "if the investigation doesn't vindicate the nurses, then we'll know it wasn't a clear and honest investigation, and we'll demand *another* investigation"!

SWP Capitulates to Red-Baiting and Exclusionism

Parallel to CLUW, a separate Coalition to Defend the Nurses had been largely dominated by the SWP. However, the SWP's current gubernatorial candidate, Sherry Smith, managed to create such hostility by her organizational maneuvering as chairman that the nurses, at the instigation of NOW (National Organization of Women), finally deposed her. However, prior to her demise Smith managed to capitulate to the mounting anti-communism by solidarizing with an attempt by Judy Sterling, one of the nurses' leaders, to ban the sale of radical papers at coalition events.

The insistence by a Spartacist League supporter that such a ban was the same kind of tactics used by management against labor and by the trade-union bureaucracy against oppositionists precipitated a battle which won over most of those present. Thereupon Smith, true to form, switched gears and declared it would be a "terrible mistake" to ban paper sales.

Smith's ouster was only the beginning of the SWP's fall from grace, however. On July 22, Sterling (who announced her intention to join NOW) moved to expel the SWP and other socialist and communist groups, on the grounds that the same groups the SWP had urged them to court (NOW, Urban League, black churches, lawyers, press, etc.) were now telling the nurses to get rid of the reds.

SL supporters argued strongly against this anti-communist exclusion, and walked out in solidarity with the SWP when the latter was expelled. However, the SWPers have since crawled back into the Coalition "as individuals." According to Nancy Roberts, another of the nurses' leaders, the basis of the SWPers' re-entry was agreement to identify themselves only as members of the coalition; no sales of radical press at any coalition events; no money to be collected except under the nurses' control; no statements in the name of the coalition without the nurses' approval; and, finally, if the nurses decide that anyone is participating in the coalition to further his own aims, he will be "ejected"!

Perhaps the most agonized of all those involved in this amazing spectacle of capitulation and sellouts has been the ill-fated Internationalist Tendency, which was expelled from the SWP last month (see "SWP Stages Mass Purge," *WV* No. 49, 19 July). Forced to maintain the fiction of "loyalty" to their alma mater, even though everyone knows that they have been bounced, ITers have had to follow every twist and turn in Leonard's and Smith's paths of betrayal, siding with SWP supporters in CLUW and the Coalition and failing to raise a class-struggle fight for the hospital workers.

To the IT comrades we say: this is not the last such betrayal your masters in the "United Secretariat" will force upon you—the bitter lessons of this fiasco must not be lost! And to those "leftists" who are currently acting as the "best builders" of CLUW, we warn you: the sellout of the Houston nurses in order to retain the support of the AFSCME bureaucracy, like the "compromise" on the UFW-Teamster dispute at the Chicago CLUW conference, is only one of your many future betrayals if you do not break with reformism and pose a class-struggle alternative to this bureaucratic swamp! ■

MILITANT

SWPer Sherry Smith

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BUFFALO
Box 905, Station C, Buffalo, NY 14209 . . . . . (716) 881-3064

CHICAGO
Box 6471, Main P.O., Chicago, IL 60680 . . . . . (312) 427-0003

CLEVELAND
Box 6765, Cleveland, OH 44101 . . . . . (216) 687-1413

DETROIT
Box 663A, General P.O., Detroit, MI 48232 . . . . . (313) 921-4626

HOUSTON
Box 26474, Gulfgate Sta., Houston, TX 77032 . . . . (713) 926-9944

LOS ANGELES
Box 38053, Wilcox Sta., Los Angeles, CA 90038 . . . (213) 485-1838

MADISON
c/o RCY, Box 3334, Madison, WI 53704

MILWAUKEE
Box 6061, Milwaukee, WI 53209

NEW ORLEANS
Box 51634, Main P.O., New Orleans, LA 70151 . . . (504) 866-8384

NEW YORK
Box 1377, G.P.O., New York, NY 10001 . . . . . (212) 925-2426

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Box 25601, Philadelphia, PA 19144 . . . . . (215) 667-5695

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P.O. Box 2034, Chula Vista, CA 92011

TORONTO
(Committee of Toronto Supporters of the International Spartacist Tendency)
Box 6867, Station A, Toronto, Ontario, Canada

Mazey Uncovers "Red Menace" in UAW

DETROIT, July 30—The Auto Workers Ford National Council meeting that ended today went along normally for the most part. The usual UAW officials attended. They narrowly passed a bureaucratic proposal to deprive giant Local 600 (River Rouge)—where so much trouble was had over the last contract—of its proportional weight in the Negotiating Committee. They voted down a motion that would have required Sub-Councils to meet near their locals. Woodcock defended Israel. And David Mundy, the Local 600 official who last November shot a worker in a dispute over the contract, said that members of his unit voted down the contract because they hadn't suffered enough (!) and were misled, but that everything had now been set straight.

But then the local officials were given a special treat: a run-down on the "assorted New Left groups that are trying to find a home in our union," delivered by Reuther's old "house socialist," International Executive Board member Emil Mazey. He was asked to do this because of work stoppages ostensibly led by these groups and the need to keep the officials informed.

After stating that he still considered himself to be "philosophically" (!) a socialist, Mazey's entire speech was devoted to "informing," all right. More specifically, his job was to finger the socialists of today to bureaucrats (like the deranged Mundy!) who will use every conceivable underhanded maneuver to red-bait, frame-up and run these militant unionists out of the plants. For example, in this spring's local UAW elections, union officials of the Ford local at Mahwah, New Jersey, were caught handing out red-baiting smear leaflets that had been typed on a company typewriter (see *WV* No. 43, 26 April)!

Mazey pointed out that politics is nothing new in the UAW: why, every shade of left political grouping had been there in the early days, including the Communist Party, Socialist Party and "Trotskyites." However, he neglected to mention that the grip of the old-line AFL craft-union bureaucrats had been broken largely because of the leadership of these groups in *creating* the UAW, organized on industrial lines, and *building* it through militant strike tactics. The key Flint sitdown strike of 1937, for instance, was led by supporters and members of the CP and SP.

According to Mazey, new groups like Workers Action Movement and Progressive Labor came to the officialdom's attention only after the Mack Avenue wildcat strike last August. The Mack Avenue shutdown was smashed by an early-morning mobilization of one thousand UAW officials (led by Mazey, Olga Madar and other International Executive Board members) who cooperated with police and ushered workers into the plant through picket lines. The "philosophical socialist" Mazey defended this notorious strikebreaking goon squad on the grounds that the workers had a right to go to work and the strike was "illegal"!

What about the sit-down strikes that built the UAW, Brother Mazey? Were they "legal"? What about "the right to go to work" (read scab) which the companies insisted on then?

Blaming Mack Avenue on WAM/PL, whom he called "a band of lunatics," Mazey indicated that he had no interest in getting the jobs back of the many workers who are still fired as a result of the strike!

A clearer admission of that would be appreciated, Brother Mazey! Just how do you pick whose job to defend and whose not to? Does company "advice" have anything to do with it? Or is it FBI reports that you rely on?

DETROIT FREE PRESS

Emil Mazey

Mazey passed on to the recent Dodge Truck strike in Warren, Michigan, which he blamed on the Revolutionary Union. In this he aped the red-baiting Detroit press, which had run an "exposure" of the Maoist background of one of the strike leaders.

For the most part, however, he had only friendly criticism and warm words for the Communist Party, which "critically" supported the last contract and backed Woodcock for re-election at the UAW convention in June. The CP's Detroit correspondent, "Billy" Allen, was a "loveable guy," he said. (Not surprisingly, "loveable" Billy Allen had supported Mazey's goon squad last summer!) However, Mazey handed some ammunition to Local 600 bureaucrats who might want to bait the CP's shop paper, *Ford Worker*, by saying that it was written by Allen, who is, of course, an "outsider."

"Then there's this group, the Spartacist League," said Mazey. Seeing no need to discuss the Socialist Workers Party, International Socialists, or Workers League, Mazey did feel compelled to enlighten the assembled bureaucrats about the authentic Trotskyists of today, adding that he regularly reads *Workers Vanguard* "because almost every issue carries something on the UAW." In order to explain the SL, Mazey went back to the Russian Revolution and Trotsky's opposition to Stalin's anti-internationalist "theory" of building "socialism in one country."

After attempting to bewilder the delegates with erudite name-dropping of various splits from Trotskyism (Oehlerites, Johnsonites, Stammites, etc.), most of which have ceased to exist, he got to the point: the SL was "roughed up" by "some of our people" for distributing literature outside a plant in Cleveland, and it then picketed Solidarity House "chanting slogans against the UAW." Since the slogans were "*against*" the UAW, the SL is presumably not a legitimate part of the labor movement.

Just what were these slogans that were "against" the UAW? "Defend the UAW! Defend workers democracy!" was the chant at the picket. It was a united front demonstration protesting the Cleveland incident and other goon squad attacks by UAW officials against left groups. The demonstration was open to all groups "who stand in solidarity with the auto workers against the companies... and who support militant, democratic unionism.... provided only that no attempt is made to utilize the protest in direct support of any action which crosses the class line by using bourgeois cops or courts against the union" (*WV* No. 30, 12 October 1973).

Mazey attempted to assume a "left" posture by concluding with an attack on Nixon and Chou En-lai. The hypocrisy of the hard-cop anti-communist Nixon toasting the Chinese revolution almost made him "puke," said Mazey. Need we add any comment about our own reaction to the hypocrisy of this strikebreaking "philosophical socialist"? ■

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...Phone Sellout

living escalator, an end to absence control and at least 20 paid sick days. There must be a uniform national wage scale, strikes against layoffs, reduction of the workweek to thirty hours with no loss in pay. Rather than the agency shop, phone workers need a closed shop with a union hiring hall to stop the racist hiring practices of the company, which has traditionally slotted women and minorities into the lowest-paying jobs.

One of the lessons of the bitter 1971-72 phone strike in New York was the inadequacy of militant trade unionism as an alternative to the sellout policies of the International bureaucracy. Local 1101 threw out Carnivale and replaced him with the "militant" Dempsey. Yet Dempsey has failed to oppose the "national bargaining" scheme eliminating local ratification of the contract. Their fundamental support for the Democratic Party and capitalism ensures that when it is a question of directly confronting the companies and their government fake militants like Dempsey will line up on the side of the International.

The present disorientation of the militant Local 1101 membership stems in good part from the inability of the several local opposition groups to break from all wings of the labor bureaucracy. The Maoist Revolutionary Union is currently on a leftist kick, warning in its press of the dangers of supporting "opportunists out-of-office" in the unions. However, the RU-supported Final Warning caucus has yet to make any public self-criticism of its support for Dempsey in the 1971 union elections. The United Action Caucus, supported by the social-democratic IS, is still naively calling on Dempsey to build the "big-city alliance" he promised in 1971!

But the most wretched expression of workerist capitulation belongs once again to the syndicalist Bell Workers Action Committee. Its latest contribution was to advise workers to vote *either yes or* no to strike, depending on whichever best expressed their personal feelings! With its politics based on tailing the present consciousness of the workers, earlier this year the BWAC called for "human communication" and sympathy (as opposed to fines) for scabbing operators because they were women. Now it solidarizes with those backward elements who call for dropping out of the union and refusing to strike as a "protest" against the bureaucracy. In fact, only the sellout bureaucracy and the company benefit by a vote not to strike; the union and every member in it is weakened by such abstentionism.

What is needed is to build a national class-struggle opposition caucus in the CWA based on the program of the Oakland/San Francisco-based Militant Action Caucus. This group has been in the forefront of opposition to "national bargaining," and last year it led a campaign which successfully defeated the 19-2C proposed national bylaws amendment, a gag rule clause which could have been used against anyone who "brought the union into disrepute." The MAC's policies are based on the understanding of the need to provide a full, political opposition to the procapitalist policies of the bureaucracy. ■

Continued from page 12

...Transit Strike

back with a vicious red-baiting attack against militants "who are plotting to take over the union with a new leadership led by a labor party." He also insisted that cops rather than the "untrustworthy" rank and file guard the ballot boxes, a demand that was booed down by the membership. After his blustering had fallen flat, Cordeiro stalked out of the hall leaving the remaining members to pass the motion for rank-and-file guards of the ballots. The best he could get was a standoff with cops, rank and filers and ballots all spending the night together in the local hall.

Although many members of the AC Transit local have become disheartened both by the length of the strike and by the sell-out tactics of their "leaders," a large section remains committed to winning a militant strike. The International's bullying and Cordeiro's hysterical red-baiting have, for the time being, actually weakened the influence of these betrayers over the membership.

The present standoff is only temporary, however, and unless a class-struggle opposition is crystallized in the union the bureaucracy will eventually succeed in imposing its will on a demoralized rank and file. Such an opposition would struggle for a militant strike program, including in particular the call for a Bay Area-wide transit strike. With Muni bus drivers reportedly walking out this Monday and AC Transit and airport bus drivers already on strike, this is a key demand to unite the workers in struggle against the companies.

Given the ATU bureaucracy's willingness to sacrifice the escalator clause and its sabotage of the strike, demands for full cost-of-living protection with a substantial wage increase, for a shorter workweek with no loss in pay and for a democratically elected militant rank-and-file strike committee responsible to the membership are also necessary elements in any program for victory in this struggle.

However, to achieve real success it is necessary not simply to win a strike but to replace the present pro-company misleaders of the unions with a new leadership committed to consistent class struggle. This requires, both in the ATU and elsewhere, the formation of caucuses with a program of transitional demands, including calling for expropriation of the corporations without compensation under workers control, for workers control of "public" industries, for free mass transportation and for a workers party based on the trade unions to fight for a workers government. ■

Bay Area Forum

THE LABOR UPSURGE AND THE AC TRANSIT STRIKE

Guest Speakers: Two AC Transit strikers
SL Speaker: Paul Collins
Auspices: Spartacist League

Unitas House
2700 Bancroft Way
Berkeley

Sat., Aug. 17
8 p.m.

WORKERS VANGUARD

IBEW STRIKES WESTERN ELECTRIC

CWA Phone Sellout Under Attack

AUGUST 10—Local walkouts following the announcement of a last-minute settlement between the Communications Workers of America and the AT&T telephone monopoly have gathered momentum as tomorrow's deadline for local bargaining approaches. Several key locals are now calling on their members to cast a "no" vote on the national contract. Rejection of a similar contract by the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, which has struck 10 Western Electric plants around the country, is a further blow against CWA tops' hopes of ramming through acceptance of their sellout deal.

The IBEW's subsequent call on CWA workers to reject the contract and indications of local militancy in New York, Detroit, Cleveland, L.A. and the Bay Area may yet force a nationwide strike, despite the phone union bureaucracy's best-laid plans. The much-touted "national bargaining," which former CWA President Beirne termed a "historic" achievement, had been designed to keep firm control of bargaining and ratification in the hands of the International.

In Detroit the main Bell Telephone building remained struck for most of the week following the July 28 announcement, as a result of successive walkouts by several of the six CWA locals in the city. Local 4001 demanded "amnesty for all" and threatened a citywide strike on August 11 after management fired several workers for allegedly smashing company windows. Similar walkouts occurred in Cleveland and by the week's end they had spread to southern California and San Francisco as well.

A Settlement With Nothing for Anybody

Although several weeks ago CWA President Glen Watts had set a floor of 14 percent, the settlement's 7.1-10.7 percent wage increase was only a fraction of a percentage point higher than the previously rejected company offer and far below the current rate of inflation. Even with the miserable cost-of-living formula, the proposed contract amounts to a *wage cut* for every CWA telephone worker.

Watts' main concern in the bargaining has been to prevent the outbreak of big-city wildcats such as occurred after the 1968 and 1971 contract settlements. During the secret negotiations CWA members have been kept completely in the dark about the union's demands. Throughout the country important locals have refused to call meetings during the bargaining period and even after the announced settlement (which is to be voted on by mail ballot).

To dissipate rank-and-file enthusiasm for a strike the union leadership cooked up a lengthy local-by-local mail ballot strike authorization vote, even though the result was a foregone conclusion (7-to-1 in favor of a strike, with an 18-to-1 margin in New York City). Another 10 days were allotted for local bargaining, to be followed by an additional two weeks for final ratification. Moreover, those locals which cannot be cooled down by these drawn-out delaying tactics will most likely be given authorization for local strikes. This exposes as a complete hoax the bureaucracy's demagogic claim that "national bargaining" would put the strength of the entire union behind the local bargainers.

Thus New York Local 1101 was left to negotiate alone against management's demand for a layoff clause which would allow the company to bounce anyone with under ten years of service, regardless of seniority. Despite the necessity of mobilizing the local during this period, President Ed Dempsey has refused to even call a union meeting, at the same time attempting to hang on to his "militant" image by verbally opposint the national contract.

Big-City Militancy Spreads

There have been signs of increasing rebelliousness within local bureaucracies in several metropolitan locations. In Los Angeles a group of chief stewards and executive board members has recently been holding joint meetings of dissidents in three telephone unions (CWA, IBEW and ORTT, a local traffic union). The group's emphasis thus far appears to be to channel dissatisfaction away from militant action locally (which they themselves would have to lead) into a nationwide rejection campaign.

In San Francisco, Local 9410 President Kirkpatrick is still refusing to call a contract meeting, despite receipt of a petition for a special meeting signed by 450 members. This is well over twice the number stipulated by local bylaws. The petition was jointly circulated by the Militant Action Caucus, Workers Action Movement and Traffic Jam. MAC denounced Kirkpatrick and suggested that people who violate membership rights should be thrown out of the union.

This call for membership action against acts of betrayal by the local bureaucracy stands in stark contrast to the syndicalist Bell Workers Action Committee in New York Long Lines. The BWAC threatened to turn in Local 1150 President Candopoulis to the U.S. Department of Labor when he refused to convene a special meeting. Militants must oppose such anti-labor "tactics," for the only interest of the capitalist government in "cleaning up" the unions is to draw them still further under state control.

Need for a Class-Struggle Opposition

Bargaining must be taken out of the hands of the bureaucrats and controlled by democratically elected rank-and-file strike committees. The entire national CWA must stay out until every local issue is resolved. Instead of Watts's pitiful settlement, militants must demand an unlimited full cost-of-

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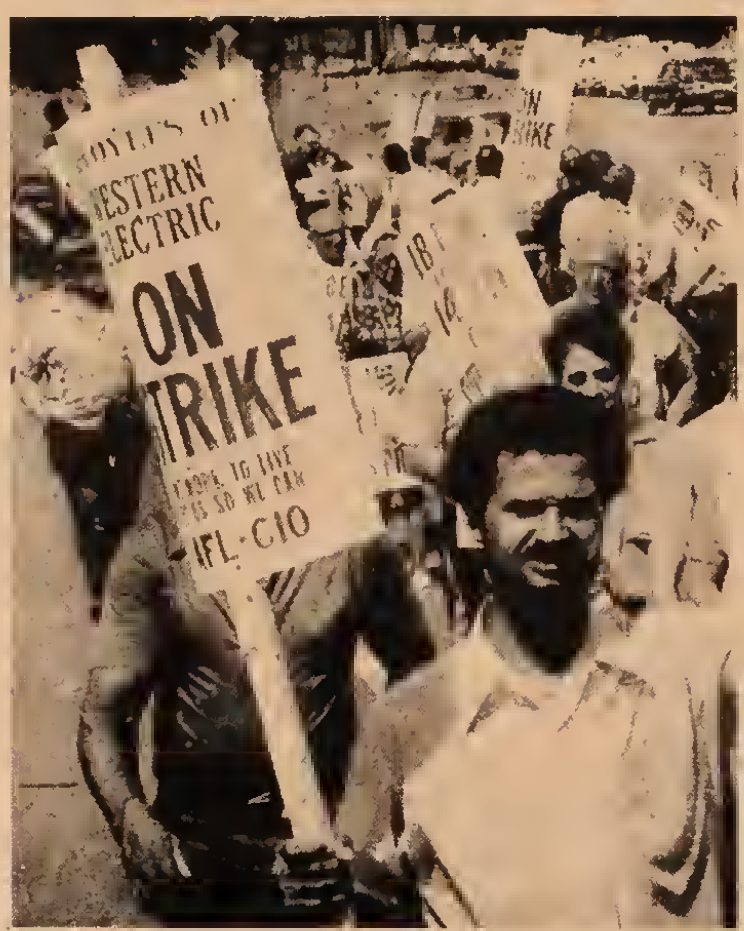

UPI

Western Electric strikers at Kearny, New Jersey

For a Bay Area-Wide Transit Strike!

OAKLAND, August 9—Top bureaucrats of the Amalgamated Transit Union have linked arms with the East Bay's AC Transit Company and the State of California in an effort to smash the six-week-long strike by the members of ATU Local 192. In particular, the unholy union/company/state alliance is seeking to do away with a unique, compounding cost-of-living escalator agreed to by a sleep-dazed AC Transit Company negotiator two years ago (see *WV* No. 50, 2 August). This clause was one of the few "escalator clauses" in the country which provided anything approaching real protection against inflation during recent months.

The Local's president, Ed Cordeiro, announced a "tentative" settlement on July 29, confidently predicting that work would resume after the ratification meeting two days later. Although Cordeiro employed the usual devices to ram through this "deal" (at the ratification meeting workers were given no time to study and discuss the proposed contract), the sellout was so blatant that the ranks erupted in vehement booing.

Under the old c-o-l formula, AC Transit workers' pay went up by 36 percent since 1972. However, in the face of galloping inflation, the proposed three-year contract would have raised wages by only 8.6 percent per year, while adding an inadequate dental plan and Martin Luther King's birthday as a holiday. The negotiating committee actually granted management's request for the elimination of any contractual protection against arbitrary firing for lateness. The membership present rejected this rotten package by a solid 3-to-2 margin.

The International Orders a Re-Vote

Immediately the labor skates of the union's International bureaucracy demanded a re-vote claiming that members were coerced into voting "no" and that the balloting "lacked secrecy"! (In reality the ballots had been guarded by a rank-and-file committee.) Meeting on August 1, the local Executive Board voted to accept the membership's decision. However, ATU International President Dan Maroney then *ordered* a re-vote, invoking Section 129 of the union's constitution.

The State Conciliation Service, agent of reactionary Governor Ronald Reagan, was summoned by Maroney to "supervise" the vote while the International prepared a panoply of tactics designed to confuse and browbeat the rank and file into accepting the sellout proposal: instead of voting after discussion in the union meeting, three consecutive union meetings were held while the balloting proceeded across the street; in addition, the union bureaucrats distributed $50 strike benefit checks with each ballot ("remember where that came from" was the obvious message); finally, the International conveniently "neglected" to inform the members that the Local 192 Executive Board had gone on record against the re-vote.

However, militants in the union bad gotten out a leaflet exposing the class-collaborationist tactics of the ATU leadership, condemning government interference and pointing out the need for a new union leadership based on a class-struggle program. The leaflet called for a fight to maintain past benefits, an end to all forms of binding arbitration and 30 hours' work for 40 hours' pay.

The militants demanded the formation of a rank-and-file committee to guard the ballot box and steps by the union to organize a Bay Area-wide transit strike to win their demands. In spite of the railroading tactics of the International the membership again rejected the sellout, but this time by a margin of only 66 votes. The militants' action undoubtedly prevented the adoption of the sweetheart contract.

Local 192 President Cordeiro fought

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WORKERS VANGUARD 25¢

No. 52 13 September 1974

New Wage Controls Threaten

Gerald Ford and George Meany

Ford Cancels Federal Pay Increase

SEPTEMBER 9—Nixon's resignation as U.S. President last month was the culmination of the deepest constitutional crisis of the American bourgeoisie in the last century. Yet it was not accompanied by a corresponding social/economic crisis or mobilization of the working class. As can be seen in the self-congratulatory editorials in bourgeois news media in recent weeks, the ruling class now believes it has successfully resolved the crisis by shuffling a few top officials.

However, with the stock market plunging daily, anarchy reigning in international monetary exchange, continued oil price hikes and primary commodities shortages, and inflation accelerating—the absent social and economic crisis may not be long in following. Under these circumstances a new government headed by an intellectual neanderthal (Ford) and one of the country's leading plutocrats (Rockefeller), neither of them elected to their office by anyone, can hardly expect solid public support.

With neither conservative nor liberal bourgeois economists having a plausible solution to the unprecedented situation of high inflation in the midst of sharp recession throughout the advanced capitalist countries, Ford is resorting to a series of economic "summit" meetings whose evident purpose is to shove responsibility for the looming disaster onto other shoulders, hopefully the Democrats'. The possibility of a worldwide depression is no longer dismissed as lunacy.

In this scenario it is the working class, as usual, which is being asked to bear the brunt of the economic crisis. Real wages have fallen 10 percent since mid-1972 and unemployment is already approaching 8 percent in several industrial states. (In particular industries the rate is already at epidemic levels. In New Jersey construction earlier this summer unemployment was over 30 percent.)

Liberals and trade-union bureaucrats alike are now concerned that Ford/Rockefeller may invoke the "old-time religion" of tight money and sharply reduced government spending in an effort to control inflation while creating large-scale unemployment. In their usual manner, the Jeremiahs of the ostensible revolutionary left, the Workers League, have taken these fears to their paranoid extreme: "These [deflationary] policies are designed to allow the collapse of broad sections of industry and to create massive unemployment on a scale not seen in the United States since the Great Depression of the 1930's" (*Bulletin*, 23 August 1974).

If Ford can *choose* a policy of depression and unemployment as the WL seems to think, he or some liberal can also choose a policy of economic recovery and full employment. Keynesian theory doesn't work either in stimulating or depressing the economy. The laws of the world capitalist system overwhelm even the most capable of bourgeois politicians.

While Wohlforthite demonologists may consider Ford to be an evil force guiding us toward economic disaster, Mr. Ford is hardly suited for the role. He is responsible to a variety of sectoral interests in America's bourgeois society and has neither the mandate nor the political power to trample on significant sections of the economy. Nevertheless, the new president will still have quite a few "bitter pills" for the less advantaged sectors of the population to swallow.

Depression and large-scale unemployment are indeed on the agenda, and it is evident that Ford will look toward wage controls and cutbacks in social services in an effort to stimulate the flagging economy. Here he will be supported by all key sectors of the ruling class. The myriad renunciations of wage/price controls are simply preparation for a later coy submission to an "emergency" situation.

Tight Money Shell Game

Insofar as monetary tactics during the Nixon era transcended the level of simple graft they revolved around the supposed high-interest, tight-money policies of Arthur Burns, chairman of the Federal Reserve Board. Now, the 5 September *New York Times* reports that at the first of several economic "summit" meetings there was agreement among academic, business and government economists as to the need for relaxing credit rates. Yet, in fact, the previous policy was anything but tight.

An 11.5 percent-interest rate on loans seems quite high if you are a wage-controlled worker trying to get a mortgage. But in a hyperinflated economy where profits have grown even faster than the rate of inflation, such a credit structure actually amounts to an "easy-money" policy for big-business borrowers. Moreover, the money supply has grown at a 7 percent clip since 1971. This is to be contrasted with a rate of growth of 1.8 percent in the 1950's and of 3.5 percent during the 1960's.

The reasons for such profligacy are clear. Important sectors of the American economy would be in dire straits if the liquidity of their assets was adversely affected by a real tight-money policy. This would lead to a series of bankruptcies, a situation which American capital would go a long way to avoid since it would greatly increase the irrationality and unpredictability of an already inherently unstable system.

Ford Turns to the Workers

There is only one source to which Ford can look for a partial solution to the economic problems he now faces, namely George Meany, head of the AFL-CIO. The President indicated his awareness of this "reality" by literally running from his inauguration to Mr. Meany's side. Nor is it any accident that one of Ford's first acts as chief executive was to propose the creation of an agency to "monitor" wages and prices, a proposal rapidly granted by an obliging Congress.

Although both Meany and Ford have issued countless denials that either would countenance wage/price controls it is clear as day that Meany's acceptance of, and proposed participation on, the new Council on Wage and Price Stability are a harbinger of future controls under the joint aegis of capital and the trade-union bureaucracy.

The recent working-class militancy and anger over the erosion of living standards and decrease in real wages must, of course, be given time to dissipate. But the minute the current strike wave subsides the despised controls will be hurriedly reintroduced. As for prices, Mr. Ford's "concern" was amply demonstrated by his recent "jawboning" which induced General Motors to back down from an exorbitant 9.5 percent price hike to a mere 8.5 percent rise!

The first battleground against wage/price controls is likely to take place in the government sector. Ford's proposal to defer scheduled pay increases for 3.5 million federal employees is an obvious stalking horse to check out the viability of reintroducing wage controls immediately. If the labor movement does not react sharply to beat back this attack, it will pay dearly for its passivity.

Ford's effort to explore working-class resistance at this early date may seem somewhat rash. However, in reality an "incomes policy" is the only

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The Working Class Will Never Pardon Richard Nixon!

President Ford's shameless decree of a "free pardon" for Nixon is but the latest dirty deal attempting to amnesty Nixon's crimes within the ruling class. We say: who elected Ford and Rockefeller? We demand: new elections and the fielding of a labor candidate pledged to a workers government—a government which will make Nixon and his entire class pay for their real crimes against the working people in this country, in Indochina and throughout the world. And a step in that direction, as well as a simple measure of democratic sanitation, is to put this ruling-class jackal in jail.

Chile: MIR Right Turn...5

Letters

Boston Committee Against Police Brutality

August 9, 1974
Boston

Dear Editor:

In the article on "Cop Terror" in *WV* No. 50 the black forty-year-old shopkeeper, James Wilds, murdered by the Boston police is incorrectly described as a black youth. Also the local committee formed in response to this killing chose to call itself the "Concerned People (not, as reported, the "Peoples Coalition") Against Police Brutality." The committee was in the main composed of various ostensibly revolutionary organizations with the Maoist spectrum being the largest component.

From the very beginning the orientations of class struggle vs. reformism were counterposed in very concise terms. The SL representatives proposed that the group become an action committee open to all groups and individuals who supported two central demands—that the "murderers of Wilds and Robey be arrested and tried" and "disarm the cops." This proposal was included in a leaflet which focused on the necessity to mobilize in particular trade-union support, as well as that of appropriate civic and community organizations, for actions around these demands.

WV PHOTO

Although the alleged "class-struggle" forces of the African Liberation Support Committee, RU, OL, SWP, Struggle Collective and their supporters constituted the bulk of the committee they felt compelled to liquidate their politics and otherwise capitulate to the slightest whim of a small group of nationalists. The first act of the group was to expel four whites, three of whom were SL supporters, from the meeting. The nationalists then sought to express the exclusion in racial terms by putting forth a motion that the group be named the "African Coalition." The RU Maoists opposed this on the basis that it excluded Spanish-speaking and other "third-world" peoples. A compromise was reached with the OL's definition of people to mean all non-Europeans. The name "Concerned People" was unanimously adopted.

This was the beginning of a long list of opportunist maneuvers that succeeded in liquidating any serious opposition to police brutality. The group was constituted as a white-exclusionist bloc limited to demands such as eliminating "excessively" abusive police weapons (shotguns, .357 hollow-nosed bullets, attack dogs). Having adopted a narrow and non-working-class perspective, with an exclusive orientation to the minority communities of Roxbury and Dorchester, the group solicited a black minister and black Democrat horse-trader Mel King to address the proposed August 3 rally.

Except for De Mau Mau none of the participants had even a semblance of links with the ghetto. The campaign was carried out in typical New Left fashion: leaflets enthused "repression breeds resistance," while a petition exhorted its readers to "support the demands of the community," i.e., the several dozen Concerned People. Suffice it to say that only myself and De Mau Mau went petitioning among Boston's housing projects.

At the meeting before the demonstration I requested equal speaking time to address the rally as a supporter of the SL. While De Mau Mau at least defended this basic democratic right, the various Maoists reacted with slanders like "you are divisive," "the SL attacks the farm workers," "we can't let every group use this to further its own ideology." I responded that these were partisan accusations made by supporters of groups who found it unnecessary to make any contribution to political clarity, preferring instead to gloss over politics in order to pose as "community activists." This orientation condemned the group to seeking a bloc with liberal bourgeois politicians and issuing sterile, liberal, minimum propaganda which covered up the class nature of the police as the capitalist class' arm of repression. The group's deliberate focus on a race/community orientation combined with the unprincipled hostility to racially united labor action represented a conscious negation of the working class, which, unlike the New Left Maoists, has both the power and material interest to bring to bear an effective opposition against the Boston cops.

The chickens came home to roost on the day of the demonstration. The march was a dismal flop, totaling about 80, including about 30 white Maoist supporters. The black and Spanish communities were noticeably absent, as was Mel King. The black supporters of the OL and RU had failed to inform their white "comrades" that they had capitulated to the nationalists in the planning meetings and collaborated in their exclusion. Though the whites were relegated to the rear of the march, even this did not appease the nationalists who regarded the whites as intruders. Race-baiting was rampant; whites expecting to hear militant rhetoric were treated to such expressions of solidarity as "Go home, you white beasts, we wish to talk to black people."

Not unexpectedly the last meeting of these elements as a group was characterized by mutual recrimination. The Struggle Collective accused De Mau Mau of putting forth their own ideology; the nationalists replied that they had said that "only black people can stop police brutality" and "it was the Marxist/Leninists who violated the decisions by inviting their white friends to a black march." I pointed out that indeed the so-called "Marxists" must bear full responsibility for evading every opportunity to confront the nationalists who are quite open about their hostility toward white support. The SL proposals concretized the perspective of united class struggle and the Maoists deliberately and unanimously voted them down.

With comradely and Leninist greetings,
A. Sweet

James P. Cannon

August 26, 1974
Comrades:

We have been reading your material for a few years now and we agree on the whole with your political line.

We had been members of the SWP for many years and finally gave up as the tendency became more and more reformist etc.

Saw an obit on J.P. Cannon in the *N.Y. Times*. His last years must have been very sad!

We have a great number of books and pamphlets that we must dispose of (not throw away). If someone is to be in Phila. in the near future please let us know.

We have intended to stop up at your office in N.Y.C. but never seem to make it.

Comradely,

Herb and Pauline L.

U.S. Bars Australian CP Union Leader

Glebe, Australia

Dear Brothers and Sisters,

As an active member of the Amalgamated Metal Workers' Union, I am writing to inform *Workers Vanguard* readers of the refusal of the United States Government to grant an entry visa to Laurie Carmichael, Assistant Federal Secretary of the AMWU and a member of the National Executive of the Communist Party of Australia. In view of your frequent coverage of events concerning the United Auto Workers of the U.S., I would like to address my remarks in particular to readers in that union.

Brother Carmichael, who is also the Vehicle Industry Representative of the AMWU had been invited by the UAW to attend a study course on aspects of American unionism. The U.S. Government rejected his application for a visa under a section of its Immigration and Nationality Act which bars members of a Communist party from entry.

This action by U.S. authorities vitally concerns the workers movement in both our countries. It is a clear attack on the democratic right of unrestricted travel and entry across national boundaries and the workers' right to hear differing political views. Above all, in banning Carmichael, they are directly attacking the international working class in a manner specifically designed to prevent the development of solidarity and co-ordination within the labour movement internationally. Union militants in both Australia and the U.S. must reply to this exclusion by calling for all necessary industrial action to be undertaken by workers organisations to force the lifting of this ban which is such a blatant attack on democratic rights. With the international capitalist class engaging in trade wars, protectionism and whipping up national chauvinist sentiment, the struggle for international working-class solidarity has never been more urgent.

While the U.S. Government might be under the illusion that Carmichael is a communist, as the CPA's top industrial strategist he has been responsible for repeated betrayals of the workers he purports to lead. He has been the architect of the "strategy of guerrilla action," similar to UAW president Leonard Woodcock's "Apache strategy," which is designed to dissipate workers' militancy into isolated and often impotent actions.

Perhaps the most notorious example of the treacherous nature of Carmichael's fake militancy is the Ford Broadmeadows strike here in 1973 where car workers spontaneously revolted against both his pathetic "guerrilla strategy" and his attempt to ram through a settlement on the company's terms. The ten-week strike of the Broadmeadows workers which followed was effectively sabotaged by Carmichael's refusal to fight for its extension throughout the car building industry.

While the American vehicle monopolies with factories in Australia (Ford, Chrysler, General Motors, International Harvester) are certainly just as rotten as they are in the U.S., Carmichael's fake militant posturing and demagogic rhetoric about the "menace of uncontrolled foreign multinationals" is an excuse to go soft on *Australian* capitalists.

In spite of Carmichael's record it is imperative to defend his rights against attack by the employers and their government, which is an attack on the rights of all workers. Moreover, by acting together to reverse the ban Australian and U.S. workers can strike a concrete blow for real international labour solidarity.

Carmichael has called on all Australian unions to support his case and has talked of strikes directed against General Motors-Holden and Ford factories in this country. Action along these lines should be supported. It is equally imperative, however, that workers in the U.S., particularly in the UAW, be brought into the campaign by co-ordinated industrial action to break this ban.

I would like to request that your readers raise this question in the UAW, as I intend to do in the AMWU.

Fraternally,
David Grumont
(member, Sydney Central Branch, Amalgamated Metal Workers' Union)

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Cannon (center) with Max Eastman (left) and Big Bill Haywood in Moscow, 1922.

MILITANT

Rose Karsner and Jim Cannon on his 70th birthday.

Report from Oslo:

Workers Strike at Norway's Largest Firm

OSLO, August 16—Workers at Norsk Hydro walked out last month in a two-week strike which is regarded here as the most significant labor dispute in Norway since 1948. The workers were protesting low wages, some of the worst working conditions in the country, a surging rate of inflation and soaring company profits.

Hydro, Norway's largest firm, employs over 5,000 workers, producing key industrial ingredients such as magnesium, chlorine, nitrates and polyvinylchloride. Thus the shutdown posed a considerable economic threat through the chain reaction that shortages of these products could cause in a number of industries. The capitalists' government, including the fake "socialists" of the Norwegian Labor Party, was accordingly anxious to get Hydro back into production at the earliest possible moment.

Pro-Nazi Management and Cold War Socialists

Government intervention and "socialist" sabotage of strikes are nothing new in the history of Norsk Hydro. The company was founded seventy years ago, with part of its financing coming from the Swedish capitalist Marcus Wallenberg. At the start French capital was predominant, but by the 1920's I.G. Farben, the German chemical trust, gained control. (During the war Hydro, as a Farben-controlled firm, was of particular service to the Nazis and helped finance their Norwegian imitator party, the Nasjonal Samling.)

Seeking to "rationalize" the company's operations (and thus increase its profits), Farben caused the summary firing of several hundred workers in 1931. However, the workers resisted and their militancy eventually had to be suppressed by militia and gunboats. This show of force was arranged by none other than Vidkum Quisling, then defense minister and later pro-Nazi chief of state under German occupation in World War II.

In 1948, fighting for a reduction of the workweek to 42 hours, the workers of the Hydro plant at Heroya took matters into their own hands by declaring a new schedule of shifts. Management answered with a lockout, and the conflict lasted over two months. In the Storting (parliament) Labor Prime Minister Einar Gerhardsen launched a Cold War attack on the workers, accusing them of waging a "*political* action, and one which is but a link in an *international* action."

The national federation of trade unions (known by its Norwegian initials, LO) also played a rotten role in the 1948 walkout, backing down on the demand for a 42-hour week and then declaring the subsequent shutdown an "illegal" strike, on which grounds it refused to pay strike benefits.

In 1971 the state obtained just over 50 percent of Norsk Hydro's shares, a fact which has been used to paint the firm management as "responsible to the whole society." Nevertheless, even after the state's acquisition of majority-stockholder position, Hydro continues to be represented in the Norwegian Association of Employers. Another example of the reality behind the myth of Scandinavian "socialism" is the conspicuous silence on the strike by LO national chairman Tor Aspengren, who is also a member of Hydro's board of directors.

The main strike issue was the workers' demand for a contractually guaranteed annual salary scale. Although labor negotiations are shrouded in considerable secrecy in Norway, a bureaucratic practice which leaves the membership in the dark as to what is being fought for, reports put the unions' demands at about a 30 percent increase. An indication of what wage levels have been heretofore is the fact that in the salary classification being demanded by the union the top wage is set at $8700. Norway's cost of living, subject recently to heavy inflation, is at least as high as that of the U.S.

Lack of a Class-Struggle Leadership

The shutdown at Hydro was not total. Workers in certain divisions are under separate contract, and the magnesium and chlorine plants at Heroya would have required lengthy closing-down procedure. On this basis the strike committee, representing the various unions involved, left some 800 workers on the job during the strike.

The purpose of this was to take the heat off the "responsible" Labor ministers in the government. In a textbook example of the consequences of class-collaborationist politics, *Arbeiderbladet*, the Labor Party's mass-circulation daily, agonized over the lost production, the threat to other industries' raw materials supplies and the general "cost to society" posed by the strike.

The Norwegian Communist Party (NKP), in turn, found itself unable to demand anything more militant than the withdrawal of Hydro management from the Employers' Association! The NKP organ, *Friheten*, gave considerable space to the views of the strike committee chairman Edvard Seland, who praised both workers and management for their calmness and "adherence to the rules" and made clear his feeling that all a strike is about is to increase the "fairness" of labor's "share."

Orientering, which represents a left-maverick split from the Labor Party, appeared to do the most work on digging up and publishing facts about the strike and its background, but failed to draw any but the mildest reformist conclusions.

Meanwhile the Maoist Workers' Communist Party (AKP) and its organ, *Klassekampen*, came close to missing the strike entirely, so busy were they at their usual task of trying to prove that the Soviet Union is a "bureaucratic-capitalist state." (The latest issue, dated 31 July-6 August, claims that the USSR is an "imperialist power" which "threatens other countries and nations—Norway included." The clear implication of this statement is that the working class should defend capitalist Norway, a member of NATO to boot, against the Soviet Union! No class-conscious worker would support such a counter-revolutionary policy.)

Klassekampen managed to run an article after the strike ended, but concentrated on the seamy history of Hydro without providing any clear program for the workers. The obvious need was to raise such demands as expropriation without compensation, workers control and a sliding scale of wages and hours to counter the runaway inflation and threatened unemployment. But, despite its name ("Class Struggle"), nowhere did the Maoists' organ link the strike to a revolutionary program for the transformation of the labor unions into instruments of a class-conscious proletariat. ■

Third Campers Expel Soviet Defensists

Witchhunt in the RSL

We reprint below an account by supporters of the former Trotskyist Tendency/Soviet Defensist Minority of the Revolutionary Socialist League (RSL) of their recent expulsion from that organization for advocating an ostensibly orthodox Trotskyist policy of unconditional military defense of the Soviet Union and other deformed workers states against imperialism.

Among those expelled number three members of the RSL Central Committee (CC): Margaret Brecht, Jon Myers and Kevin Tracey. Brecht and Tracey were members of the RSL Political Committee (PC), and Brecht also held the position of RSL National Organizational Secretary.

This series of expulsions of leading cadre marks yet another setback for the foundering RSL, which earlier lost its "Black-Latino Coordinator," Don Cane, to the Workers League (Cane has subsequently broken from the Wohlforthites). Coupled with the abortive attempt to fuse with the Platsky/Turner Class Struggle League early last winter and the decision to retreat from a bi-weekly to a monthly newspaper, the recent expulsions only underline the downhill slide of Taber/Landy and Co. and confirm the SL's evaluation of the RSL as a hypervolatile petty-bourgeois formation with no future in the workers movement.

The root of the RSL's problems is political. It attempts to maintain that it is Trotskyist while at the same time rejecting Trotsky's views on the degeneration of the October Revolution and on the nature of Stalinism in favor of a "third camp," state-capitalist position on the Russian question. At bottom, this "third campism" represents a social-patriotic reconciliation to American imperialism.

Consequently, any tendency within the RSL attempting to find its way to a Trotskyist perspective must first of all confront the key Russian question. Rejection of defeatist, Shachtmanite "third camp" positions in favor of a position of unconditional military defense of the degenerated/deformed workers states against imperialism represents a necessary (but not sufficient) condition for the realization of a successful struggle to transcend the RSL's revisionism.

The RSL leadership has only belatedly acknowledged the recent expulsions. But it has defended this atrocity in no uncertain terms trying to justify a series of political expulsions on the grounds that the minority was cliquist and guilty of a new crime—"entrism."

Thus, in the "PC Statement on the Expulsion of Brecht and Tracey" one reads:

> "The basis for the charges against Brecht, Tracy, and Myers was that they had acted as an entrist political grouping within the League for the purpose of either securing leadership through apolitical means and if that proved impossible splitting away a section of the League membership. As it happened, when they saw they could not maneuver themselves into leadership, they embarked on a course of wrecking the League in order to maintain their base. They attempted to implement their 'rule or ruin' perspective through a series of cheap maneuvers, petty slander and bald lies to the organization. They organized their supporters into a clique cohered by personal loyalties, gossip, and the promise of special privileges to its members....This course exposed their complete contempt for and disloyalty to the program and membership of the League. Their ineptness only helped to expose their cynicism."

The next paragraph of the PC Statement begins by noting that:

> "Although the clique [Brecht, Myers and Tracey] formally shared a 'Soviet Defensist' position on the Russian Question, it was never organized into a political tendency or faction based on an explicit platform and open to all who held the position."

What monstrous hypocrisy!! For years these "democratic socialists" and "creative Marxists" have been going around screaming about the totalitarian horrors of the "bureaucratic Cannon regime" in the early SWP. But it takes someone such as Landy, the cynical and degenerated product of fifteen years of anti-communist social democracy, to elevate cliquism into a capital political offense, or to expel a group at a meeting where it presents an oppositional document and then turn around and accuse it of being a clique for failing to organize a tendency based on an explicit platform! Brecht and Tracey were expelled at the very same April 13 CC meeting at which they presented their statement of tendency, "In Defense of October."

Lucky Abern! A cliquist who repeatedly blocked with disparate political elements in order to oppose Cannon, he managed to survive over a decade of the "Cannon regime." The latter guaranteed only simple things like the right to factions and lacked the "creative Marxists" to invent such crimes against the working class and the party as "entrism."

By its organizational practices alone, the RSL demonstrates that its Trotskyism is just so much verbiage. In appetites and practice it has much more in common with the very worst of the New Left Maoists.

It is, of course, quite conceivable that the RSL leadership's charges, that the supporters of the former Trotskyist Tendency/Soviet Defensist Minority are unprincipled maneuverers and cliquists, are true. Given the self-evident hysteria reigning within the RSL, the pompous posturing of most leaders of the organization and its truly grotesque and undemocratic internal life, it would be surprising if a factional situation inside the RSL did not include a heavy dose of cliquism—on both sides. But charges of cliquism and maneuverist behavior do not constitute grounds for expulsion. In this case they are a smokescreen to obscure the programmatic issues that—in the last analysis—are decisive.

If there is a lesson to be learned by the expelled RSL minority it is precisely that of the primacy of program in political struggle. All members of this tendency, including especially former Communist Tendency leader Kevin Tracey, should reflect upon the experiences of the Communist Tendency. As a left oppositional grouping coming from the SWP, the CT rejected the possibility of fusing with the SL despite substantial programmatic agreement, in order to instead liquidate into the petty-bourgeois, workerist International Socialists so as to get "close to the working class." Instead they got close only to the Gregorys, Landys, Landaus and Tabers, while the CT itself totally fragmented and dissolved. Precious years of experience and talent have been lost to the revolutionary movement.

The present ex-RSL minority will never find its way to a Trotskyist perspective unless it understands and rejects the workerism which led the CT into its liquidationist and ultimately disastrous course. The struggle to forge the Leninist combat party is above all the struggle for the program of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky. ■

"The Purge of the Trotskyists from the Revolutionary Socialist League"

On July 13, 1974, the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Socialist League (USA) upheld the expulsions by the Detroit and Chicago branches of the supporters of the Trotskyist Tendency. This was the culmination of a purge which began with the expulsions by the CC on April 13th and 14th of Political Committee members, Margaret Brecht and Kevin Tracey, and the reduction to candidate membership of CC member Jon Myers. Those purged were all the advocates of the Trotskyist position on the class nature of the Stalinist states who waged the fight against the state-capitalist defeatism of the RSL.

So aware is the RSL leadership of the cowardly and unprincipled character of its own campaign against the Soviet Defensists, that it has been to date unable and unwilling to make any public statement in defense of the purge.

The struggle began at the January 1974 meeting of the CC where the *first* formal discussion of the Russian Question in the RSL was held. Upon consideration of "On State Capitalism" by Eric Olson, now hailed as a "major breakthrough" by the defeatist majority, it became clear to several supporters of the state-capitalist position that the position put forward was inconsistent with the world view of Trotskyism. It also became clear that the RSL did not have *one* position on the Russian Question, but an amalgam of every view save that of Trotsky; that the leadership of the so-called state-capitalist majority was content with this amalgam because it sought fundamentally only to maintain a bloc against the Soviet Defensist position. It was at this meeting that it was first openly stated in the RSL that Trotsky's position on the Russian Question was "centrist" and that it laid the basis for the degeneration of the Fourth International. And it was at this meeting that the campaign to isolate Kevin Tracey, at that time the sole Soviet Defensist in the leadership, was begun in earnest.

On February 28th Brecht informed the National Secretary Ron Taber that she had become a supporter of Trotsky's position on the class nature of the Stalinist states. Without any authorization from a leading committee, Taber began a phone campaign to discredit Brecht and, upon being informed by Myers that he was reconsidering his position, Myers as well.

For more than a month no formal charges were brought while the PC majority bloc—Taber, Sy Landy, Bruce Landau, Jack Gregory—escalated their activities: an hysterical slander campaign on the branch level against these PC and CC members and the growing number of other supporters of Trotsky's position. The "charges" varied from week to week and no evidence was offered to prove them. Indeed, it was declared that the defeatists had no responsibility to prove them. A call for a Control Commission to investigate the situation was denounced as "Cannonite bureaucratism" and, on being asked to prove the "charges," Landau arrogantly proclaimed, "We are Trotskyists, not bourgeois legalists."

Instead, the defeatists took organizational measures. Brecht was removed from the position of Organizational Secretary. Other Defensists were removed from the local Executive Committees in Detroit and Chicago. Still others were removed from labor committees.

At the April CC meeting, the majority resolution *State Capitalism and the Russian Question: A Rough Draft* was passed. This was the first substantial exposition of their view that the defeatist bloc had ever been able to pass. Only hours later, Brecht and Tracey, against whom formal charges had finally been presented April 1st, were expelled. The next day Myers was removed from the CC and excluded from full membership, with the promise that he would be "dropped" as soon as the "shock" to the membership subsided.

Following the exclusion of the leading Soviet Defensists, others were censured and threatened with expulsion.

When "In Defense of October," the resolution to the CC from the Soviet Defensist minority, was distributed to the membership, its supporters declared a Tendency. In response to this, the PC split over whether to expel the Tendency one by one, all at once at the next CC meeting, or at the Convention. Landy warned against the course being followed: "A necessary but unfortunate political hatchet job was done on Brecht and Tracey... it would not look good to those who have read *In Defense of Marxism*." But at the May 9th PC meeting Taber demanded the expulsion of all the Defensists at the next CC meeting. The PC compromised. The secretary of the Tendency would be expelled. Again Landy objected: "It will look like we expel each of their new leaders."

On May 26th Myers was "dropped." At that same meeting a Declaration of Faction was issued, which documented the centrism of the RSL, its campaign against the Defensists as practical proof of the revisionist and cliquist nature of the central leadership, and which exposed the "secret" plans of the PC.

The hesitancy of the PC members was dissipated. On May 31st the PC issued a statement calling for the ex-

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MIR Veers Right After Coup

This week demonstrations are being held throughout the world to mark the anniversary of last year's bloody coup in Santiago and to pledge international solidarity with the junta's victims. While there is widespread outrage at the murder of tens of thousands of defenseless Chilean workers and peasants, there are predictably wide differences over how to respond to the tragic situation.

For the Stalinists it is sufficient that a few thousand militants march around chanting "CIA Hands Off Chile" or "Chile Si, Junta No," and listen to some liberal Democrat denounce the generals. To them the class struggle is nothing; the only goal is to "restore democracy." For Marxists, however, September 11 is an important opportunity to analyze the causes of the junta's victory and to prepare for the revolutionary struggle ahead.

The Spartacist League repeatedly warned, from the time of Allende's 1970 election, that the Popular Unity government was preparing the way for a bloody defeat of the Chilean working masses. The UP coalition, we pointed out, was not a workers government but a popular front—a bloc of the reformist workers parties (Socialist and Communist) with a section of the bourgeoisie—which was explicitly committed to the maintenance of capitalism. Alone among the ostensibly Trotskyist tendencies in the U.S., the SL refused to give any form of political support, however critical, to this class-collaborationist regime.

Now, in the aftermath of the bloody defeat we predicted long in advance, we seek to drive home the lessons of Allende's fall. This the reformists do not want. In the name of "unity" (!) they seek to exclude the Trotskyists from participating in or speaking at Chile defense rallies, and to drown out our slogans of "Workers Si, Junta No" and "No Popular Front Illusions."

So far they have been unsuccessful in winning support for their schemes of bureaucratic suppression, and for good reason. If the victory of the military over Allende was a sharp setback for the workers movement internationally, it was a resounding *political* defeat for the Stalinist policy of "peaceful roads to socialism."

MIR Gives Critical Support to Allende

In Chile itself the organized workers movement has been driven underground and suffered great losses, but it has not been destroyed and atomized. Moreover, reports indicate that elements in the working-class base of the SP and CP have begun to question the policies which led to September 11. So far, the main beneficiary of disillusionment with the UP's moderation and pacifism has apparently been the New Left/Castrolte Revolutionary Left Movement (MIR).

The MIR is a centrist organization whose main characteristics have been sharp tactical zigzags and political confusion. Formed in 1965 out of a fusion of pro-Chinese, pro-Cuban and "Trotskyist" elements, the MIR in its early years focused primarily on students, peasants and slum dwellers. When it finally directed its attention to the organized working class (approximately from 1972 on) the MIR scored some spectacular successes. But it was too late.

At the tactical level these left Castroites switched from a phase of clandestine preparation for guerrilla struggle to de facto support for the existing bourgeois government after Allende was installed. Never an actual member of the UP coalition, the MIR's policy during 1970-73 was one of pressuring

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Free Van Schouwen and Romero!

We print below two letters received by the Spartacist League of Australia and New Zealand in response to the SL/ANZ's campaign last spring to save the lives of the Chilean MIR militants Alejandro Romero and Bautista Van Schouwen.

The revisionist fake Trotskyists of the United Secretariat, or rather its European majority under Ernest Mandel, have also campaigned in defense of the imprisoned MIR leaders. However, the USec defense is a classic expression of its capitulationist policies. Only rarely, and then in the most diplomatic and guarded terms, does the USec even hint at criticisms of these centrists. The SL, in contrast, while showing militant proletarian solidarity, has refused to submerge its independent Trotskyist program.

The situation is all the more ludicrous since the USec has, as is becoming its standard practice, *two* competing Chilean sympathizer sections, the PSR (Revolutionary Socialist Party) and LCCh (Communist League of Chile). However, while the pages of *Rouge* and the *Red Mole* are regularly filled with stories about the MIR, interviews with its leaders, etc., the USec sections are almost never mentioned. Although the LCCh has existed since August 1973, no account of its political positions was published by the USec until June 1974!

This "neglect" is no accident, for in the grand scheme of Mandelian maneuvers, such tiny groups are mere pawns to be traded for influence among the much larger centrist groups. Having earlier spawned the Castroite MIR and the Castro-Mao-Kim Il Sungite Argentine PRT (while covering up the repeated betrayals of its various Ceylonese affiliates for years), Mandel/Maitan/Frank are at it again.

THE AMALGAMATED METAL WORKERS' UNION

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"Amalgoyen Darlinghurst"

Please Quote:

17th April 1974.

The Secretary,
Spartacist League of Australia and
New Zealand,

Box 3473 G.P.O.
SYDNEY. N.S.W. 2001

Dear Comrade,

As you are aware, I recently returned from the visit to Chile and prior to my going I received a letter from the League asking for information in particular about Von Schowen and Romero.

The only information I was able to obtain was in respect to Von Schowen. I spoke to students who had a personal knowledge of his arrest and information about his treatment. He was arrested and was brutally treated and finally taken to the Military Hospital in Santiago. The students assure me that there has been no opportunity to see him, but I found that quite a lot of information is passed on from various military and other sources which gets back to what can only be called the underground.

When I arrived in Chile I made enquiries about seeing prisoners and was only able to see those who I had the names of and could say specifically in what camp they were, and consequently when it came to locating Von Schowen it was not until the second week that I got any reliable information. So far as the authorities were concerned, they simply denied any knowledge of his whereabouts but of course we only spoke to the Minister Benallo and his representatives at the beginning of the visit.

Whilst we were there a number of Court Martials or Military Trials were being held of prisoners, and held in secret, but it was general knowledge that they were taking place. When I went to Chacabooka this was confirmed by the prisoners I spoke to who told me that there were about 20 prisoners held in the barracks who were not allowed to come into contact with anybody and who had received long term sentences of up to 20 years.

I have made contacts who have promised to write to me and follow up any information on a number of people about whom I made enquiries. Should I receive any information I will forward it to you immediately.

Yours fraternally,

James Baird

J.A.BAIRD

AUSTRALIA

OF AUSTRALIA - THE SENATE

MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS
CANBERRA

8 APR 1974

Dear Senator,

In the Senate on 20 March you raised with Senator Murphy the question of the welfare of Drs Van Schowen and Romero, two members of the Chilean Movement of the Revolutionary Left. You subsequently passed to my office the enclosed correspondence to facilitate enquiries into the matter.

The Embassy in Santiago, which has now looked into the situation, reports that Dr Van Schowen is detained in Concepcion while the possibility of bringing criminal charges against him is investigated. Its enquiries into Dr Romero's case reveal that he was arrested in Santiago on 25 October 1973 and that he is now held under house arrest in his home in Santiago. While the Embassy is not able to confirm allegations of torture, it does appear that neither man is in imminent danger of his life.

Australia's concern at the fate of political prisoners in Chile has been registered on a number of occasions and the authorities there are aware of our general attitude. I am asking our Embassy to make a formal approach to the Chilean Foreign Ministry to bring your enquiry to its attention and to inform it of the concern felt here with respect to Drs Van Schowen and Romero.

Yours sincerely,

(D.R. WILLESEE)

Senator A.T. Giotzelt,
The Senate,
Parliament House,
CANBERRA. A.C.T. 2600.

Gandhi Crushes Rail Strike

During the first nine months of 1974 India has already witnessed the fall of two state governments, in Gujarat and Bihar, as a result of violent demonstrations and rioting over food shortages, high prices and unrestrained corruption permeating the ruling Congress Party. Simultaneously, communal riots broke out in Delhi and other major cities. Then in late April, while Gujarat was still smouldering and Bihar was plunged in the turmoil of the mass anti-government upsurge, the National Co-ordinating Committee of Railwaymen's Struggle (NCCRS), a united-front strike committee composed of unions representing the nearly two million organized workers on India's state-owned rail system, served notice on Indira Gandhi's regime threatening a nationwide strike to begin on May 8.

Faced with perhaps the deepest social crisis since independence, and with its base of popular support precariously weakened, the Congress Party clearly realized that it could not survive a working-class offensive on the scale of a national transport strike. Although the government could conceivably meet the railwaymen's demands—bonuses and wage parity with workers in the other public-sector enterprises—the strike threat represented an unmistakable challenge by the organized working class for a confrontation with the capitalist state. Moreover, if Gandhi granted the union demands she would soon find her government flooded with wage demands from millions of workers whose living standards are being ground down by galloping inflation (more than 30 percent in the last year alone).

UPI

Rail strikers in New Delhi.

Thus on the same day the NCCRS served strike notice, the Political Affairs Committee of the Union Cabinet declared that the threatened strike would be illegal under the Defense of India Rules. Prime Minister Gandhi swiftly authorized a series of draconian measures to prevent the strike: over 300 passenger and goods trains were summarily cancelled in order to stockpile coal reserves and to precipitate dislocations severe enough to kindle anti-strike sentiment among the public; the Territorial Army was instructed to call up over 35,000 railwaymen for duty; at all important rail centers swarms of special police and military units were ominously deployed; and all the wartime authoritarian powers for maintenance of "internal security" were declared to be in effect. Finally, a vicious propaganda campaign was launched which insinuated that the leaderships of the rail unions were in collusion with certain unnamed foreign powers and were plotting to wreak havoc that even "our enemies" (i.e., Pakistan) had been unable to inflict in the past.

In order to project an image of good faith, the government ceremoniously entered into mock negotiations with the NCCRS. However, after a few perfunctory sessions, the government abruptly arrested George Fernandes, Convener of the NCCRS and Chairman of the Socialist Party of India, and more than 2,000 union leaders throughout the country in a series of pre-dawn raids on May 2. Railway Minister L.N. Mishra justified this dragnet with the vague allegation on the floor of Parliament that George Fernandes had something "bigger in his mind than the strike."

Union Leaders Unprepared to Fight Government

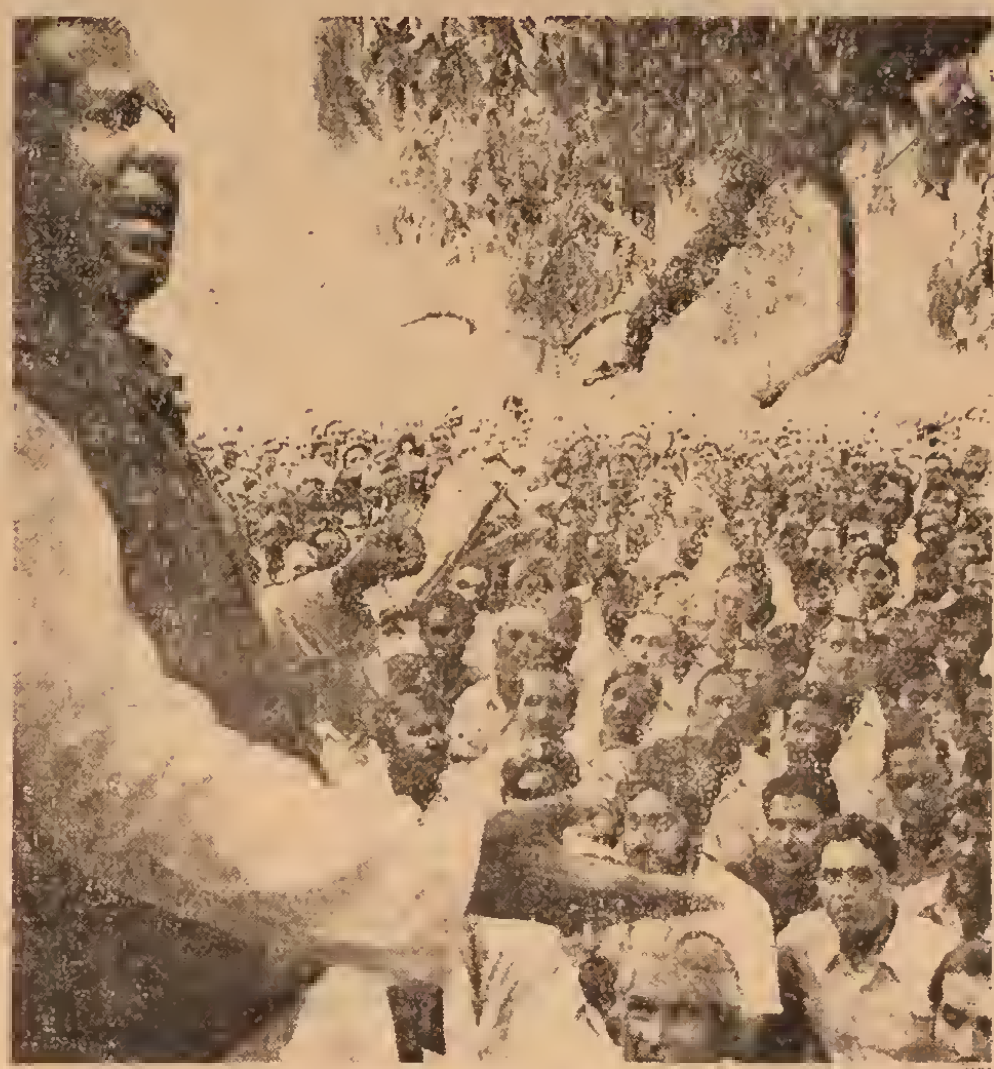
Despite the government's determined *political* offensive, the reformist workers parties controlling the rail unions emphasized from the outset that the strike would not be permitted to develop into a political confrontation with the government. A few days after the beginning of the action, the Socialist Party (which controls the largest rail union federations) stated in its newspaper:

> "What is Shri [Mr.] George Fernandes's motive in organizing the railwaymen into action that has no parallel? It is mere trade union action pure and simple, in support of just economic demands."
>
> —*Janata* [*The People*], 12 May

For these social democrats the class struggle is nothing but a "mere" means for extracting a few concessions from the capitalists, while "socialist" parliamentarian ministers prepare the "peaceful transition to socialism."

The attitude of the ultra-reformist Communist Party of India (CPI) toward the strike was even more crassly defeatist. Thoroughly committed to a policy of class-collaborationist alliance with the "progressive" wing of the bourgeois Congress Party represented by Gandhi, the CPI was forced to place itself on the opposite side of the barricades from the masses during the course of anti-government upheavals in Gujarat and Bihar. The Stalinists participated in the rail strike only to break it.

When the NCCRS first delivered its strike notice, the CPI-led trade-union federation announced its support, but independently of the NCCRS declared that essential commodities such as steel, coal and foodgrains should be exempted. During the strike the CPI issued calls for the strikers to take group or zonal decisions on returning to work.



UPI

Opposition leader addressing rally of railway workers during strike.

In fact, the CPI went so far as to scab on the strike. In a special interview with *Workers Vanguard* correspondents in Bombay on June 16, strike leader George Fernandes disclosed for the first time how CPI cadres operated the trains for the government in the critical area of the Bihar coal fields.

Assured that the reformist leaders of the NCCRS would not launch a political counter-offensive, the government proceeded with an unprecedented reign of terror to smash the strike. By simple administrative circular the Railway Board suspended the Payment of Wages Act and withheld the entire April and May wages of all strikers. In India, where strike funds are inconceivable given the abysmal pay scales, such a move poses the prospects of mass starvation.

Likewise the electrical, water and food supply to government-owned railwaymen's housing colonies was cut, and in many places workers were forcibly evicted with their families. The police and special military units forced striking workers back to the trains at bayonet point, beat their children and in many cases raped the women.

Program for Strike Victory: Political Offensive Against Capitalism

In this situation a revolutionary leadership in the rail and other trade unions could have mobilized powerful class forces and broadened the strike into an anti-capitalist attack on the government. Demands for a repeal of all draconian acts and immediate release of all political prisoners and strikers, joined to a call for armed militias of workers, poor peasants and the unemployed based on the trade unions, were absolutely crucial for the defense of the strike. Moreover, they could intersect the anti-government upsurges erupting throughout the country. Outrage against government repression had been one of the main forces triggering both the Gujarat and Bihar upheavals.

But the rail strike could be defended and won only through mobilization of the entire Indian proletariat for a general strike. The NCCRS did call for a one-day *Bhārat Bandh* (cessation of all industrial, commercial and public activity throughout the country) in support of the strike for May 15. The fact that the industrial working class responded with the first successful general strike since independence demonstrated the class solidarity and willingness of the workers to join the struggle.

In order to mobilize the workers for a militant general strike and unify the unions in struggle (rather than by mere bureaucratic accords) a revolutionary leadership would have called for the creation of democratically elected, nationally coordinated rank-and-file strike committees. The communists would struggle to win the general strike movement to demands for a massive wage increase and a sliding scale of wages and hours, in order to raise the abysmal standard of living of the workers and combat the killing inflation and unemployment. These demands contain an explosive potential for mobilizing broad masses in struggle, as the desperate food riots in Gujarat and Bihar demonstrated.

In order to link the struggles against price rises, corruption and hoarding to the struggle of the working class, socialists should call for the creation of price committees/consumer cooperatives, based on the power of the trade unions and drawing in poor peasant councils and scheduled-caste ("untouchables"), womens' and student organizations.

Unlike the student-led and politically

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Riots in Newark:

Gibson's Cops Club Down Puerto Ricans

On Sunday, September 1, mounted park police trampled a Puerto Rican festival in Newark's Branch Brook Park, thus beginning four days of riots in which over forty have been arrested, scores injured and at least two killed.

Unlike Newark's ghetto explosions of 1967 and 1969 which were channeled into Kenneth Gibson's successful mayoral bid in 1970, this time the black mayor and police director were the primary targets.

Today in Newark the price of illusions in "our own mayor" is being paid in blood. It was "black nationalists" including, in particular, Imamu Baraka who nominated Gibson as their "community choice" at the Newark Black and Puerto Rican Convention in 1969 thus paving the way for Gibson's election. Having "progressed" from "honky"-baiting to an alliance with white racist vigilante Anthony Imperiale to his present posture as an apostle of Marxism-Leninism, Baraka now denounces the Gibson regime as "blackface fascism" (Congress of Afrikan People, press release, 3 September). But Gibson is the same anti-working-class Democratic Party politician he was when Baraka supported him against the 1971 teachers' strike.

DAILY NEWS

Anthony Imperiale and his burned-up motorcycle during Newark riots.

Stop Cop Terror

Like the liberal black mayors Bradley of Los Angeles, Hatcher of Gary and Jackson of Atlanta, it is Gibson's job to contain the class struggle while mystifying the sources of black and minority oppression. In the heat of the recent events in Newark, Gibson said that "any attempt to blame" the disorders "on underlying social causes was inflammatory." Yet the unemployment rate among Newark's Spanish-speaking population is 25-27 percent, while almost a third are reported to be on welfare (*New York Times*, 4 September).

In the wake of this outburst by Newark's oppressed Puerto Rican population, a "People's Committee Against Police Repression and Brutality" was formed, including Baraka, a representative of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party and a former leader of the Young Lords. This ad hoc group has raised several demands that can be supported, including amnesty and medical care for those arrested, firing police director Hubert Williams and elimination of the tactical and mounted police divisions.

The group has also proposed forming a civilian police review board and has called on Gibson to grant it broad investigative powers. While socialists could give critical support in specific circumstances to reform measures directed against the autonomy of the increasingly bonapartist cops, we must expose the call for a civilian review board as impotent and simply a reformist evasion of struggle.

In the context of a desperate struggle of the oppressed masses against "the hired guns of the capitalist class," a revolutionary leadership must seek to rid the masses of their illusions in reforming the bourgeois state. The fight by racial minorities against their oppression must be linked to the class struggle for socialist revolution.

—Disarm the cops—For a multiracial workers militia based on the trade unions!

—Break with Democratic Party politics, black or white—For a workers party based on the trade unions—For a workers government! ■

Ranks Solid Despite Defeat

AC Transit Strikers Forced Back to Work

OAKLAND, September 3—After a two-month-long strike here the bus drivers, mechanics and clerks of the East Bay's AC Transit system were finally driven back to work by the conscious sabotage and foot-dragging inaction of their union leadership. The settlement, virtually identical to earlier company offers which had been rejected two times by the membership, was a step backward in every respect.

The key element of the sellout was agreement by Amalgamated Transit Union Local 192 President Ed Cordeiro, backed up by the ATU national bureaucracy, to abandon AC Transit's unique cost-of-living clause. Under the old contract, one of the few in the country to provide real protection against skyrocketing inflation in recent months, wages had risen 36 percent since 1972. In contrast, the new formula provides a one-cent hike for every 0.4 percent rise in the Consumer Price Index, amounting to less than a one-half percent wage increase for every one percent price increase. The only "sweetener" over previous offers was a vague promise of "full percentage" c-o-l coverage in the last year of the contract.

Additional features of the settlement were the dropping of the earlier minimal protection against firing for lateness (something which Cordeiro conveniently "neglected" to mention in his sketchy summary of the terms), a massive *pay cut* for newly hired workers (for a one year period instead of the previous six months) and a lengthening of the contract from two to three years.

Despite the setback AC Transit strikers went back in good order and without rampant demoralization. No workers were fired and some 357 voted against the sellout for yet a third time, indicating a sizeable core of determined militants. However, none of Cordeiro's opponents on the executive board had a program for, or made any effort to mount a serious fight to win the strike. Seeing no organized alternative to the pro-capitalist ATU bureaucracy, the ranks finally gave in after 62 days on the picket line.

Coming after a period of plummeting real wages (down 10 percent nationally since mid 1972, the largest wage cut since the early 1930's) caused by the "voluntary restraint" of all wings of the union bureaucracy, from "liberal" Woodcock to the reactionary Meany, the AC Transit strike drew attention both locally and nationally. Across the bay in San Francisco militant Muni drivers demanded a 14 percent wage increase and almost struck to get it, while airport bus drivers rejected company offers *three times* before ending their strike. Inspired by the East Bay transit strikers (already the highest paid in the country), Los Angeles bus drivers walked out demanding national wage parity in the industry.

The key to victory lay in spreading the strike geographically and broadening it politically into an attack on the class-collaborationist labor bureaucracy. The ATU leadership ordered two re-votes and actually called in cops to guard the ballots because they did not trust the membership-elected committee which was to oversee the counting.

The Spartacist League fought for a Bay Area-wide transit strike, calling for full cost-of-living protection in every contract, a shorter workweek at no loss in pay and free public transportation. These demands were favorably received in Local 192 and were raised by militants both there and among Muni drivers in San Francisco who were considering strike action.

The struggle to replace the Cordeiros and their ilk with a class-struggle leadership of the unions requires the formation of opposition caucuses with an explicitly political program counterposed to the pro-capitalist bureaucracy down the line. Among the *transitional* demands such caucuses would raise are a sliding scale of wages and hours (30 hours' work for 40 hours' pay, full c-o-l protection) to fight inflation and unemployment; for full equality in hiring, a union hiring hall; for workers control of production; for a workers party based on the unions and for a workers government, as opposed to the bureaucracy's support for the Democratic and Republican parties of big business.

That "rank-and-file" militant trade unionism is not enough was indicated by the equivocal response to the AC Transit strike by two reformist opposition group active in San Francisco transit workers' unions. The Concerned Muni Drivers passed a resolution calling for "support" to the East Bay bus strike but left out any reference to a Bay Area-wide transit strike. This key demand was part of the original motion introduced by militants from ATU Local 192. The PL-supported Workers Action Movement put out a leaflet calling for solidarity of Muni drivers with AC Transit strikers, but called only for "mutual aid pacts" between the unions involved and for an "emergency meeting" to "support and spread the strike."

In early August, at a time of accelerating inflation and the height of the Watergate crisis of the capitalist politicians, a Bay Area-wide transit strike would have been a powerful blow not merely against the union tops and employers directly involved. In addition to winning the demands of the AC Transit, Muni and airport bus drivers, it would have been a sharp blow at "friend of labor" politicians like San Francisco Mayor Alioto. Bureaucrats like Cordeiro would agree to any number of emergency meetings, mutual aid pacts or strike support resolutions (all meaningless so long as they remain in power) before ever giving in to the demand for an area-wide transit strike. The rapid escalation of last February's S.F. city workers' walkout into a near-general strike showed the union tops what could easily happen under such circumstances.

The WAM and Concerned Muni Drivers' failure to support the call for a Bay Area-wide transit strike was an open admission of their inability to provide class-struggle leadership to the workers, letting the bureaucracy off the hook at the crucial point.

With the San Francisco city council's refusal (based on a legal technicality) to grant city workers wage increases in July, and its vote last month to place the "Feinstein amendment" on the ballot in November (a measure which would re-categorize Muni drivers in order to cut their pay), the stage is set for potential political strike action and greatly increased interest in demands for a workers party based on the unions. The demonstrated will to fight of AC Transit workers can give them a chance to play a leading role in such a confrontation. Militants in Local 192 must take up the fight to crystallize a class-struggle opposition caucus in their union and to spread it to transit workers throughout the area. ■

Trotskyist Expelled from L.A. Socialist Collective

We print below a statement by Charles D. protesting his expulsion from the Socialist Collective, a black ostensibly revolutionary Marxist organization in Los Angeles. Charles D. subsequently joined the Spartacus Youth League (formerly Revolutionary Communist Youth), the youth section of the Spartacist League. In the last issue of WV we published a press release issued by the SC following a brutal assault upon its members inspired by the Communist Party and Republic of New Africa. Commenting on the press release we vigorously protested this cowardly Stalinist/black nationalist attack on the SC, while making clear our political differences with the latter.

The Socialist Collective was formed earlier this year out of a loose grouping in the Los Angeles black radical milieu. Like most local collectives, where personal social ties are important, the politics of the SC were extremely eclectic. Members ranged from classic pre-World War I Menshevism to Guevarism.

The SC came under the leadership of one Joe Johnson, an ex-member of the Workers League who has spent the last few years as a dilettantish hanger-around of various "Trotskyist" and "third camp" organizations. The healthiest aspect of the SC has been its clear rejection of black nationalism and its commitment, although in an abstract way, to the primacy of class struggle. It was this above all that caused the group to be labelled Trotskyist within the L.A. left and won it the hatred of the Stalinists and nationalists.

At various times the Socialist Collective has expressed criticism of the Leninist theory of the vanguard party, its own views reflecting both anti-intellectual workerism and a vague anti-authority levellerism. In addition, the SC claims that the Soviet Union is "state capitalist" without having a coherent theory of what that means. Its positions on China and Cuba are distinctly vaguer, no doubt reflecting the greater popularity of these states in the black radical milieu.

The SC initially went through a phase of extreme activism. During that period, it participated in a fully responsible way in a united-front demonstration, initiated by the Spartacist League, to defend Van Schouwen and Romero, two Chilean leftists threatened with execution by the junta. More recently the collective has begun to disintegrate, suffering from a lack of national perspective and Johnson's organizational high-handedness. At its best, the SC was a serious attempt to break out of the New Left/black nationalist/Stalinist deadend and find a global communist solution to social oppression. We say to the members of the Socialist Collective that this path is the one taken by comrade Charles D. in joining the Spartacus Youth League, the Trotskyist youth organization in the U.S.

July 29, 1974

To the Socialist Collective:

I have been expelled from the Socialist Collective for the political views that I hold. I openly expressed these views *inside* the S.C. without violating discipline. It was only for my politics that I was called a "Spartacist League agent", and expelled.

What does this say for the S.C.'s method of applying democratic centralism (freedom of discussion, unity in action)? Freedom of discussion should not be a hollow phrase merely for the S.C. to display in the "Collective Rules". Marxists understand that "freedom of discussion" is absolutely necessary, because real understanding *requires* a struggle. To a revolutionary organization, "freedom of discussion" is not a luxury, but a necessity. Expelling me for fighting in favor of communist politics is not an affirmation of "freedom of discussion", but a repudiation of that principle....

As I was expelled for having Spartacist League politics, it is important to note that S.C. members do not, for the most part, know what S.L. politics *really* are. All the assertions—such as, "The S.L. is objectively on the side of the state" (the S.L.A. question); "They (S.L.) say C.L.U.W. is a C.I.A. funded organization, run by bureaucrats, and they (S.L.) will have nothing to do with it"; "Armchair revolutionaries" with a "good-sounding paper program, but no practice" etc.—amount to unqualified statements, with no investigation.

How many S.C. members investigated for themselves the S.L.'s position on the S.L.A., and terrorism in general? I'm sure that if comrades had known that the S.L. had been the only group on the left to defend the Weatherman terrorists—even with all the unpopularity brought on to them for taking this principled position—then instead of us blindly throwing around accusations, we would at least have made a competent investigation of their politics on that question....

As a consequence of this lack of understanding, the S.C. has put forward the antiquated slogan of the "democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry" as "the only sure road to safeguarding independence and class emancipation". Don't the S.C. comrades know what this means as a result of its use by the Stalinists, and other reformists? This strategy has been repudiated by revolutionaries before and since Lenin's "April Theses" where he stated clearly that the fate of the Russian Revolution lay in the hands of the workers, manifested by "the dictatorship of the proletariat".

In *State and Revolution* (August 1917) you will not only fail to see any advocation of the "democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry"... but you will read unmistakably, that: "The essence of Marx's theory of the state has been mastered only by those who realize that the dictatorship of a *single* class is necessary..." (*State and Revolution*, p. 41, Peking edition). And also, "Only the proletariat, by virtue of the economic role it plays in large-scale production, is capable of being the leader of *all* the toiling and exploited people, whom the bourgeoisie exploits, oppresses, and crushes often not less, but more than it does the proletarians, but who are incapable of waging an *independent* struggle for their emancipation" (*State and Revolution*, pp. 29-30, Peking edition). Do these sound like any "democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry"??

When Lenin used the phrase... he at least had the idea of uncompromising struggle against the bourgeoisie, so that the events of the February Revolution (1917) convinced him that the ["democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry"] was no strategy for uncompromising struggle against the bourgeoisie, but in fact, tied the workers *to* the bourgeoisie. Trotsky's strategy [was one] of a social revolution, where the workers would lead the peasants, under a "dictatorship of the proletariat"... the only one that could resolve the national and democratic tasks (land to peasants, national independence, etc.). Marxists understand that the peasantry can only follow—follow the bourgeoisie, or proletariat.

How in the world can the peasantry organize and run society in its own class interest, when it's spread wide, its interests varying from one locale to another, and its *class outlook* is individualistic. *In what manner can it organize and develop large-scale industry?*

What has happened in the intervening years is that the Stalinists have bent the phrase ["democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry"] and used it to justify their betrayals to the class struggle. For example, Stalin's telling the Chinese Communist Party to accept the leadership of the Kuomintang (we talked about this when studying "On Contradiction") and the result of following that advice was being butchered by Chiang Kai-shek in 1927....

The pessimistic view that "underdeveloped" countries can't have socialist revolution has a long history in the movement, from the Mensheviks in old Russia, to the Stalinists-Maoists today. While the revolution can only start in such countries, it *can*, in fact, *start* there. The Russian revolution was not doomed to failure from the start. It was crippled when the German revolution failed, mostly because a tested leadership was lacking. The German communists had come too late to Lenin's ideas on party-building; this lesson S.C. comrades should read more about.

The S.C.'s rejection of Leninism and Trotskyism as the contemporary expression and continuity of revolutionary Marxism is what leads to embracing such reactionary theories as the "democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry", and makes its application of democratic centralism hollow, thereby blunting its concern for developing cadre.

The organization does not struggle to create unity internally, but instead expels "troublemakers". How can we talk about the legitimacy of factions, and then expel me for merely fighting for my politics? Where are the charges of violating "unity in action"? Even though I did oppose many of our political statements and actions carried out, I did help carry them out. No one can deny this.

I have been pointed out as the source of disruption in our meetings, that is, principled, up-front political opposition. But let us look at what sort of stuff is disruptive, not just to the meetings, but to the existence of the S.C. itself....

The coldest thing that I have witnessed in the S.C. was the last meeting that I was at when, after Joe's motion to remove Leslie from coordination of the youth group and the C.C. (because of "incompetency", being too "commandeeristic", and "turning people off") was voted down, Joe then resigns from the five member C.C., because of "liberalism". Then Leslie resigns from the C.C. for the sake of an odd number on the C.C. (three), but requests that with his resignation... he remain as coordinator of the youth group. Larry (I think) then opens up nominations for a five member C.C., himself as one. Joe nominates J.P., and J.P. nominates Joe. Then, after J.P. and Joe are elected, Leslie is removed from coordinating the youth group, and replaced with J.P. What kind of revolutionary organization would the S.C. be to accept this sort of manipulative, roundabout maneuvering to sneak in a motion already defeated? To top it off, Joe responds to the question "Why are you back on the C.C., when you resigned earlier?" with the answer, "I no longer feel that liberalism is present" (!!).

I understand that the S.C. has repudiated this particular event. But this is not the first time that the S.C. has allowed this sort of conduct....

If the S.C. is to qualify its seriousness, then it must confront its past actions and behavior with a critical eye. I am not afraid to admit that I was also a part in letting a lot of this stuff slide, and even sometimes caught up in

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Box 8867, Station A, Toronto, Ontario, Canada

it myself, not knowing what to do....

I am not exactly sure what the S.C.'s position of "state capitalism" is, but the application of such a position is as follows: If you believe that no overturn of property relations has taken place in the *deformed* or *degenerated* workers states, then, say if *Cuba* went to war with (bourgeois) Mexico, then you could not side with the Cuban workers and peasants in defending the gains of the Cuban revolution from capitalist restoration, and imperialism, while calling for a *political* revolution to place workers democracy ... in place of the Stalinist bureaucratic control of that (deformed) workers state.....

The point is not whether socialism exists (because it can't—not in one country), but whether there is the economic basis for socialism. Politically it is a *degenerated* workers state, in Russia's case where the revolution degenerated, with the workers being *politically* expropriated by the Stalinist bureaucracy. The *deformed* workers states (China, East Europe, North Korea, North Vietnam, Cuba) are called such because the workers never had political control of their state, but should be considered social revolutions because of the revolutionary and economic dynamics they possess, expropriating the bourgeoisie, destroying the old army and state....the argument that a market and commodity production exist in, say, Russia or China and therefore that they are essentially capitalist is not a dialectical approach to the subject. The market will "wither away" the same as the state. It cannot be abolished in a workers state here or there, but will only "wither away" internationally. Also production in the deformed workers states is not generally guided by profit guidelines as it is under capitalism. The most important point is that it would be a defeat for the international working class if capitalism were restored in China, Russia, Poland, Cuba, etc. This would immeasurably strengthen world imperialism, led by the United States....

What about the public statements about the C.P., B.P.P. and S.L. being "objectively on the side of the state". I have failed to read anywhere when that has been given the analysis it deserves. In fact, the only public exposition given on it was the S.L.A. speech at the second rally. But it is a weak attack to essentially say, "Who is the S.L. to call the S.L.A. petty bourgeois terrorists. They have parents that are court judges, plantation owners, etc." If anybody had read their position on the S.L.A. they would have known that S.L.'s criticism of the S.L.A. was not because they are "petty bourgeois" but *terrorists*, and the type of terrorism that it was. Not like the Tupamaros, whose terrorism is at least very political (kidnapping oil executives, government diplomats, etc.) [but] the type of cultist stuff the S.L.A. would talk about, and actions which left people baffled (Marcus Foster slaying, hit list, and shoot-outs over penny-ante shoplifting). What is most important to me is not so much the positions that are taken, but the lack of thorough investigation, which I see as being the reason why we have adopted many inaccurate positions.

The S.C. is already expelling left and right and having many resignations. It has no clear perspective on its current course, and I am not sure how long past summer it will last. People do get tired when they struggle so hard and sacrifice so much of their time to something that they discover too late in the game ... really [isn't] going anywhere, much less leading the movement. The fortitude and willingness to struggle against greater odds is without a doubt a positive quality of the Socialist Collective. This is why I hope comrades do not shy away from these not-too-pleasant criticisms that I have submitted to you, but deal with them directly, without backing away from any issue.

It is too bad that I am not able, today, to present my criticisms from within as a Socialist Collective member.

Yours in communist solidarity,

Charles

Continued from page 6

India Rail Strike

heterogeneous "Youth Committees for Building Anew" in Gujarat and the Student Action Committee in Bihar, such price committees/consumer cooperatives could have moved to expropriate the vast stocks of hoarded foodgrains. Backed by the power of the armed trade-union militias and militant strike committees, they could sweep the venal Congress Party politicians from their positions in the state grain procurement and distribution system and institute direct workers control of distribution.

However, a general strike in India today would obviously unleash powerful social forces and contain the potential for rapidly developing into a revolutionary situation. Communists must foresee this development and prepare for it. The strike committees could draw around themselves broad proletarian, exploited petty-bourgeois and unemployed masses and develop into soviets, the embryonic structure for a new proletarian state. Simply the most basic problems of survival for the striking workers would pose the question of capitalist property relations, and revolutionists would raise the slogans of expropriation of industry under workers control, land to the tillers and for a workers and peasants government.

The Rail Strike is Crushed

By their refusal to adopt a class-struggle perspective the Stalinists and social democrats betrayed the rail strike. Both the CPI and the SP have a long record of strike sabotage. As recently as last February a CPI-led union called off a solid 40-day textile strike in Bombay on the eve of an already planned general strike in support of the union! The Stalinists claimed that the massive general strike would have precipitated a "blood bath." It must not be forgotten that Fernandes' SP refused to join its forces in the massive May 1973 Bombay general strike against the growing famine in the state, and on numerous occasions, including May Day celebrations, has allied with the anti-labor, reactionary-communalist Jan Sangh (Peoples Party).

When the government declared the threatened strike illegal and began preparations for its counteroffensive, Fernandes did nothing but await the tea-sipping, polite "negotiations" in New Delhi. No steps were taken to organize a united front of all trade-union federations, set up rank-and-file elected strike commitees that could provide leadership in the likely event of sweeping arrests or provide even the most elementary defense measures.

At no time did the SP tops seek to link up the struggle of the rail workers with the spreading anti-government struggles, and the *Bhārat Bandh* was called simply as a passive observance of an "anti-repression" day. When militant struggles erupted spontaneously during the strikes, Fernandes reacted by writing a letter to Gandhi from jail assuring the Prime Minister that he, too, was absolutely opposed to "political adventurism"!

Lacking a class-struggle leadership the railwaymen were in the end powerless to combat the devastating repression and prevent the slow, agonizing crushing of the strike. On May 28 the NCCRS finally called off what had been the longest and most costly strike in the history of independent India. As a result of the action 50,000 workers had been illegally arrested and detained without trial, 16,000 fired, 15,000 temporary workers dismissed and 12,000 evicted from their government-owned hovels.

Pabloists Tail Students, Strikers

The convulsive social struggles of the last year have been a serious test for the ostensible Trotskyists in India. Numerically tiny and politically heterogeneous, these are loosely grouped into the Communist League of India (CLI), section of the revisionist "United Secretariat of the Fourth International." In general, while the CLI has published militant propaganda on the upsurges in Gujarat and Bihar as well as on the rail strike, it reflects a characteristically Pabloist strategy of pressuring and tailing alter youth vanguardist and reformist bureaucratic forces.

Thus the article in the Hindi-language central organ of the CLI advances the following perspective:

> "The next step is the demand for that strong parallel governmental distribution system which ought to be able to provide full rations to the poor of the village and city. In this system let there be the building of peoples-committees for curbing pervasive corruption. For giving adequate foodgrains to the weaker groups of society let there be in the villages forcible grain procurement through the help of the peoples-committees."

The article concludes:

> "The youth of India are awakened. They will change this outmoded capitalist economic system and colonialist social structure. At that time the building of socialism will be possible."
>
> —*Mazdūr Kisān Krānti* [*Worker-Peasant Revolution*], April 1974

The centrist CLI here recognizes the need for the creation of a vehicle for struggle, but substitutes youth vanguardism for the necessity of a conscious political struggle for the hegemony of the Transitional Program.

This conception was even more explicitly articulated in a declaration issued in Bombay on April 15 by a state leader of the CLI, who played a prominent role in coordinating the activities of the Youth Committees for Building Anew in south Gujarat:

> "The formation of Nav Nirman Janata Samitis [Peoples Committees for Building Anew] in factories, workshops, mohallas [wards] and villages should therefore be the primary task in the next phase of the upsurge which must be directed against the exploitative capitalist system as a whole... The SSA [Study and Struggle Alliance—a youth organization led by the CLI] therefore calls upon all progressive forces to convene a state-wide conference of trade unions, Kisan sabhas [peasant councils], farm labour unions and organizations of students, youth, women and adivasis [landless laborers] to thrash out a common program of action in their struggle against the present capitalist-landlord system which is the source of all corruption, price rise and inflation, unemployment, starvation and all other social and economic ills."

Unless based on the proletariat as the decisive social class and committed to a clear anti-capitalist program the "Peoples Committees for Building Anew" will simply be a broader version of the then existing (but now non-existent!) Youth Committees for Building Anew.

Concerning the rail strike, the propaganda of the CLI was essentially confined to general statements of solidarity and support. Thus, the special "rail strike number" of *Mazdūr Kisān Krānti* (8 June 1974) lacked any strategy or slogans for turning the strike and the *Bhārat Bandh* into a general strike aimed at overthrowing the Gandhi government. Thus whenever the opportunity presents itself the CLI submerges its program and functions as a pressure group to force the centrist and reformist leaderships of the working class to the left.

In response to the Gujarat-Bihar struggles and in preparation for the rail strike the Bombay CLI shelved the most important demands of the Transitional Program in order to form a propaganda bloc with the opportunist Revolutionary Socialist Party. This opportunist bloc, the "Revolutionary Worker-Youth Alliance," is seen by both the CLI and the RSP as a left pressure group on the local "united left front" formed by the Stalinists and Socialists.

The present sharp polarizations and social crisis in India have brought to the fore once again the crying need for revolutionary leadership. The perspective of the Permanent Revolution has seldom been so sharply posed. Only the Indian proletariat in power, supported by the peasantry, can solve the unfinished, urgent democratic tasks of the bourgeois revolution, among them: elimination of communalism and casteism, liquidation of landlordism, forging national integration and the development of industry and agriculture. Only the creation of a genuine Trotskyist party in India, section of a reborn Fourth International, can open the road to the creation of the Socialist Federation of South Asia. ■

BUILD THE SYL!

The third national conference of the Revolutionary Communist Youth, youth group of the Spartacist League, unanimously voted to increase the frequency of its press, *Young Spartacus*, to a monthly beginning with the next issue and to change the name of the organization (effective at the initiation of the fall campaigns on campuses) to the *Spartacus Youth League* of the United States.

Since its last national conference the RCY experienced a dynamic growth, expressed in establishment and consolidation of a number of active campus fractions, geographical extension and greatly increased press circulation.

Last spring the RCY ran communist campaigns in student government elections at four campuses, conducted principled united-front defense work, participated in strike support and several campus union organizing drives. It also helped to build the SL-initiated campaigns around the defense of imprisoned Chilean militants and solidarity with the British miners' strike.

Continuing its struggle as the SYL, the RCY rightfully claims the heritage of the first, and finest, Trotskyist youth organization in this country—the Spartacus Youth League, youth group of the Communist League of America. BUILD THE SPARTACUS YOUTH LEAGUE!

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Chavez...

Recently, UFW bureaucrats announced that they were filing 15 more lawsuits against both the growers and the Teamsters. (Not to be ouldone, a 500-member growers' association filed a $106 million suit against the UFW the very next day!)

Failing to learn a single lesson from experience, the UFW leadership has spent months pressuring the legislature in Sacramento to pass Bill AB3370, which would provide for union elections and legalize the secondary boycott for farm workers. While these are desirable democratic reforms, this legislation also gives power to a governor-appointed commission to be granted "the right to subpoena records and witnesses" and to unilaterally determine the validity of contracts. Though the bill was endorsed by the California AFL-CIO, it was effectively killed for the year by a Senate vote in August.

Fake Socialists Embarrassed

As the already desperate situation of the UFW daily worsens as a result of his pacifist class-collaborationist policies, Chavez has recently lashed out at critics on the left, castigating "pseudo-revolutionary groups" and "those people in the cities who don't have to deal with the realities of the fields" (speech at Davis, Calif., UFW rally on August 13). Among these are groups so loyal to Chavez in their opportunism that they have until recently never expressed a word of criticism and have therefore proven themselves indeed "pseudo-revolutionary" betrayers of the farm worker ranks.

In contrast, the SL has consistently and actively solidarized with the farm workers' struggle. An important part of our support has been to counterpose a class-struggle program and methods to the betrayals of Chavez and Co. This has led to red-baiting attacks and physical threats against our supporters by the UFW bureaucracy and its lackeys including the Communist Party and Revolutionary Union.

But Chavez' current activities, including his capitulation to George Meany in abandoning the lauded secondary boycott tactic, are so gross that even his most loyal bootlickers, the October League, RU, Socialist Workers Party and International Socialists, are now finding it necessary to print the first hints of criticism in their respective presses, though delicately phrased, of course.

The SWP's recent article advising Chavez to "Solidarize With Undocumented Workers" (*Militant*, 2 August) and references to UFW leaders' "betrayal" in turning in "illegals" to U.S. authorities are nothing but nauseating hypocrisy in light of the SWP's earlier touting of the UFW as "the vanguard of the U.S. trade-union movement," even as betrayal after betrayal was perpetrated by the Chavez leadership. The SWP meekly dismantled its literature table to "clean up" last year's UFW convention for Edward Kennedy's entrance as keynote speaker without a word of public protest. Last fall, when Chavez shut down the picket lines at the height of the lettuce and grape strikes, the SWP actually apologized for this betrayal (*Militant*, 31 August).

What has happened is that the SWP has for years uncritically tailed after both Chavez of the UFW and Bert Corona of CASA, a Stalinist-led Chicano organization. Since the recent massive deportations of tens of thousands of "illegal" Mexicans in L.A. (CASA's base) public strain has appeared between Corona and Chavez, and the SWP now has to choose which one to continue tailing.

The CP is taking the difficult position of supporting both Corona and Chavez. Thus the 3 August *People's World* printed without comment a letter from Corona with mild criticisms of the UFW ("we cannot understand and lament with much regret the press statements..." etc.) while it continues to publish uncritical articles about the union's activities.

Perhaps most cynical of all are the Maoists of the RU and OL, who only last fall were offering to beat up

WV PHOTO

SL/RCYers on the picket lines and at rallies if the UFW should request their services. When Chavez shut down the picket lines in favor of the impotent boycott tactic, not a peep of criticism was heard from these pseudo-revolutionaries. But now the RU meekly notes that "the UFW leadership's decision to give up the secondary boycott in exchange for Meany's promises could lead to very serious consequences" (*Revolution*, May 1974). And the OL now comments that UFW attacks on "illegal" farm workers "can only hurt the cause of the UFW" (*Call*, August 1974). One wonders where these "communists" were when Chavez was supporting the Kennedy-Rodino bill in 1973.

Sick and Tired of Pacifist Betrayal

Though sporadic and often spontaneously initiated, showing little evidence of a centrally coordinated effort, the strikes waged this summer by the UFW, including the present tomato strike near Stockton, California, have evidenced militancy and a tense undercurrent of barely restrained anger among UFW farm worker ranks.

UFW pickets and sheriff's deputies have several times clashed with arrests resulting. The 7 August *Stockton Record* reported that 20 deputies were pressed against a fence by angry pickets while ten other pickets dashed into a field to "harass non-union pickers near Highway 99."

John Giumarra, a California growers' spokesman, alleged at the end of July that an "organized campaign of arson and destruction" had ruined hundreds of thousands of dollars worth of crops and farm properties this summer, attempting to imply a connection between these incidents and the UFW.

Farm workers are increasingly fed up with Chavez' pacifist deadend strike strategies. Neither are they comfortable with the proposition that the way to keep scabs out of the fields is to turn them over to the *la migra* cops for deportation, the growers' tactic for dealing with "troublemakers."

It becomes increasingly evident that the struggle for survival of the UFW must be one in which the ranks of the unions defeat the bureaucrats in the process of mobilizing the organized force of the entire labor movement in defense of the farm workers. Full citizenship rights for all foreign workers! For an international UFW! Teamsters out of the fields! Hot-cargo scab products! For armed self-defense of the picket lines! For a state-wide general strike to defend the UFW! ■

Continued from page 12

...Phone Wildcats

bureaucrats had simply walked out of the meeting, having no intention of obeying the membership's wishes. Leadership of the strike committee had fallen to MAC, but a successful strike was not possible because the official leadership had not yet been deposed in the eyes of the ranks.

Most workers returned to work when they saw that the official leadership—still "the union" in their eyes—opposed the strike. If MAC had attempted to maintain picket lines, even though an official meeting had voted to stay on strike, the result would simply have been the elimination of the best militants from the union. The Caucus sought instead to exploit the issues politically, in order to win sufficient support to oust the present misleaders permanently.

At the "Strike Organizing Committee" meeting MAC spokesmen stressed the need to build more support for a strike locally and nationally, warning that an isolated action would lead to a company/union purge of militants which would prevent them from being around for future decisive battles. These remarks went unheeded by PL, which later reported that the "main opposition [to the wildcat] came from fake 'communists' who said we were 'too small' to organize a walkout" (*Challenge*, 29 August). Apparently support from the workers is irrelevant to PL/WAM, which also never acknowledges a defeat.

The role of WAM supporters verged on the criminal in their disregard for the actions they knew would be taken by the union leaders, in collusion with the company, to crush the strike and fire militants. Over MAC objections, WAM and UTU members entrusted a loyal member of the Local 9410 executive board, who was obviously at the meeting for information-gathering purposes, with leading the walkout at one of the largest buildings.

Later, PL lyingly reported that "Many of us were surprised by the company role our union 'leaders' were playing, trying to sabotage the walkout instead of supporting and helping lead it" (*Challenge*, 29 August). The game PL was playing here was deadly and despicable. PL supporters knew full well what the role of the bureaucrats would be, yet they made a show of naïveté, attempting to push workers into trusting a duplicitous official in order to later "teach" the workers a lesson about the bureaucracy. This cynical approach assumes that the workers are too stupid to understand a lesson without having their heads knocked first. In the eyes of PL/WAM the role of leadership is to beguile and trick the workers into a position in which they will "learn" the hard way.

WAM's cynical adventurism is nothing new. It used the same tactics during the Mack Ave. auto wildcat in Detroit in 1973, where a small handful of militants attempted to conduct a "sitdown" strike. The UAW tops mobilized a 1,000-man goon squad to break the strike, and 40 workers are still fired as a result.

The walkouts never affected more than four or five of the small buildings in San Francisco. In order to keep up a pretense of "victory" in the face of its obvious failure, WAM planned to expel MAC supporters from the strike committee. MAC members were denounced as "Company agents" and scabs, despite the fact that Rosalind Benedet, a MAC member, had been involved in the walkout in her building from the beginning and no MAC supporters crossed any picket lines. The vote to expel MAC from the strike committee was 30 in favor and 15 opposed, with 25 abstentions. Following the expulsion two other strikers slammed down their chairs, declared that the meeting was worse than official bureaucratism and walked out in solidarity with MAC. Since the meeting, MAC has earned authority with many workers who say that they supported what MAC said but did not have the courage to say it themselves.

At the following "strike" meeting, the UTU member most known for support to the Democratic Party was chairing. He was prepared to expel half of the attending workers for expressing MAC's ideas before he was called to order by WAM leaders. In the subsequent *Challenge* version of the story,

> "The majority of people felt that the time had come to retreat to our shops. A PL member pointed out that the main strategic question wasn't whether we retreated or not, but rather 'are we going to build the wildcat momentum into a Local-wide strike and turn the union meeting around?'"

How the workers are to "build the wildcat momentum" of a failed wildcat strike was not explained, nor is there any self-criticism for the failed tactic which only a few days earlier had been promoted as the way to grow automatically "from 50 to 100 to 1,000." For WAM, every "bold action," from the Mack Ave. debacle to the San Francisco phone wildcat, is a "victory," no matter how many militants are needlessly sacrificed.

In contrast to MAC's enhanced reputation for intelligent leadership, the loss of authority by the wildcat "leaders" has been drastic. Attendance at a demonstration called for Friday, September 6 at a downtown telephone building in defense of the fired victims of the strike was limited to 15 including MAC supporters. The ten fired workers were all members of the oppositional groupings, WAM, Traffic Jam and MAC. The task now is to build a strong united-front defense of all the victims through struggle within the union.

The problems of phone workers can not be solved by a few wildcats in a few locals, or by local or nationwide strikes under the present union misleaders. These bureaucrats cannot be simply bypassed or pressured to the left, nor will the ranks change leaderships lightly. The class-struggle forces must earn their authority by consistently providing correct leadership and pointing the way to victory. An alternative leadership must be built on a nationwide scale, extending into all the locals and linking up with workers in other unions. It must ruthlessly expose the reactionary bureaucracy, but not attempt to substitute itself for the masses of workers: it must seek to *lead* the workers, not go around them or maneuver them into "educational" confrontations with superior forces. For cynical opportunists such as PL/WAM and on occasion the RU, defeats are irrelevant as long as they can "get the masses moving" with "bold actions." But for class-conscious workers the test of real revolutionary leadership will be the ability to show the way forward to victory for their class. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Bi-weekly of the Spartacist League

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Wage Controls...

course open to the American ruling class at this time. Even moderate economists such as Hendrik Houthakker, a Harvard professor and former member of the Council of Economic Advisors under Nixon, are led to make such "modest proposals" for labor as the following:

> "In the field of *Labor* unreasonable restrictions on union membership, such as prior apprenticeship or excessive entrance fees, would be prohibited. Union-operated hiring halls would be abolished. The Davis-Bacon Act and similar laws concerning wages paid under government contracts would be phased out. The bill would also reform unemployment insurance so as to make it less of a disincentive to work, and would exempt juveniles from minimum wage laws."
>
> —*Wall Street Journal*, 20 July

It is indicative of the expected depth of the current economic crisis that even "responsible" bourgeois elements such as Mr. Houthakker can blithely propose the smashing of the trade unions and the mobilization of the unemployed against the employed. Although not currently on the agenda, such proposals will proliferate as the economic crisis worsens.

Minorities Hit Hardest

Because they are traditionally "last hired and first fired" black workers have in recent years lost the gains they achieved during the period of a tight labor market in the late 1960's. During that period the black population experienced a 32 percent gain in real income, as opposed to 16 percent for whites. However, the median income for black families was still only 61 percent of that for whites.

More recently, since 1970 the number of blacks whose income was below poverty levels has actually increased, whereas the opposite trend is present in the white population. Currently, blacks and other racial minorities are *twice* as likely to be unemployed as white Americans, and the median income of black families has sunk back to 58 percent of that of white families.

The prospect of large-scale unemployment in the mass production industries, an inevitable result of a sharp recession or depression, threatens to aggravate this situation still further as blacks now form a significant, sometimes predominant, part of the basic industrial workforce. Moreover, the projected governmental spending cuts will certainly be implemented in social services—health, education and welfare—and will therefore also hit racial minorities hardest.

The intersection of rising unemployment, spending cuts in areas which primarily affect racial minorities, and recent losses by those groups in terms of their living standards means that we can expect a reawakening of militant discontent in inner-city areas along with the revival of large-scale reform/protest movements in the black population. This resurgence of black militancy could also lead to an exacerbation of inter-racial hostility, a phenomenon which Mr. Ford and his bourgeois cohorts will do their best to exploit.

The Period Ahead

Despite possibilities of increasing racial tensions during coming months the immediate future abounds in possibilities for revolutionaries. Quite unlike the 1960's, rising black militancy will likely occur alongside seething working-class discontent in the context of a major economic downturn. Moreover, the class collaborationism inherent in even the most militant versions of black nationalism has been exposed by the dramatic rightward evolution of the Black Panther Party and demagogic gyrations of the likes of Newark's Imamu Baraka, from his current "Marxism/Leninism" hustle to earlier support for black Democrat Gibson and alliance with white racist vigilante Anthony Imperiale. With the likelihood of mass protests directed against black mayors and, in some cases, black local union officials the greatly increased opportunities for revolutionary Marxist leadership are self-evident.

The major obstacle to a united working-class upsurge is the reactionary trade-union bureaucracy which will fight both to preserve the racial divisions which have historically lamed the American working class and to maintain the subjugation of that working class to the bourgeois political parties. Thus the need for building militant class-struggle opposition caucuses in the unions, to depose the union bureaucracy and to fight for a workers party based on the unions, is clearly posed by the current economic crisis.

As the bourgeoisie moves toward the reimposition of wage controls the need for independent working-class political action may become sharply focused on this key issue, in the first instance over the federal employees' cancelled pay increases. Militants must demand that the unions organize a united labor demonstration in Washington around the demands: Support the federal employees' pay demands! No state wage controls! Inaction now will shortly lead to massive cuts in the living standards of all U.S. workers. ■

Continued from page 4

RSL Witchhunt...

pulsion of the Trotskyist Tendency. On June 9th the order was carried out by the Detroit and Chicago branches.

The only "charges" presented in all these cases, "entrism" and "cliquism," demonstrate the nature of the RSL's campaign. "Entrism" means nothing more than opposition to the inner circle. Thus, the leadership could never explain how *founding members* of the RSL became "entrists," or for whom they were "entrists." "Cliquism" has no more content. It was simply a device to intensify hysteria. Thus the leadership never even bothered to advance a *class* characterization of our tendency, without which "cliquism" becomes merely a Shachtmanite catchword, until we mentioned this minor detail to them. This "charge" becomes more cynically ludicrous when one learns that the RSL leadership has called *itself* a clique.

The RSL has consistently refused to confront politically the positions of the Trotskyists. Brecht and Tracey's attack on the RSL's position on the SLA was never printed in the bulletin. Fred Michael's letter on its abstentionist position on the French elections was never printed. While making a pretense of offering the pages of the press to our tendency, the RSL leaders printed Myers' letter on the dissidents only after he was excluded and haven't yet printed his reply to Harry Parker. To date, these people have refused to debate the Russian Question either before the membership or publicly, a debate which they themselves at first proposed. Even at the appeal of the Trotskyist Tendency to the July CC, they sat silent, having nothing to say in their own defense.

The character of this campaign is confirmation of Trotsky's view that the defeatist position is a capitulation to petty-bourgeois democracy and American imperialism. It could not be waged without borrowing from the Stalinist arsenal. Landy, who made his name as a Shachtmanite red-baiter in the '50's, claimed: "Fascism in this period will masquerade as Trotskyism." His supporters were more explicit when they implied that the Soviet Defensists were police agents. Continuing in the same vein, the leadership orchestrated a chorus of sexual innuendos and abuse, designed to appeal to the most backward elements in the organization. Finally, Taber's personal supporters organized the burglary of the files of a member of our tendency in Los Angeles.

We believe that the RSL is doomed as an organized tendency. Nevertheless, for the future of our movement, it will be necessary to identify these cynical gangsters who have attempted to masquerade as Trotskyists, wherever, as individuals, they may reappear.

TRUTH
Formerly the Soviet Defensist Minority and Trotskyist Tendency of the Revolutionary Socialist League

Women and Revolution

Speaker:
MARTY FARRELL
Spartacist League

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CHICAGO SL FORUM

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MIR Veers Right...

the regime for more extensive reforms. It demanded more nationalizations, more aggressive agrarian reforms, the setting up of a "People's Assembly" called for in the UP program, and so on.

MIR Support for a New Popular Front

Following the generals' and admirals' coup all political opposition has been forced underground. The Communist Party, which repeatedly sought the collaboration of a wing of the Christian Democratic Party under the Allende regime, now sees real possibilities for an alliance with the CDP. Consequently the Stalinists are quite careful to specify the "immediate objectives" of the resistance as including *only* "end the situation of internal warfare." They studiously avoid references to overthrowing the junta because that would raise the question of what should follow. This might disturb their hoped-for bourgeois allies.

The MIR, beginning late in 1973, has turned sharply to the right and endorsed this minimum platform. Its major statement since the coup, "A los trabajadores, a los revolucionarios y a los pueblos del mundo" (January 1974) lists as an immediate objective, "To construct a political front of the *anti-gorila* [militarist] resistance incorporating all the forces of the left and a sector of the CDP (the democratic petty bourgeoisie)." The MIR also signed a "Declaration of the Chilean Left" (*Tricontinental News Service*, 13 March 1974), together with the parties of the former UP coalition, which praised the Allende regime, called for the struggle of the "fatherland" and "all anti-fascists" against the junta and in every other way represented the CP's reformist line.

Earlier this year we denounced this sharp right turn of the MIR ("Chile After the Coup," *WV* No. 42, 12 April). We pointed out that the MIR's inability to understand the class character of the UP coalition as a bourgeois popular front and its failure to break with Allende meant it would be unable to show the way forward to the workers. Now the MIR's earlier confusion has been codified into a political line which is indistinguishable from that of the Stalinists and social democrats.

"Armed Propaganda" and Strategic Unity

More recently we have received the text of a press conference by MIR leader Eduardo Enríquez (brother of Miguel Enríquez, the MIR secretary-general) in Havana in June of this year. In this speech he spells out several aspects of the group's current policy. First, the "petty-bourgeois, democratic" wing of the Christian Democratic Party is specified as the Leighton wing; second, the next stage of the resistance is characterized as "armed propaganda"; third, there is no criticism of the Communist Party.

As to the so-called "Leighton" or "Leighton-Tomic" wing of the CDP, it did in fact verbally criticize the junta shortly after the coup; but it, like the more conservative Frei-Aylwin section of the party, was in part responsible for the coup in the first place. Among other things, the CDP *as a whole* voted for a Congressional motion in late August 1973 which declared the UP government to be acting outside the bounds of legality.

As was obvious at the time, this parliamentary maneuver, like the truck owners' stoppage (also backed by the CDP), was an integral part of the preparations for the coup—setting the stage in public opinion. How is it possible, comrades of the MIR, to form a strategic alliance with elements of the bourgeoisie who actually helped prepare the September 11 bloodbath? You are only preparing the way for a new massacre!

Of course, the biggest responsibility for the coup falls on the Stalinist CP and Allende's own Socialists since, as workers parties, they had the power to mobilize the proletariat. Instead they told it to trust in the "constitutionalist" generals. For the same reason that it is not possible to form a lasting alliance with the "left" Christian Democrats (as opposed to episodic tactical agreements for joint action), Marxist revolutionaries can have no strategic unity with the chief traitors of the popular front! This is doubly true now, for the chief task at present is to expose these traitors before their own base, to draw the lessons of the defeat as the precondition for moving forward to victory. That is why the MIR's current refusal to criticize the Stalinists or Allende in recent months is itself a major betrayal.

Finally, the new turn to "armed propaganda" and the eventual constitution of a "revolutionary people's army," evidently on the model of the Argentine ERP, is a military and political dead end. As was shown in Guatemala in the mid 1960's, when Yon Sosa's MR-13 guerrillas adopted this technique, it only temporarily deflects the military from direct attacks on the insurgents—by directing its attacks against the mass of working people.

Not simply the tactic of "armed propaganda" but the whole strategy of guerrilla warfare is a profound deviation from the path of proletarian revolution. This is the road of isolated petty-bourgeois terrorist bands or peasant insurrections.

It is a strategy of impotence as shown not only by the fiasco of Che Guevara's Bolivian adventure in 1967, but also by the recent events in Argentina. When rightist police took over the industrial center of Córdoba in February 1974 the Argentine ERP was powerless to act even though this was historically its stronghold!

The working class must depend on its organized strength in production and as a cohesive class with common interests. To cite a simple fact: before the coup the membership of the Communist Party alone was more than double the size of the entire Chilean military! It was not that the workers were powerless—rather, their leaders would not let them fight. The struggle for a new revolutionary leadership, for a Chilean Trotskyist party as part of a reborn Fourth International, is the key to defeating the junta and preparing the way to proletarian revolution in Chile. Anything less will only restore the conditions which led to the bloodbath in the first place. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

Bay Area Phone Wildcats

OAKLAND, September 7—The main concern of the International leadership of the Communications Workers of America in recent months has been to prevent a nationwide telephone strike and snuff out the militant local walkouts which have marked the industry in the past. Ex-President Beirne's last act was to come up with a "national bargaining" scheme, the content of which was to eliminate local contract ratification, thereby rendering illegal local strikes such as the seven-month New York State strike of 1971.

After more than a month and a half of maneuvering and delays the new president, Glenn Watts, finally got his contract ratification by a two-to-one vote. But dissatisfaction was rampant. Many local leaders either refused to endorse the contract or outright opposed it.

The International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, which had been bargaining in tandem with Watts, broke ranks and struck Western Electric—the Bell System's equipment supplier—for improvements over the CWA deal. IBEW tops slapped Watts in the face by calling on CWA ranks as well to turn down the proposed terms. In addition there were numerous wildcat strikes at the local level, particularly in Michigan.

In San Francisco there was also a small wildcat strike in August lasting five days. The wildcat strike is often the last resort of militants frustrated by the betrayals of union leaderships which are vastly more interested in preserving labor peace for the "good of the country" (read profits) than they are in advancing the workers' interests. But isolated unofficial actions are tactical danger zones full of pitfalls for the unwary.

If massively supported, "unauthorized strikes" can sometimes be partially or even wholly successful. The nationwide postal strike of 1970 was a wildcat, as was the Baltimore city strike this July. Most wildcats, however, mobilize only a fraction of the work force and lead to firings and victimizations of the best militants. This naturally produces widespread demoralization in the ranks.

The San Francisco wildcat was of the latter, most common variety. It was led by members of Workers Action Movement, a trade-union opposition group supported by the Progressive Labor Party, with supporters of Traffic Jam, a telephone caucus supported by the Revolutionary Union, tagging along most of the way. Overall, it was a dismal failure. At most, a hundred or so workers were pulled out of four or five of the smaller buildings in San Francisco for five days (which included a weekend). Ten workers were fired, all members of militant opposition groups in the union.

The Militant Action Caucus, an opposition group based on a class-struggle program which is active in the Oakland and San Francisco locals of CWA (9415 and 9410), argued against the wildcat in favor of local-wide strikes and a struggle for a nationwide strike. MAC was the only group to present a militant alternative to Beirne's "national bargaining" hoax at the convention in June, an action which led to its physical exclusion by a bureaucratic goon squad.

MAC had been agitating for a strike since well before the contract deadline of July 18. Caucus members presented motions in both Oakland and San Francisco locals calling for a strike to begin with the expiration of the contract. Although the San Francisco meeting was attended by 400 angry workers, the WAM and Traffic Jam supporters present saw no need to speak in support of a strike or MAC's motion. One member of the "United Trade Unionists," an amalgam including WAM members and Democratic Party supporters, called for a one-day strike. Both this and the MAC motion were ruled out of order by Local 9410 President Kirkpatrick.

Following this, MAC initiated a petition campaign (supported, somewhat reluctantly, by WAM and Traffic Jam) to call another meeting at which a strike could be discussed. Twice the necessary number of names was collected, yet Kirkpatrick refused to call the meeting. At this point WAM and Traffic Jam, despite their small size and weak base, thought they had the power and authority to call a strike. On August 8 they issued their first leaflet, entitled "This Contract Stinks, Let's Take a Walk," and signed by an ad hoc group—the Strike Organizing Committee—which no one had ever heard of. The leaflet announced a planning meeting to organize walkouts, which was attended by about 50 militants. According to PL's *Challenge* (29 August),

> "PL members pointed out how 50 workers could initiate a wide-spread strike by pulling out areas in which we worked first, then massing these forces together to pull out other larger offices that weren't organized enough to do it themselves. We indicated that this tactic could enable us to grow from 50 to 100 to 1,000 fairly rapidly."

MAC spokesmen provided the only rational anti-bureaucratic opposition to this wishful thinking. The MAC position was based on sound experience. In 1971, a meeting of 500 workers in Local 9415 had demanded to continue the strike despite a national settlement, and the

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Chavez Finks on "Illegal" Mexican Farm Workers

Cesar Chavez' repeatedly demonstrated inability to defend the UFW from the many-pronged attack of California's growers has now become a question of blatant class treason and suicidal self-destruction for the union. Recently even the UFW's boycott campaign, not to mention strike activity, has taken second place to a campaign of pressuring the federal government to stop the flow of "illegal" farm workers, mainly from Mexico, into the country.

According to the 17 May *San Francisco Examiner* Chavez "said UFWU reports on the location of illegal immigrants given to federal agents in Fresno, Bakersfield, San Jose and Los Angeles have been ignored...." His accusation is that the Immigration Department is acting in collusion with agribusiness to smash the UFW and prevent the organization of farm labor by maintaining a reserve army of destitute labor to be used as scabs.

This of course is entirely true. The use of contract labor and "illegals" has been a primary weapon of the agribusiness corporations in preventing the organization of agricultural labor in the U.S. for decades. A good percentage of UFW members are themselves "undocumented" or have at some time been contract laborers.

Acting as if this were something new, Chavez has stepped into a trap set by the growers. His call for the immigration authorities—an arm of the bourgeois state—to enforce the laws of capitalist society in the interests of farm workers, or any workers, is infinitely absurd. Moreover, by calling for the enforcement of the racist U.S. immigration laws, Chavez is fostering the same practices of national chauvinism which have led the labor movement to systematically ignore the (predominantly Latin) agricultural workers in the past. Worst of all, in appealing to *la migra* Chavez is now actively fingering workers to the cops!

The Watchword is Hypocrisy

Chavez' course toward this betrayal, as ignominious as Teamster union-busting, was the logical extension of his entire previous positions and orientation. Until March 1973 the UFW leadership favored passage of the Kennedy-Rodino Bill, which would have brought about increased discrimination and harassment of "illegal aliens."

The Spartacist League, unlike the entourage of uncritical fake lefts interminably hovering around Chavez, criticized this hypocritical capitulation to national chauvinism and has consistently fought for full citizenship rights for "foreign" workers and for international working-class solidarity, insisting on the necessity for union organization across international borders.

But, says *El Malcriado*, the UFW's official organ: "The position of the United Farm Workers of America is undaunted—the 'illegals' must either be granted full democratic rights, including the right to join a union of their own choosing, or they must go." This slimy statement contains two counterposed propositions, one for full democratic and union membership rights for immigrants, the other, that "they must go."

Relying on the Bosses' State

Chavez has chosen to struggle for the latter, supposedly in the name of "realism." In fact, however, armed self-defense of the picket lines and mobilization of the rest of the labor movement with hot-cargoing of scab products and eventually a state-wide general strike in defense of the UFW—demands advocated by the SL—are infinitely more realistic possibilities.

Cesar Chavez

WV PHOTO

As the SL has repeatedly pointed out, Chavez' strategy is to rely on bourgeois public opinion and the government to accomplish tasks which only the mobilization of the labor movement in united struggle can accomplish. The same courts and cops that provide and enforce injunctions for the growers, allowing them to murder farm workers with impunity, are called upon to intervene for justice in the labor movement.

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WORKERS VANGUARD 25¢

No. 53 27 September 1974

Longshoremen Boycott Ships in Two-Day Worldwide Protest

Hot Cargo Military Goods to Chile!

SEPTEMBER 22—Last week witnessed the first industrial action by U.S. workers against the Chilean junta since the military butchers seized power a year ago.

Responding to a call by the International Transport Workers Federation, longshoremen on both East and West Coasts refused to handle Chile cargo during a two-day international protest on September 18 and 19.

This joint action was the first political labor boycott in many years which simultaneously involved both U.S. dockers' unions, the International Longshoremen's Association (ILA) on the East and Gulf Coasts and the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) on the West Coast.

The two-day international boycott of Chilean transport was significant for several reasons:

First, it was a warning to the blood-stained junta that the world labor movement has not forgotten the more than 20,000 union and leftist militants who have been murdered by the military, nor the more than 8,000 political prisoners who still languish in Chilean jails, subjected to repeated torture.

Second, it was a dramatic demonstration of the power of united labor action.

And finally, it underlined the need to organize a class-struggle leadership in the unions, to transform such actions from token protests by the pro-capitalist labor bureaucracy into the beginning of a political fight to sweep capitalism itself into the dustbin of history.

In San Francisco, ILWU tops and reformist leaders of the local Chile solidarity committee are now claiming credit for the longshore boycott. *But the facts show:*

—that union leaders have for months sabotaged a membership resolution demanding a ban on Chile cargo;

—that ILWU leaders did nothing to mobilize for the September 18-19 protest;

—*that Bridges personally ordered L.A. dockers to unload Chile cargo;* and

—that opportunist Chile coalition leaders did nothing which would displease the foot-dragging ILWU brass.

The West Coast longshore boycott would not have happened without rank-and-file efforts inside the union and Spartacist League agitation for labor action against the murderous junta.

The two-day protest is only a promising beginning. Militants must act to ensure that it is the first step toward hot-cargoing all military goods to Chile, to force release of the junta's prisoners.

Need for Rank-and-File Action

The boycott grew out of a meeting of the International Transport Workers Federation in Stockholm, Sweden, early last month. As reported in the September NMU *Pilot*, the ITF "condemned the military junta for repression of human and trade union rights and called for a worldwide two-day boycott of all Chilean transport."

The response to the ITF boycott call by U.S. unions varied widely. According to the *Beacon* (September 1974), newspaper of the Militant-Solidarity Caucus in the National Maritime Union, the NMU leadership did nothing at all. NMU seamen were not told to stop work where Chilean cargoes were involved and NMU Panama Canal workers were not told to stop Chilean ships.

Among U.S. longshore workers, the East Coast ILA instructed members in ports up and down the coast not to touch Chile cargo during the boycott. In contrast, on the West Coast Harry Bridges' "progressive" ILWU only "recommend[ed] strongly" that its locals support the boycott, while "trust[ing]" that local officials would "take whatever action you consider appropriate" (letter by ILWU Secretary-Treasurer Lou Goldblatt, 4 September).

Under pressure from the ranks, the executive committee of Local 10, the key San Francisco ILWU longshore local, voted not to move Chile goods during the 48-hour boycott. However, Local officials failed to inform the membership of their action. Without leafletting and job action by members of a "Committee to Enforce the Boycott" the protest would have been a dead letter on the S.F. docks.

Down the coast in Los Angeles, ILWU Local 13 officials had made no plans to hot-cargo Chile goods. However, when a picket line of 75 protesters showed up alongside a ship carrying freight from Chile on Tuesday evening, even before the start of the official boycott, the longshoremen filed off the ship. They refused to touch any cargo until forced back to work by threats of heavy fines from a federal mediator and direct orders from Harry Bridges!

United-Front Picket in L.A.

Initiated by the Spartacist League and its youth section, the Spartacus Youth League, the united-front demonstration in Los Angeles was rapidly organized in only a day and a half. Among the endorsers of the "Ad Hoc Committee to Support the Transport Workers Boycott" were (in addition to the SL/SYL) several ILWU and other union officials, the Socialist Collective, New America Movement, Militant Caucus of AFSCME Local 2070, the International Socialists and candidates of leftist parties (Peace and Freedom, SWP). In addition, members of the October League, Peoples Information Collective, Socialist Union, Internationalist Tendency and the Revolutionary

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SAN FRANCISCO CHRONICLE

SL-initiated picket in San Francisco to enforce the boycott of Chile goods.

"I don't see why we need to stand by and watch a country go Communist due to the irresponsibility of its own people."
—Henry Kissinger, 27 June 1970

"I think this [CIA aid to opponents of Allende] is in the best interest of the people in Chile, and certainly in our best interest."
—Gerald Ford, 16 September 1974

CIA Aid to Chile Reactionaries Exposed

Recent revelations in the *New York Times* confirm that the U.S. government spent several million dollars to overthrow the Allende regime in Chile. The amount reported for clandestine CIA operations alone was "more than $8 million" between 1970 and 1973. No doubt when all military aid, "embassy expenses" and other items are included the total will be many times this figure. Among the disclosures: the U.S. financed newspapers, radio-television stations, political parties and "strikes" by truck owners and small businessmen.

This is not surprising. Having overthrown "left-wing" governments in Brazil, Guatemala, Santo Domingo, the Congo, Iran, Indonesia, Cambodia and elsewhere; having organized the Bay of Pigs invasion; having spent over one hundred billion dollars to prevent social revolution in Vietnam—it would be shocking if U.S. imperialism had not tried to oust Allende. Only liberal Polyannas and two-faced Stalinists would place any confidence in Washington's hypocritical denials.

President Ford's defense of the covert actions is more frank. And it proves conclusively that impeachment simply replaced one imperialist robber with another. Abolish the CIA! Jail Nixon—Free Chilean Prisoners! For New Elections and a Labor Candidate! Not Ford and Rockefeller, But a Workers Government! ■

Defeat Anti-Busing Terror Campaign in Boston

Busing black students to South Boston. UPI

BOSTON, September 22—The initiation of large-scale busing to integrate Boston's public schools last week was met by a reactionary mobilization ranging from anti-busing marches to outright mob terror. During the first week of school several dozen black children have been injured by shattered glass and rocks thrown at the school buses by white youths in the largely Irish, working-class neighborhood of South Boston.

Despite the presence of up to 800 police lining the streets of "Southie" and cordoning off South Boston High School, hostile crowds of white parents and teenagers roamed through the area all week long. The boycott of Southie High by whites was almost total, and no more than 10 percent of the black students assigned there attended classes at the besieged school.

Earlier, on September 9, some 4,000 angry whites demonstrated against the court-ordered busing plan at Government Center in downtown Boston, demanding repeal of the state's 1965 Racial Imbalance Act. (As a result of a District Court ruling in June, some 18,000 students out of a total enrollment of 94,000 in Boston's public school system were scheduled to be bused this fall.) During that demonstration angry whites chased a sheepish Senator Edward Kennedy off the speaker's stand and smashed in windows of the Federal Building.

After first postponing school opening for a week, Boston's liberal Democratic Mayor Kevin White repeatedly called for public calm. Meanwhile, the police repeatedly proved incapable of protecting the black students who were subjected to the racist onslaught.

In the last two days the situation appears to be making a turn toward stronger and more ideologically committed racist vigilanteism. On Thursday, a Grand Dragon of the Ku Klux Klan spoke to a large crowd of whites in South Boston; later in the evening some 500 anti-busing demonstrators clashed with the Tactical Police Force. This ominous development poses sharply the need for a mass mobilization by labor and black organizations to protect the black children being bused into racially tense areas.

Democratic Principles vs. Opportunism

Several ostensibly socialist organizations have caved in to racist sentiment among white workers by opposing the busing of blacks into largely white districts. In contrast to these spineless cowards, the Spartacist League has called unequivocally for the smashing of the racist anti-busing campaign. We fully support racial integration of the schools and every other area of social life. We support busing. It is, of course, wholly inadequate in terms of real integration and providing quality education for oppressed racial minorities. Nevertheless, busing to achieve racial balance is an elementary, though somewhat artificial, democratic demand (see "Anti-Busing Forces Must Be Defeated!" *Young Spartacus* No. 25, September 1974).

Last spring the Party for Workers Power (PWP), a cliquist and Boston-parochialist split-off from Progressive Labor, tried to allege that anti-busing sentiment isn't "really" racist. Its newspaper gave this account of a neighborhood anti-busing meeting:

> "The objections to the State plan parents raised at the meeting weren't mainly racist. They said families would be split up . . . ; children would be crossing busy streets; . . . if kids got sick they'd have to take a cab home. Of course, there was racism behind a lot of this. But it was not the main thing they were raising."
>
> —*Spark*, April 1974

The PWP's solution? "*Sensible* ways to increase integration" and opposition to "excessive" busing. This simply plays into the hands of the racist anti-busing forces.

Anti-Busing Movement Based on Racism

For years a motley collection of ambitious Boston lawyers have built their political careers by playing on the fears of white ethnic groups that blacks will "invade" their "quality" community schools. Louise Day Hicks was repeatedly elected for posts from her South Boston base by making veiled racist innuendos: "You know where I stand," she would say, referring to the danger posed by "the element."

Last week Hicks and two other Southie officials (State Senators Bulger and Flaherty) issued a "clarification" of their position on busing. ". . . it is against our children's interest to send them to school in crime-infested Roxbury," they said. "There are at least one hundred black people walking around in the black community who have killed white people during the past two years" (*Boston Globe*, 16 September).

If any other evidence of the racist nature of anti-busing sentiment is needed, it should be sufficient to point to the sign painted on the front of South Boston High the night before school began. Even after it had been partially cleaned, the arriving black students could clearly read "ggers Go Home."

Moreover, there is the fact that South Boston whites are boycotting their "community" schools simply because of the presence of blacks. Under the court-ordered plan, South Boston High School is to have 37 percent non-white students; in the past the school has been 99 percent white.

A *New York Times* report (17 September) also captured the atmosphere in Southie during the last week:

> "At one point as they [anti-busing demonstrators] went down Dorchester Street, the window of another transit bus driven by a black was broken. A few minutes later, the crowd raced into the Andrews Square bus station, where in the past whites have attacked blacks riding public transportation from nearby Columbia Point.
>
> "A small, terrified black youth in an orange jersey ran out of the station pursued by whites and clung to the side of a police motorcycle. Another black youth ran for the corner, stumbled, recovered and tore off."

Anti-busing march in Boston, September 16. BOSTON GLOBE

Smash the Racist Offensive

Communists must be the foremost defenders of democratic rights, particularly for oppressed minorities, and upholders of working-class unity. Defense of racial integration is a principled question for Marxists. A victory for the Hicks forces would encourage reactionary forces throughout the country to set the clock back 20 years for minority rights.

This position was upheld at a September 19 rally called by the Spartacus Youth League (SYL—the youth section of the Spartacist League) at Boston University around the slogans "Defeat the Racist Anti-Busing Forces" and "Quality Education for All." Indicative of a widespread desire among white liberals to duck the issue, two scheduled speakers failed to attend.

The SYL speaker called for a broad united front to defend racial integration of the schools, including busing. This is a democratic right and a necessary step toward breaking the black masses out of enforced social isolation and lumpenization in the ghetto. She pointed out that the sharp racial polarization of American society must be attacked at its source, the competitive struggle of black and white working masses for jobs, housing and education, which are restricted by the conditions of bourgeois class rule.

The speaker argued that no confidence could be placed in the police to fend off the racist attacks. "The same cops who murdered two black men in cold blood less than three months ago cannot be relied upon to ensure the safety of black school children in South Boston." In particular, she called for a bi-racial trade-union defense force to protect the children bused into racially tense areas.

PWP Caves in to Anti-Busing Sentiment

Of the various fake-left groups present in Boston, Progressive Labor at least was able to discern that the anti-busing sentiment is indeed racist. Although it does so in its usual liberal manner, PL is supporting busing as a minimal anti-racist step. Its small rally at Park Street Station yesterday was around the slogan, "Fight the Bosses, Not Busing." Moreover, one PLer was injured by a rock while demonstrating in favor of busing at South Boston High.

The PWP, in contrast, developed opposition to "excessive busing" to its "logical" conclusion by issuing a leaflet last week which demanded, "No more busing blacks into Southie trap." The reactionary Hicks forces would support that 100 percent!

This pitiful capitulation to the racists, in the guise of winning white workers away from Hicks, was matched by the blatant liberalism of the PWP-led "Anti-Racist Coalition." As reported in the *Bay State Banner* (5 September), the coalition's program calls for "persuad[ing], from within, the Home and School Associations to implement a program that is more effective than those offered by the State Board of Education and the Boston School Committee." At the coalition's rally at Government Center yesterday, signs read plaintively, "Support Our Movement for a Better Society."

Fake Lefts Duck the Issue

Several other "socialist" organizations in Boston followed similar capitulationist policies. The September issue of the *Mass Worker*, a local Maoist paper reflecting the politics of the Revolutionary Union, includes an article on busing with the analysis that, "Busing became a method for dividing

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Busing foes confront Senator Kennedy at Government Center. UPI

Act Now!

Defend Black School Children!

Boston
22 September 1974

Dear Brothers and Sisters:

Boston's trade unions, black and socialist organizations must defend the democratic rights of black people, which are currently under attack in a vicious reactionary and racist mobilization against busing. Our organizations have the urgent responsibility to act *now* to put a halt to the campaign of physical and psychological terror that is being inflicted on black school children in this city. The unions and black organizations such as the NAACP, because of their influence and resources, must take the lead in immediately calling and mobilizing for a massive public rally of all those who oppose this campaign of racist violence and harassment.

The leaders of the pro-busing forces have relied solely on the courts, the legislature and the police. Failing to mobilize massive, visible public support for busing as a minimal but democratic measure has allowed anti-busing forces to pose as the popular mass movement of the "little people" against the government.

The busing issue, inflamed by the demagogy of the Hicks and Kerrigans, has brought to the surface the deep-seated racist fears of large sections of Boston's white ethnic communities. The polarization in Boston could reach explosive levels; harassment of black children has escalated and spread in the last week. Despicable racist trash like the Nazi Party and the Ku Klux Klan are gathering in Boston hoping to add organization and muscle to the anti-busing movement. These vicious hooligans would like to find in tension-ridden Boston the conditions for launching the sort of terror they have previously unleashed against blacks, Catholics and Jews elsewhere in this country.

The Boston Police Patrolmen's Association (BPPA) has made clear through editorials and articles in its paper, the *Pax Centurion*, that the police stand not with the defenseless black children whom they are supposed to be protecting but with the anti-busing forces. The insistence of a BPPA attorney that policemen could not be prosecuted for refusing "in good conscience" to arrest these rock-throwing racists is evidence of their position and can only encourage the white vigilantes. Numerous children have already been injured; we can not wait for a tragic death to galvanize the forces of defense.

It is already late. The reactionaries are organizing to trample on the democratic rights and legality which they falsely claim to uphold. For example, the attempt by several hundred demonstrators to suppress distribution of the *Boston Globe* for its pro-busing policies is a particularly alarming indication of the character of the anti-busing movement. *It is, however, not too late!* The leaderships of the unions and black organizations are the only ones at this time with sufficient influence and resources to successfully organize a mass popular demonstration protesting the racist violence against Boston's black school children. Such a mobilization would crystallize public outrage against the vigilantes and begin to isolate them, laying the basis for putting an end to their activities.

The safety and well-being of hundreds of black children are clearly in danger. Further, anti-busing forces around the country are keeping a close watch on the situation in Boston (the *Globe* of 22 September reports that the Denver Citizens' Association for Neighborhood Schools has been in daily contact with Boston anti-busing forces).

As leaders of the organizations which represent large numbers of working and poor people, black and white, you must take action! To settle now for a boycott of the schools by black children, without having first attempted to mobilize all available forces in their defense, is to hand a victory to the Klan, the Nazis, the Hicks and the Kerrigans and to accept a momentous setback in the struggle for democratic rights for racial minorities in the U.S.

Our organizations may disagree on many social, economic and political issues, but we can all agree with the need for immediate united action in defense of the black school children under attack by anti-busing forces. In the framework of joint actions against these racist attacks, all participating groups would, of course, be free to raise their own particular points of view.

We repeat our urgent proposal for a broad mobilization, initiated by the unions, black and socialist organizations, to build a mass popular demonstration around the common slogan, "Stop the Racist Attacks Against Black School Children." The Spartacist League, a labor-socialist organization, pledges to devote all available resources and energy to aid in the building of such a demonstration. However, at this time, no single organization can mobilize sufficient forces for a successful defense. Therefore, we urgently request your response within 48 hours so that a first planning meeting can be held soon, hopefully by mid-week. *To fail to act now is to accept responsibility for the escalating attack on defenseless children, and for the potentially tragic outcome.*

Bob Simons,
for the Spartacist League

Whatever Happened to the Workers League?

> *Glendower: I can call spirits from the vasty deep.*
> *Hotspur: Why, so can I, or so can any man; but will they come when you do call for them?*
> —*Shakespeare, Henry IV, Part One*

Tim Wohlforth's Workers League, which for years has attempted to conjure up a mass party by simply putting out a fake mass press, appears to have fallen on hard times. WL activity in the unions has recently dwindled to nearly zero. Its "Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party" (TUALP), never more than a paper organization, was unable to bestir itself even to support last winter's British miners' strike, one of the most significant class battles of the present period.

At the same time the WL has apparently given up on any perspective of struggling against the other ostensibly revolutionary organizations either in the trade unions or anywhere else. Thus the WL has abstained on the struggle to defend left-wing Chilean militants held by the reactionary junta, not participating in or initiating a single demonstration in their defense, instead preferring to limit its confrontations with the reformist SWP and CP to the pages of the *Bulletin*. Instead of seeking to do battle with the revisionists in the real arenas of political and class struggle, Wohlforth and Co. have retreated to a liquidationist perspective limited to peddling their twice-a-week "mass paper" and engaging in apolitical community youth work.

This political liquidationism is clearly expressed in the pages of the *Bulletin*, the WL's organ of Wohlforthite revisionism. Stories of concrete struggles by WL and/or TUALP supporters against the labor bureaucracy and Stalinists are few and far between. Reflecting the empty-shell character of the WL, most *Bulletin* coverage of the labor movement is either second-band or empty posturing, consisting of rewrites from the *New York Times* or photo stories of *Bulletin* salesmen posing at some plant gate.

The other side of the same coin is the *Bulletin*'s "no comment" posture toward the major political struggles that are fracturing various fake-left organizations. The recent split of the Progressive Labor Party; the splitting of the left-Shachtmanite RSL away from the American IS; the expulsion of the pro-Mandel Internationalist Tendency from the SWP—all these events have been passed over in silence by the WL. Further, the major fight within the Pabloist United Secretariat, between the SWP and the forces grouped around Mandel/Maitan/Frank, has received very scant attention from Wohlforth. Instead the reader of the *Bulletin* is treated to endless turgid, hackneyed tracts by Wohlforth and Field (e.g., on the 19th-century American utopians) and "sensational" exposés (a little late, though) of the "crimes of Chappaquiddick."

This indifference to political developments in the camp of the Maoists, social democrats and Pabloists reflects a profound political incapacity and is simply the literary expression of the WL's flight from political struggle to neighborhood-oriented youth work. Put another way, over the last several years the WL has been unable to regroup with a single authentic left current breaking from Maoism, left social democracy or Pabloism in the direction of Trotskyism.

These recent difficulties do not arise out of a sudden political turn on the part of the WL leadership. They represent the morbid effects of a political cancer that has been gnawing at the mangy WL for years.

The difficulties facing the WL have

Tim Wohlforth

been recently and duly noted by Tim Wohlforth himself. Reviewing the *Writings of Leon Trotsky (1930-31)*, Wohlforth comments:

> "There is another valuable lesson to be learned from that period [the early years of the International Left Opposition]—the very careful attention Trotsky paid to the training of cadres themselves. This concern with training only increases in urgency the more outward developments allow for an outward turn of cadres."
>
> —*Bulletin*, 17 September

Wohlforth's brooding sense of urgency over the training of "cadres themselves" is apparently well grounded. For it seems to be the case that a large fraction of the tiny pool of experienced and able (albeit cynical, trained in the principle of having no principles) individuals whom Wohlforth had relied upon to run his operation have quit the WL over the past year. Several ex-WLers interviewed by *Workers Vanguard* have alleged that among those leading cadres who "voted with their feet" and left the organization are included: Lucy St. John, Dennis O'Casey, Karen Frankel, Dan Fried, Pat Connally, Marty Jonas, Juan Fariñas, Ed Smith, Ronnie Roberts, Alex Steiner, Bruce McKay, Diane Isaacs, Debby Goldstein, Abby Rodriguez, Irving Hall, Ernie Lewis and Kiki Mendez. This is merely the bulk of the WL central leadership. These allegations tend to be corroborated by the disappearance of these names from the pages of the *Bulletin* and *Young Socialist*. Prudently, instead of listing the new editors (who will be left next week?), both papers have gone for months without listing an editorial staff.

It is alleged that most of this exodus occurred in an individual fashion, being more an expression of poor working relations with Wohlforth and acute personal demoralization (growing out of the WL's frenzied attempt to posture as a mass party) than a reflection of overt political differences with the WL's opportunist line. Reportedly this mass desertion has greatly alarmed Gerry Healy, who, so the story goes, has intervened to amnesty the shell-shocked dropouts, hoping to reintegrate them into the WL central leadership. Although it is reported that a few of the dropouts (e.g., Marty Jonas) have returned, how successful this attempt at retreading will be remains to be seen, as indeed does the question of Wohlforth's future role in the WL.

(A number of the dropouts, while recoiling from Wohlforth, still politically embrace Gerry Healy. But while Dr. Frankenstein may be superior to his run-amok creature, he does bear the real responsibility for creating his abomination.)

For Wohlforth, the exit of most of the central WL leadership and of many of the more able youth the WL has managed to recruit over the past period is a stunning personal and political defeat. For the Spartacist League, and for the struggle to construct an authentic Trotskyist party in the U.S., section of a reborn Fourth International, the current anemic condition of the WL is most satisfying and a confirmation of our political evaluation of the liquidationist course of Healy, Wohlforth and the WL.

A Bolshevik organization cannot be

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Continued from page 3

...Workers League

created upon a foundation of lies and political banditry, upon the methodology of subordinating program and political principles to the pursuit of transient organizational opportunities. Wohlforth's conceptions that he could construct a mass party by publishing a phony "mass paper" out of all line with the WL's influence in the class; that he could avoid the long and arduous task of constructing communist fractions in the labor movement, instead turning the Pabloist dictum on its head and going from "the center to the periphery" with his apolitical neighborhood youth work; that it is somehow possible to avoid a direct struggle with the revisionist currents within the working-class movement—all these "get-rich-quick" nostrums have come to naught.

As Trotsky so aptly points out:

> "What critically thinking left workers, not only outside the party but inside it as well, demand at present of the leadership, above all, is not political infallibility—this is impossible—but revolutionary devotion, personal firmness, revolutionary objectivity, and honesty."

With such a leadership it is possible to forge a cadre that will

> "...not leave unpunished toying with principles, journalistic light-mindedness, moral looseness, and pseudo 'irreconcilability'—in the name of personal caprice. Only in this manner can the organization be secured against catastrophic surprises in the future."
>
> —"The Crisis of the German Left Opposition," 1930

Wohlforth and Healy are capable only of producing cynics, not cadre. With such leadership and methods it is not possible to create an organization able to carry the class struggle forward to victory. For those who have not yet abandoned ship, and the gullible souls who are tempted by Healy's promises of a fair deal, we warn: expect to be fed a lot more of the same old garbage in the same old pails. Nothing less than a fundamental break with the whole corpus of Healyism and a return to the principled struggle for the Trotskyist program, as currently represented by the international Spartacist tendency, can provide a way out of the impasse. ■

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Ontario Social Democrats Meet:

"Left" Cretinism in the NDP

SUDBURY, Ontario, September 8—In the wake of a humiliating defeat in July's Canadian federal elections, the Ontario New Democratic Party held its convention here in a spirit of "calm and tranquility," according to ONDP parliamentary Leader Stephen Lewis. Indeed, the loss of half the party's seats in Commons (down from 31 to 16) produced only a faint ripple of leftward motion at the Sudbury meeting.

Addressing the convention yesterday, Lewis was forced to admit that there was no corresponding calm in the class struggle. "We are entering a desperate period in labour relations in this province," he remarked. Walkouts included the four-week strike by Toronto transit workers which ended on September 3. Transit workers refused for four days to return to work in the face of strike-breaking legislation and the recommendations of the union leadership. But far from aiding the embattled strikers, Lewis reported that he and other NDP leaders had "pleaded with the men to return to work."

The pervasive calm of this provincial meeting was in sharp contrast to the much larger ONDP convention in 1972, when the left-wing oppositional Waffle caucus was ordered to disband. The subsequent departure of the Waffle set the stage for the social democratic NDP's 18-month corridor coalition with the Liberal Party.

However, the "practical" coalition to "make Parliament work" was repudiated by large numbers of workers at the polls in July. If the NDP's role was to keep Trudeau in office, many reasoned, then why not vote for the Liberals directly? At the time of the elections the Toronto Comittee of the international Spartacist tendency refused to give electoral support to NDP candidates unless the bloc with the bourgeois Liberals was renounced. In contrast, the NDP's unconditional (yet supposedly "critical") "Trotskyist" hangers-on—the League for Socialist Action (LSA) and Revolutionary Marxist Group (RMG)—backed the NDP despite the promise of party leaders to renew support for Trudeau in the event of a minority Liberal government.

The NDP's "Loyal Opposition"

In the past the role of the "kept opposition" was assigned to the Waffle. This time the mantle fell on supporters of the Canadian-nationalist politics of Ross Dowson's Socialist League (SocL), along with the ultra-reformist Robert Sherwood. During the Sudbury convention supporters of the LSA were indistinguishable from this clot of social-democratic cretinism.

During the sessions this opportunistic troika did manage to bestir itself into a pretense of "programmatic opposition," although the performance more closely resembled a ritual dance than political struggle. The NDP leadership presented a motion calling for "full [government] ownership of all resource and mineral rights by a variety of methods including taxation and the repurchase of mineral rights... compensation for small shareholders...." So Sherwood moved to refer the question back to the resolutions committee to add: "In the long term the NDP stands for public ownership."

He was joined in this "challenge" by a group of ex-Wafflers and dissident reformists who surfaced around a document calling for a "radical and revitalized NDP" and expressing concern about the party's inability to "excite people." Wayne Roberts, editor of the Canadian-nationalist *Forward*, later took the microphone in defense of the Maple Leaf: "The problem with the resolution is that it just calls for controls and does not speak to American control of the resources," he remarked.

However, the alert NDP leadership moved to squelch the "dispute" by deftly introducing a new formulation (which passed) stating, "In the long term the NDP favours public ownership." Faced with the burning question of whether the NDP "stands for" or "favours" public ownership, at some time in the distant future, and not opposing compensation, the "oppositionists" voted for the leadership motion and then lapsed back into the "tranquility" which characterised the rest of the proceedings. The utter reformism of the opposition resolution was succinctly exposed by a miner, John Cobb, a delegate from Sudbury, who pointed out: "We need nationalisation without compensation. It makes no sense otherwise."

This is quite correct. It "makes no sense" to buy out one or another capitalist or group of capitalists (resource industries, American-owned businesses, etc.) while continuing to maintain the capitalist system. Social-democratic "sewer socialism" (buying up public utilities) or "trash can socialism" (buying up bankrupt firms) can never solve the problems of the working class.

Kautskyite references to a minimum-maximum program ("in the long run") and the gross revision of Marxism embodied in the statement by revisionist Charles Lee that "we must understand how a mixed economy would work" demonstrate the utter reformism of the supporters of the LSA and SocL. What is needed is a revolutionary, transitional program which poses the question of power: Break With the Bourgeois Parties! Expropriation of Industry Without Compensation! Toward a Workers Government! For a Socialist Federation of North America!

Fake Lefts Ooze Reformism

It is not surprising that supporters of the Socialist League and Sherwood's now defunct *Labor Action* are unable to distinguish themselves programmatically from the right-wing social-democratic pablum of Stephen Lewis. After the SocL split from the LSA last spring, Sherwood welcomed the Dowsonites, at a Toronto forum, into the camp of those who "support the NDP without conditions." No RMG/LSA fig leaves of "critical" support for these hardheaded "realists"!

During the years that he led the LSA, Ross Dowson was the principal architect of its opportunist policy toward the NDP. Apparently inclined toward a religious belief in predestination, Dowson wrote, "the Canadian revolution must pass through the NDP." The strategic conclusion for the SocL is the slogan, "Win the NDP to socialism" (*Forward*, July 1974). It goes without saying that this perspective liquidates the independent role of the Trotskyist party. Not just entry, but *permanent* entry—i.e., submersion in the social democracy—is the logic of this policy.

And how is the NDP to be "won" to socialism? Certainly not by raising the Transitional Program. Take the question of compensation for nationalised industries. When dissident supporters of the LSA actually won the New Brunswick NDP to a position of nationalisation without compensation, Dowson wrote them a critical letter ("compensation is by no means a matter of principle with revolutionary socialists") and subsequently suspended the whole LSA Maritimes operation! The local LSA supporters were attempting to split the NDP, Dowson charged; such "sins" must not go unpunished!

Another who swears his undying loyalty to the NDP is Sherwood, who supports the politics of the former Labor Action Committee. The latter was affiliated with the Organizing Committee for the Reconstruction of the Fourth International (OCRFI) led by the French OCI. To justify his well-known opportunism, the wretched Sherwood appeals to the OCI's policy of a "strategic united front." In the case of the mangy Canadian social democracy, it seems that, "We cannot begin by denouncing Lewis, but we can begin by showing how the NDP could go to the workers and their organisations to mobilise them against Trudeau..." (*Bulletin of the Liaison Committee for the Reconstruction of the Fourth International in Canada*, Autumn 1973).

Having thus promised not to denounce Lewis and swearing unconditional support to the NDP, Sherwood was ready to run for office as a sterling militant. His election leaflet proudly proclaims that "Bob Sherwood... was active in the U.S. Socialist Party for 5 years" and pledges that "Bob Sherwood has the time, energy and experience to ensure regular attendance... to the ONDP Executive"! His campaign was geared to demonstrate that he was a better social democrat than his opponents. And maybe he is, but he lost at Sudbury anyway, receiving 154 votes out of 653 cast. ■

NDP leader Stephen Lewis.

Toronto transit workers burn management offer.

GLOBE AND MAIL

Army Topples Emperor in Ethiopia

Students Locked in University Workers Forced Back to Work at Gunpoint

SEPTEMBER 18—On September 12, the "King of Kings, Conquering Lion of Judah, Elect of God," Emperor Haile Selassie of Ethiopia was deposed from his throne by a group of anonymous officers calling itself the Armed Forces Coordinating Committee. The absolute ruler of this semi-feudal kingdom since he took power through a palace coup in 1916, the Negus was actually a usurper, only indirectly related to the Christian dynasty which traced its origins back some 2,500 years. He is accused of having amassed a fortune in European banks totaling literally billions of dollars and seeking to cover up the tragic famine which caused 100,000 deaths last year.

While gradually whittling away Selassie's powers over the last six months, the military committee had indicated that it would retain him as titular monarch. The emperor, on the other hand, was reported to have counseled his supporters to abandon him if necessary in order to save the monarchy.

The final decision to remove Selassie was apparently timed to pre-empt student demonstrations against the regime when schools and universities reopened September 16. Symbolically, the emperor was taken from his sumptuous palace by a VW police vehicle to a mud hut, his temporary place of captivity.

The Armed Forces Committee does not propose to abolish the monarchy, but has asked instead that Haile Selassie's 57-year-old partially paralyzed son, Crown Prince Asfa Wossen, return from Geneva to become a figurehead monarch. The country is to be run by a provisional military government with Lieutenant General Aman Michael Andom at its head.

The military leaders had previously carried out a "slow coup" by arresting, over a period of several months, around 160 ministers and officials. The arrests include two of the three prime ministers who have held office in 1974, the head of the national senate, feudal aristocrats and landlords of the senior house of parliament, the chief of the secret police and the entire crown council (the former emperor's leading advisory body and stronghold of big landlords).

On the day of the emperor's removal the military clamped tight restrictions on the country, including dissolution of parliament and a ban on strikes and "unauthorized" demonstrations. This week soldiers moved to prevent demonstrations by students in Addis Ababa who demanded an immediate return to civilian rule and a court martial of the deposed emperor. When students attempted to leave the campus to march through the city, soldiers pushed them back to the university. The students were later permitted to hold a rally on campus, but only behind locked and guarded gates!

Selassie Regime Unable to Rule

The officers' coup came in response to a series of events over the last six months which have shown the complete inability of the old regime to rule. The beginnings of the movement within the military officialdom coincided with demonstrations last February by students, teachers, bus and taxi drivers and soldiers against a catalogue of ills: a hushed-up drought and widespread famine, illiteracy, police oppression, inflation and rampant government corruption. Another target was the feudal landholding system—Ethiopia's feudal princes still exact tithes from their

Emperor Haile Selassie L'EXPRESS

tenants and maintain their own private armies.

Strikes have always been illegal in Ethiopia, but last March the country saw its first general strike. The Congress of Ethiopian Labor Unions—originally created by the government under the guiding hand of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, an anti-communist creation of U.S. imperialist policy, many of whose "aid" programs are reportedly directed by the CIA—reluctantly yielded to extreme pressure from the ranks to call the three-day strike.

The 100,000 strikers demanded a $1.50 daily minimum wage (the current average is less than 40 cents), the right to strike and free education for children of union workers (95 percent of the population is illiterate). The strike paralyzed business, transportation and the country's limited industry, ending with government concessions on some key demands. In subsequent weeks strike action was also taken by airline workers, municipal workers, customs officials and finance ministry employees. Even the priests struck, demanding pay increases and removal of corrupt members of the church hierarchy!

In the province of Eritrea the government faced a very expensive and unpopular war against nationalist guerrillas. The 10,000 Ethiopian soldiers fighting the war demanded higher pay and an end to widespread corruption among government officials. During March and April rebellious military units seized control of Addis Ababa, the national capital, and Asmara, provincial capital of Eritrea. Troops stationed in the South, near Somalia, forced dismissal of the army's deputy chief of staff. Other officers and merchants have been seized by soldiers demanding an end to profiteering and hoarding in the face of famine.

The famine has been the single most immediate cause of the collapse of the Selassie regime, driving workers, soldiers and peasants to demand a means of survival. Dozens of students and peasants have been killed in food riots in the last two years.

Famine Embarrasses Government

During normal times the Ethiopian masses lead at best a marginal existence. Per capita income is about $50 per year—one of the lowest in Africa—and still lower for the peasantry which makes up 90 percent of the population. Nine tenths of the peasants cultivate less than 2 acres (*Challenge*, journal of the Ethiopian Student Union of North America, July 1970). Seventy-nine percent exist as tenants who pay three quarters of their annual produce in rent—according to law! In contrast the imperial family, the feudal aristocracy and the Coptic Church hierarchy—altogether less than one percent of the population—own 70 percent of all arable land (*Notes on Famine in Ethiopia*, published by the Committee to Help Famine Victims in Ethiopia).

The areas most affected by famine, the north central provinces of Wallo and Tigre, were first hit by drought in 1971. The ensuing food shortage produced skyrocketing inflation—food prices jumped over 200 percent in the first three months of this year alone—and sent a large portion of the country's 26 million people over the edge of disaster. The most conservative estimates place the death toll for 1973 at 100,000 (*New York Times*, 23 March 1974) and informed sources estimate total deaths so far may be as high as 500,000.

More precise figures are hard to come by since the Ethiopian government consciously organized a conspiracy of silence around the famine. Throughout early 1973 the government denied any existence of a famine, then in April conceded that people were "affected by a shortage of food." In August 1973 the government tried to suppress a UNICEF report on the famine. One official remarked of the report, "If this is the price we must pay for assistance, then we don't want assistance" (*New York Times*, 18 February 1974).

In an attempt by the officers to amass popular support against Selassie, scenes of starving children and diseased parents begging for food were recently shown on television, followed by shots of cakes specially flown in from Europe for the emperor's receptions.

The cover up was motivated by more than simple false pride. Disclosure of the extent of the famine predictably proved an embarrassment to the government and its merchant capitalist allies who exported thousands of tons of cereals and vegetables in the first quarter of 1973. Even after finally acknowledging in November 1973 that a famine actually did exist, the government continued in its criminal ineptitude: "About 6,700 tons of grain for Ethiopia's drought-stricken areas are said to be rotting on the docks" (*New York Times*, 21 July 1974).

Military Intervenes to Prevent Social Explosion

The Armed Forces Coordinating Committee professes to be ending Ethiopia's corruption and starvation by "bringing Ethiopia into the twentieth century." The military's thirteen-point manifesto issued in July called for

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Right: Demonstration in Addis Ababa this spring. Below: Soldiers of the Palace Guard.

AFRIQUE ASIE

Fourth Spartacist League National Conference:

Forward to a Workers Party!

WV PHOTO

Over 250 supporters of the Spartacist League attended the just-concluded Fourth National Conference, highest body of the SL/U.S. For many of the participants, the high point of the Conference took place before the convening of the first formal session, at a memorial meeting for James Patrick Cannon, founding leader of American Trotskyism, who had died on August 21. The meeting was a moving account of what Comrade Cannon meant to older comrades of the SL. For the founding cadre of the Spartacist tendency, forged in factional struggle as the Revolutionary Tendency of the Socialist Workers Party in 1961-63, critical evaluation of the role over many years of James Patrick Cannon was a central part of their own personal/political history. As Comrade Al Nelson put it, "If it weren't for Cannon, we wouldn't be here."

The SL Conference—in the absence of factional polarizations an essentially "problem-solving" gathering—was an intense and exciting political process and bore witness to the continuing transformation of the Spartacist League: no longer simply a propaganda group, but also a League on the road to becoming a Party, an organization rather like the Trotskyists of 1935 (albeit without a Trotsky), with a competent and dedicated cadre, increasing experience and maturity within its trade-union fractions, an extensive administrative apparatus, an energetic disciplined youth organization and rapidly extending international connections, engaged in a vital exciting struggle to crystallize a real international tendency.

The transformation of the SL into a pre-party formation, manifestly possessing all the solidity and seriousness, yet multiple vulnerability, which this process implies is rooted in the SL cadre, which has acquired for the first time an extensive layer of capable and committed professional revolutionists under the level of the full and alternate Central Committee. The accumulation and development of this precious and irreplaceable cadre poses for the SL leadership a heavy responsibility. History will not forgive us if we default in the obligation to weld this living continuity of the revolutionary movement into the instrument for the successful proletarian conquest of power. Key to the construction of such an instrument will be in this period to maintain the nuclei of communist trade-union fractions against the threat of a sharp worsening of the current economic downturn. The evident professionalization of the SL cadre also demands a greater professionalization of the SL leadership and the steeling of cadre in the vicissitudes of the living class struggles which lie ahead.

Following the organization of the Conference and the constitution of various working commissions, the first substantive agenda point was the reports and discussion of the international movement. The extension of the programmatically-based Spartacist international tendency was made concrete for the delegates by the fraternal greetings presented to the conference on behalf of co-thinkers of the SL/U.S., including the Berlin Committee, the Spartacist League of Australia-New Zealand, the Austrian Bolshevik-Leninists, the Canadian Committee and others.

The main reporter on the world movement, Comrade John Sharpe from the Interim International Secretariat, noted the continuing opportunities for further revolutionary regroupments presented by the decomposition of the sundry federated "Internationals": frenzied factional battles in the revisionist "United Secretariat," fracturing of the degenerate former "International Committee" into three counterposed wings. He stressed that the Spartacist international tendency is on the threshold of a transformation (comparable to that of the SL/U.S.) which must be aggressively pursued and patiently consolidated. He hailed the recent "Declaration for the Organizing of an International Trotskyist Tendency" (see *WV* No. 49, 19 July) which codified the determination of the Spartacist tendency to seize the international challenge and laid the basis for the formal foundation of an authentic Trotskyist tendency based on programmatic cohesiveness and adhering to international democratic centralism.

The discussion on the international movement was imbued with a sense of living internationalism and of the present importance of the SL/U.S. to the international tendency. The challenging process of development of indigenous authoritative section leaderships is key to consolidating the gains of many years of patient international work and discussion undertaken by the SL/U.S. and SL/ANZ. The delegates also stressed that the continuing growth of the SL/U.S. and the deepening of its roots in the labor movement would be crucial to the stability and international authority of the tendency as a whole.

The second major agenda point was the discussion and adoption of the main Conference documents, "Perspectives and Tasks of the Spartacist League" and "Spartacist League Trade Union Work." Presenting the documents, co-reporter George Foster stressed that the present economic/political conjuncture pointed to outbreaks of very sharp class struggles in the next period. Noting the intensified economic difficulties of the world bourgeoisie and the consequent exacerbation of inter-imperialist rivalries, he emphasized that the capitalist class has thus far been able to foist off upon the proletariat the increasing burden of a grinding inflation and falling real wages, due to the treachery of the reformist apparatuses, manifested in the post-1970 rise of class-collaborationist popular-frontism and, in the United States, a sharp drop after 1970-71 in the level of strikes until the upward swing of last March. He noted the likelihood of a labor explosion, long suppressed by capitalism's "labor lieutenants," which would severely test their capacity to continue their increasingly naked role as a brake upon the anger and militancy of the ranks.

In the absence of a revolutionary leadership capable of posing itself as an alternative on a mass scale, such an explosion would however present a contradictory aspect, with a potential for defeats and consequent demoralization and for exacerbated racial/ethnic tensions. Comrade Foster noted the enormous challenge which the present tremendously fluid situation presents for the revolutionary vanguard forces embodied in the Spartacist League. He emphasized the disproportion between the enormity of our opportunities and responsibilities and the limitations of our forces. The transformation of the SL/U.S. into a systematic propaganda league has been, he said, essentially accomplished, noting in particular the establishment of a regular and effective public press, the international extension of our tendency and the development of "a certain, if very tiny, weight in the labor movement." He stressed the continued applicability of the tactic of revolutionary regroupment.

Co-reporter James Robertson, SL National Chairman, also sounded a note of cautious optimism, noting the growth and maturing of the organization and its cadres, but contrasting our still reversible consolidation with the enormity of our tasks. He stressed that the struggles and gains of our movement are directed toward one goal: the conquest of power by the proletariat in this country and internationally.

Supplementary reports on the work of Conference commissions were also presented in the course of the discussion on the main documents. The report of the trade-union commission by the SL Labor Secretary summarized the proceedings of the commission meeting, focusing on questions of particular interest such as the applicability of the "workers control" demand and the criteria for supportable trade-union mergers. The black commission report urged the constitution of a permanent commission on black work to drive forward and coordinate the SL's increased capacity for intervention into the black struggle. The delegation from the Spartacus Youth League (formerly RCY), disciplined youth section of the SL, presented its greetings and reviewed the decisions of its National Conference held last July which adopted its new name and established a monthly *Young Spartacus*. The press commission reporter noted the urgent need for a weekly *Workers Vanguard* in the near future, and financial and other obstacles to its achievement. Reports were also heard from the Partisan Defense Committee and the SL communist archival group.

The lengthy discussion included debate on the public furor over a Detroit residency requirement for cops (see article in this issue). Other topics which generated interest included the near-general strike of San Francisco public employees last March, the Pan-Africanist movement, the work of the SL Women's Commission, problems of particular trade-union fractions and perspectives for geographical and press expansion.

A highlight of the Conference was the lively discussion on the national question and self-determination centering on the complex problems arising where historically counterposed racial and ethnic populations are geographically and economically intermingled, for example, Palestine, Northern Ireland, Cyprus. The presentation by Comrade Reuben Samuels emphasized that the democratic and national rights of such "interpenetrated peoples" can be achieved only in the framework of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Following this session, which concluded the open portion of the Conference, the delegates and observers rose and joined in the singing of the "Internationale."

The closed session began with a series of organizational reports, including some statistical highlights of the Conference personnel survey, which noted that of the comrades attending 37 percent had been politically active for more than five years. The successful application of the regroupment tactic was evidenced by the presence among the Conference participants of 26 former members of the SWP/YSA, 15 of PL/WSA, 11 of the IS, as well as lesser numbers from numerous other organizations including the Weathermen, Black Panthers, RU, SP/YPSL and CP. The conference participants were 64 percent males, 42 percent union members, 14 percent students; the average age was 25.8 years. More important, some 63 percent of those attending had been members of the SL/SYL for two years or less, indicating both the recent very rapid growth of the organization and the narrow base of experienced cadres (less than 9 percent had been SL/SYL members for five years or more).

Reports were also made on finances and the summer's successful national press sales drive, and the upcoming subscription drive was discussed as part of the projected transition to the weekly *WV*. The SL National Organizational Secretary noted the establishment of SL Organizing Committees in several new areas and projected further concrete goals. The session included the election of the incoming Central Committee following a full discussion centering on the choices for alternates. The transformation of the SL was again concretely felt as the delegates sought to select a recognized leadership out of the maturing of the large wave of able and dedicated comrades recruited to the SL within the last several years.

The Spartacist League Conference revealed a serious and dynamic organization grappling with the complex problems of a small revolutionary formation seeking to intersect and act upon the historic process. The period ahead will be the decisive test of this organization and its Fourth National Conference. ■

Detroit Cops Feud with Young

DETROIT—In a context of intense racial polarization, Detroit cops are currently mounting an ominous and well-organized campaign to achieve independence from any form of civilian control. Led by the Detroit Police Officers Association (DPOA), which is dominated by unabashedly racist and ultra-rightist elements, they have directed their protests against the reform proposals of liberal black Mayor Coleman Young and Police Chief Philip Tannian.

Of course, no amount of reforms will eliminate the racism of white cops enforcing bourgeois property rights in black ghettos. Even the introduction of large numbers of black police will not change one iota the cops' role as the armed fist of the bourgeois state. The Young/Tannian measures will have very little practical effect in curbing police terror. But their reversal by the naked intimidation tactics of the DPOA could have an enormous effect in further emboldening the cops and increasing their bonapartist *esprit de corps*. Victory for the cops could unleash a wave of unchecked police terror against the growing black population of the city.

Every class-conscious worker must know, as a simple fact of life under contemporary capitalism, that cops are racist enemies of the working people. Yet many white workers have been sucked into the pernicious notion that cops and prison guards are a part of the workers movement whose struggles for "unionization" can be supported.

This dangerous myth is partly a reflection of the low level of class struggle in this country; sharp union battles will rapidly destroy any idea that the strike-breaking cops are labor's allies! It also grows out of the willful treachery of the labor tops, such as liberal Jerry Wurf who has been eagerly organizing cops and prison guards into AFSCME. (Meanwhile Tim Wohlforth's wretched Workers League, pathetic running dog of the U.S. labor bureaucracy, hailed the 1971 New York police strike; and at the 1972 AFSCME convention WL supporters defended including cops in the union.)

The growing self-consciousness and organization of police is not a development of "union consciousness" among the professional thugs of the bosses. Rather, it is part of the cops' continuing attempts to break loose from the fetters of bourgeois democracy. These bonapartist appetites have been increasingly openly expressed in recent months. In case after case, cops have shot down "suspects," claiming for themselves the role of judge, jury and executioner to administer violent "justice" unhampered by liberal mayors and "permissive" juries. Recent Supreme Court decisions on the admissibility of illegally obtained evidence and the omnibus Senate "anti-crime" bill demonstrate that important sections of the bourgeoisie look with favor on this growing cop bonapartism (see "Cop Terror, Legal Executions on the Rise," *WV* No. 50, 2 August 1974).

In the last ten years there has been a mass exodus of whites from the city so that today Detroit is over 50 percent black. The appalling lumpenization of large sections of the city is a product of massive ghetto unemployment and a booming drug trade (Detroit is second to New York City in the number of heroin addicts). Detroit also has the highest homicide rate in the country: the "Motor City Murder Toll," announced daily on popular radio stations, is a grim reminder of the wretchedness of life in this industrial center.

Corruption and gross inefficiency in the local Housing and Urban Development bureaucracy have left much of the city a shambles of "urban renewal" in various stages of permanent incompletion. Thousands of decaying houses, abandoned for failure to meet mortgage payments, scar virtually every neighborhood and have become the targets of a large-scale arson/insurance racket.

The frustrating, "no-win" situation of the black population was compounded by last summer's Supreme Court overturn of cross-district busing in Detroit. Although grossly inadequate as a means for undercutting segregated schools, busing was a step in the direction of greater formal equality for blacks and was viewed as such by reactionaries. Two years ago, buses in Pontiac were bombed by ultra-racists, including the Ku Klux Klan, in a last-ditch effort to prevent integration of the schools. The Supreme Court decision is a clear indication of the government's unwillingness to sanction even tokenistic measures aimed against the desperate oppression of blacks.

Detroit cops demonstrate in June.

"STRESS"

The Detroit cops have a particularly vicious record of racist brutality. The 1967 inner city rebellion left 43 people dead, many of them simply executed, as in the infamous "Algiers Motel incident." The codification of this bonapartist "cop justice" was the formation of STRESS ("Stop Robberies and Enjoy Safe Streets"), a decoy unit of the police force which was to utilize undercover cops supposedly to trap muggers and other street criminals.

STRESS was soon revealed as nothing more or less than a racist terror squad which transformed various high-crime areas into virtual free-fire zones, brutalizing and killing scores of black youth. STRESS cops' involvement in the lucrative business of protecting narcotics pushers was widespread, as revealed in a *Detroit Free Press* investigation in the spring of 1973. This sparked the eventual indictment of some 46 Detroit-area cops for involvement in the drug business.

Following a shoot-out between STRESS cops and young members of an anti-pusher vigilante group, the outrageous and brutal manhunt that ensued left two of the youth dead and the third (Hayward Brown) under indictment. The incident turned the growing opposition to STRESS into a "mass movement" of sorts, with the liberals and "black community" spokesmen calling for the abolition of STRESS and pushing various impotent schemes for "reforming" the police.

Racial polarization, STRESS and the cops were key issues in the 1973 mayoral race. On one side was ex-police commissioner Nichols, the architect of STRESS, with the vocal support of the cops and right-wingers and at least the passive backing of most of the city's white population. Opposing Nichols was Coleman Young, a black liberal Democrat, former "fellow traveler" of the Communist Party, who campaigned on a program of "community control" rhetoric. Young was supported by the city's black voters, the liberals and the reformist CP.

At issue in the election were two alternatives for the policing of Detroit's working masses: continuation and extension of open police terror, or "cooling" the situation through the classic methods of ethnic politics by bringing more blacks into city government and onto the police force. Following Nichols' defeat, the cops began to prepare for increasingly virulent guerrilla war against the promised extensive reforms of the new black mayor.

That no capitalist politician can offer any solution to cop atrocities was reconfirmed after the election. Young "abolished" STRESS only to demand in its place 1,000 more uniformed cops on the streets of Detroit and the authorization of wire-tapping (disingenuously insisting that it would be used only against narcotics traffic).

Cops vs. the "Red Mayor"

The current controversy began to crystallize when Recorders Court Judge Justin Ravitz charged Patrolman Lindsey Joker with brutality in making an arrest (the conviction has since been overturned by a higher court). Ravitz likes to be known as Detroit's "Marxist-Leninist" judge, but his pretensions are rendered absurd by his position as enforcer of the laws of capitalist "justice."

Although Ravitz fulsomely protested that "I have no bias against the Police Dept." (*Detroit News*, 26 June), the cops were outraged at the indictment of one of their own and staged a protest demonstration. Gun butts prominently sticking out of the belts of their civilian clothes, the picketing cops demanded that Young fire Tannian and abandon the "affirmative action" plan to promote black policemen.

Another of Detroit's "radical" political folk heroes, attorney Ken Cockrel (a leader of the League of Revolutionary Black Workers until his ambitions were whetted by the lure of establishment politics), could not resist the opportunity to vie for votes for his perennially rumored campaign for mayor. Walking through the cops' demonstration, he turned their hoots into cheers as he accepted a "Support Your Police" sticker from a white police officer and gave a clenched-fist salute (*Detroit News*, 27 June).

The cops have been in an uproar ever since Young announced his plan for reorganization of the police force and appointed Tannian as police chief. At one demonstration, cops drove cars carrying signs like: "Fire Detroit's Red Mayor and Red Police Commissioner"; "Outlaw Communists Not Handguns"; "Jail Ravitz Not the Police." There has been an organized ticket-writing slowdown to protest the transfer of traffic cops to foot patrols and a walkout by guards at the Detroit House of Corrections. Narcotics officers have taken "strike" action against the city's demand that they turn over the names of their informants.

Liberals Push Impotent Police "Reforms"

Sparking the current battle between the cops and the city are basically two issues in addition to salary demands: Tannian's decision to promote black over white cops through "affirmative action" and the residency requirement whereby all Detroit cops must live within the city limits. These issues have become symbolic for the cops. The clearly racist basis of the cops' resistance has been dramatized by the fact that the black cops, organized separately in the Guardians of Michigan, have actively counter-demonstrated in support of Young and his reforms.

The proposed "affirmative action" was to have promoted 25 blacks and five women cops ahead of white male cops with more seniority. Detroit only began hiring black cops in significant numbers after the atrocities of the 1967 riots necessitated a clean-up of the police force image.

While the working class must oppose discriminatory hiring regulations, even on the police force, the call for more black cops, raised mainly by community-oriented black nationalists and liberal politicians, is designed simply to make the police more credible in the eyes of their victims and thus make them more effective in their job of smashing any hint of revolt.

DETROIT FREE PRESS
Detroit Mayor Coleman Young

The fundamental attitude of revolutionists toward the capitalist police—the hired guns of the ruling class—can be summed up in the demand: "Abolish the Cops—For Workers Militias." In contrast, squeamish liberals offended by particularly blatant racist "excesses" propose one meaningless scheme after another (civilian review boards, "community control," more black cops) to "reform" the police. Marxists must expose these attempts to put a more palatable face on the coercion, intimidation and brutality which lie at the very core of the bourgeois state.

Although Young finally managed to push through the promotions of the 25 black cops, resistance by the DPOA had been so adamant that the promotion ceremony was held in secret (*Detroit News*, 2 August)!

Critical Support to Residency Requirements for Cops

The other issue generating heated opposition by the DPOA, the residency requirement, has been on the books

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...Ethiopia

"better labor relations," increased aid to drought victims and "elimination of traditional beliefs and customs that may hinder the unity and progress of Ethiopia."

The domestic program of the new military government pledges equality for all Ethiopians, abolition of ethnic, religious and age barriers and reductions in differences in the standard of living. Land reform is a stated priority with the slogan of the program being "Land for the People."

In reality the officers' movement is nothing but a last-ditch effort to arrest a growing social outburst by cosmetically removing the most obvious manifestations of feudal backwardness. The military may be able to temporarily eliminate the most flagrant corruption, circumscribe the church's political role and curtail the judicial power and civil authority of the feudal lords. But despite the vague promise of "Land for the People," the material conditions of the peasantry will not be qualitatively improved.

The military officer corps is unequivocally tied to the ruling class and its defense of bourgeois property will lead it to tolerate at least vestiges of feudalism. The alternative, a true agrarian revolution against the feudalists, would require the mobilization of the workers and vast peasant masses—a step which would soon endanger all private property.

Earlier this year the air force, the most "radical" branch of the military, dropped leaflets over Addis Ababa disclosing demands submitted to Haile Selassie for freedom of the press and assembly, creation of political parties, "land to the tiller" and pay increases for the military. At the same time, however, the army warned that it "would take 'direct action' against anyone found spreading leaflets that called on the people to take power" (*New York Times*, 5 and 11 March 1974).

The military officers will carry through no serious attack on the Coptic Church, the main ideological prop of the feudal order and one of the largest landholders, since the church will continue to be of great service in keeping the oppressed peasantry passive. Moreover, cooperation from the church hierarchy will aid in avoiding an outbreak of civil war with the private armies of the feudal nobility. (The patriarch of the Coptic Church marked the Ethiopian New Year this week with a message asking god's blessing upon the "revolutionary" movement of the armed forces, but not upon the emperor.)

But a revolution which aimed to accomplish the tasks of agrarian revolution against feudalism and the establishment of bourgeois democratic rights would seek not a *modus vivendi* with the princes and the church but rather the stripping of their privileges and property. This the new military rulers will be unable to do except partially. And while the military pledges "better labor relations," a strike of telecommunications workers last May was halted after nine hours when the army intervened, dragging strikers from their homes and forcing them back to work at gunpoint.

A somewhat analogous situation existed in Egypt in 1952 when the Free Officers Movement, with a program more radical than the Ethiopian Armed Forces Committee, staged a coup and proceeded to attack the power of the landowners. Nasser's Egypt was held up by the Stalinists for two decades as the model of a "non-capitalist road of development," yet ten years after the coup only ten percent of the land under cultivation had been redistributed.

While the Ethiopian military may accomplish some sort of limited bourgeois land reform, it will not qualitatively improve the lot of the peasants any more than did the Egyptian officers. At best feudal relations will be gradually replaced by bourgeois exploitation and a limited distribution of land titles to former serfs who will continue to live in abject poverty.

Stalinists Discover "Progressive" Feudalists

While the Stalinists are so fond of looking to the "progressive," "democratic" military to take the "first step toward socialism," the Chinese Communist Party has gone even further in the case of Ethiopia in trailing the "anti-imperialist" feudal emperor Haile Selassie. The Negus has been a favorite of liberal bourgeois and "left" opportunists for years, despite the fact that he sent troops to fight against North Korea and the Congolese rebels.

Forced labor in Ethiopia. AFRIQUE ASIE

At a time when the massive famine was being revealed the Chinese CP hailed such "great social advances" of the Ethiopian people as "the 'Ethiopianization' of industry" and "tapping agricultural production" (*Peking Review*, 28 December 1973)! (Agricultural output has actually declined at the rate of 0.5 percent per year over the last twenty years.)

The Stalinist logic of collaboration with "progressive" bourgeois allies sometimes leads them to quite contradictory positions. Thus while the Chinese CP has hailed the "independence" of Ethiopia under the feudalist regime of Haile Selassie, after World War II the Soviet Union called for the return of Ethiopia to Italy! The Russian bureaucracy hoped that support for Italy's colonial appetite would enable the Italian CP to secure a place in a popular-front government and also guarantee an Italy more willing to cooperate with the USSR. But when the Communist Party was excluded from the Italian government at the time of the 1948 elections, the Soviet Union suddenly reversed its position.

Crisis of Leadership

While conditions in Ethiopia are explosive, the working class is weak and there is not even the beginning of an internationalist proletarian leadership. In a country where all political parties have been outlawed, only vague "left" and Maoist student groupings have existed. Most urgent is the crystallization of a Trotskyist party to guide the working class to victory.

Although Ethiopia is an overwhelmingly peasant country, a revolutionary party can only be based on the proletariat—in alliance with, but firmly *leading* the peasantry. The Russian October Revolution confirmed Trotsky's theory of Permanent Revolution: that in the epoch of imperialist decay only a *proletarian* revolution can solve even the bourgeois-democratic tasks. A left-nationalist or Stalinist party of declassed radical petty-bourgeois elements resting upon the support of the peasantry can at best lead only to a bureaucratic deformed workers state.

A revolutionary, Trotskyist workers party in Ethiopia would preach no confidence in the bourgeois officers' movement. Instead it would seek to split the armed forces, winning the worker and peasant soldiers away from their "democratic" officers and into its own ranks. Recognizing the right of self-determination for Eritrea, the Marxists would strike a blow against the reactionary ideology of nationalism, which will inevitably be invoked by the officers in order to stifle the masses' demands for social liberation.

A Trotskyist party would lay the basis for defeating the feudalists by demanding expropriation of the royalty, princes, church and all large landowners and the abolition of all vestiges of feudalism. It would call for nationalization of the land and distribution of large estates to the former serfs and poor peasants. With such a program of "land to the tiller," the working-class vanguard can draw behind its leadership the millions of exploited rural masses in a vast social revolution.

In addition, the revolutionaries would explain that it is impossible to overcome the famine without eliminating hoarding and profiteering. This requires a direct attack on bourgeois property, through the institution of control over distribution by the unions and committees of poor peasants.

In answer to the military's ban on demonstrations and strikes, a Trotskyist party would demand full democratic freedoms, immediate elections for a constituent assembly, the formation of an armed militia of workers and poor peasants, the creation of workers soviets (as well as peasant and soldier committees linked to these workers councils) and the replacement of the provisional officers' regime with a workers and peasants government.

By advocating such democratic and transitional demands, the revolutionists must seek to win Ethiopian workers and revolutionary intellectuals away from the class collaboration of all brands of Stalinism, whether pro-Moscow, Maoist or otherwise. Pointing to Chinese support for the "anti-imperialist" Selassie, and Russian praise and aid to "non-capitalist" Egypt under Nasser and Sadat, they must explain that only the working class, supported by the peasantry, can eliminate feudalism by establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat.

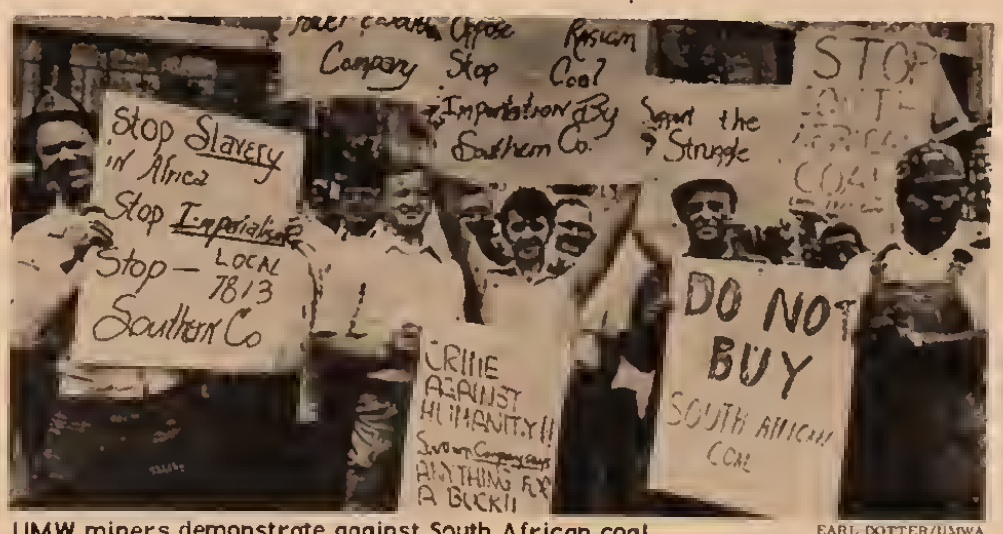
The backwardness of Ethiopia is great and its working class tiny; here, even more than in the advanced countries, socialist revolution requires immediate aid from and a struggle to link up with the workers of other countries. Once again the key to victory is the construction of a Trotskyist party on the program of Permanent Revolution, as a section of the reborn Fourth International. ■

UMW Boycott of South African Coal

In *WV* No. 50 (2 August) we published an article on international labor boycotts in which we opposed open-ended boycotts of reactionary regimes, such as Spain or South Africa. These measures are incapable of toppling the oppressive governments they are aimed at, are not directed at achieving a concrete realizable goal and are generally expressions of petty-bourgeois liberal moralism. If successful in cutting down the volume of trade, they can objectively weaken the working class in such countries and therefore the general struggle against social oppression. Instead we proposed clearly focused and potentially effective campaigns of international workers' solidarity, such as a labor boycott of military goods to Chile demanding the release of the junta's political prisoners.

Despite our general opposition to such boycotts, the article advocated critical support for the International Longshoremen's Association (ILA) boycott of Rhodesian chrome as a genuine, though misguided, attack on the white supremacist regime. To call for liquidating the ILA Rhodesian boycott might well play into the hands of outright racist forces in that union.

The current United Mine Workers (UMW) boycott of South African coal to Alabama may appear similar to that of the ILA Rhodesian boycott. It is not. That the ILA action is a response to genuine anti-racist sentiment is indicated by the fact that it means sacrificing much needed work for longshoremen. In contrast, the UMW boycott—by no coincidence—serves to eliminate foreign competition.



UMW miners demonstrate against South African coal. EARL DOTTER/UMWA

No doubt many, particularly black, miners really want to attack Vorster's reactionary white-supremacist regime. However, in this case opposition to South African racism is being used by the union bureaucracy as a pretext for national economic protectionism. This is now patently obvious as the UMW is supporting George Wallace's Attorney General, William Baxley, in suing utility companies in order to prevent them from importing South African coal—thereby inducing them to "buy Alabaman" instead.

We call upon coal miners and all members of the labor movement to oppose the UMW boycott of South Africa as being an act of nationalist protectionism and one which harms the genuine interests of black South African miners and the struggle against racial oppression in that country. ■

Soviet Cops Bulldoze Art Show

We strenuously protest and condemn the smashing of Moscow's "First Autumn Outdoor Art Show" on September 15. As a legally sanctioned but unofficial art exhibit was being set up, plainclothes cops attacked with dump-trucks, bulldozers and water-trucks, destroying paintings and beating and chasing away the artists and spectators. At least five artists were arrested by the official police, after being roughed up by their disguised cohorts, for "resisting authorities."

Although Russian bureaucrats have laughed off the incident, it is a brutal state warning that no deviations whatever will be tolerated from the confining straightjacket of official "Socialist Realist" art. For those who find it hard to understand how a purely visual expression can be "subversive," the logic of state censorship presents the irrefutable argument: Anything which deviates from approved art is subversive simply because it is *not* the approved line.

This censorship creates much unofficial art that actually *is* veiled political polemic (a good example: the operas feverishly cranked out by sundry cliques in the Chinese CP, complete with veiled allusions to Mrs. Mao, Liu Shao-chi, etc.). Since all overt political debate is stifled, this is the only channel remaining open for even disguised dissent. Thus the inevitable result of state censorship is the stifling of all artistic creativity, while the political battles rage underground.

Meanwhile, in the capitalist world the artist has his "freedom" to either turn his work into a saleable commodity (or a hedge against inflation, these days) or starve to death. Political repression of art is not unknown in the U.S. either. During the McCarthy period, exhibits of abstract expressionist art were abruptly cancelled, critics censored and artists blacklisted as the result of demagogic rantings of politicians that modern art was a plot to overthrow democracy by "soldiers of the revolution—in smocks" (*New York Post*, 21 September 1974).

Art in a Workers State

A workers state must support scientists, artists and other cultural workers without in the least attempting to influence the *content* of their work. A democratic soviet state would, of course, have to make decisions about competing social, economic and cultural priorities relating to scientific and artistic endeavors. This is something quite distinct from political censorship or determination of the content, style or theoretical principles of science and art. Where social decisions are necessary even in these areas (what paintings to exhibit, what scientific theory to pursue), they are best left to self-administration by bodies of qualified workers in those fields.

Trotskyists stand for the absolute freedom of artistic expression! Marxism is a science of economic and political life which applies only indirectly to other disciplines. The self-righteous, vulgar, philistine egomania of Stalin (whose idea of "great art" was the stuffy excrescences of the decadent late 19th-century West European "Academy," which he then forced on the Russian people as "Socialist Realism") stands totally opposed to the views of Marx, Lenin and Trotsky, who all insisted on the essential *autonomy* of creative artistic activity.

For Full Freedom of Artistic Expression! For State Support to Scientists, Artists and Other Cultural Workers! For the Self-Administration of Artistic Activity! For Political Revolution in the Degenerated and Deformed Workers States—For Workers Democracy! ■

Continued from page 12

San Francisco Waterfront Scandal Mushrooms

out deals paved the way for erosion of job standards and tremendous speed-up through automation, resulting in soaring productivity for the bosses in the Pacific Maritime Association (PMA).

In the last Local elections, the membership put into office a slate consisting of opponents of Bridges with militant reputations. The Local 10 leadership, headed by Frank Stout and Herbert Mills, is supported in part by a group of radicals formerly associated with "Longshore Victory," a paper which claimed militancy but refused to criticize Bridges.

The Stout-Mills regime has behaved similarly by refusing to raise the root cause of the problem, the speed-up and loss of jobs due to Bridges' bureaucratic betrayals. Stout and Mills have attempted to fight on the same bureaucratic ground as Bridges and Chester, leaving the membership divided, confused and unprepared.

Thus when Bridges made a first attempt to sell the hall, Stout and Mills countered with a law suit. The suit revealed that Bridges was trying to sell the hall to Alioto interests at roughly one half its actual worth, but this was not enough to stop Bridges.

The erosion of Local 10's financial condition proceeded apace with the continuing loss of work due to automation and speed-up. Stout and Mills proposed a dues increase and special assessment to temporarily alleviate the Local's debt and advocated a referendum to decide to lease rather than sell the hall.

With the hall property about to slip out of their grasp, the Alioto interests turned to their well-paid friends Bridges and Chester for help. The ILWU tops immediately proposed a special monitorship over the Local in order to return it to solvency. This was approved by the membership despite its onerous terms, because Stout and Mills failed to offer an alternative for fear of raising the basic issues and opposing Bridges openly.

Meanwhile, Alioto and Co.'s attempt to grab the hall comes at a convenient time for Bridges, who may have a large fine to pay soon. The suit of B men (second-class members) led by Stan Weir, who was expelled by Bridges in 1963, is nearing final determination in court. Bridges may need the money from the sale of the hall to meet the settlement.

Thus the "tactic" of going to the courts of the bosses to redress grievances and settle disputes within the labor movement threatens to backfire as usual and hurt the membership. Local 10 members voted *twice* to reinstate the B men, only to be overruled by the International! If they are now made to pay the fine through loss of their hall an irreparable blow to solidarity will inevitably be felt.

Thug Attack on Local 10 Leaders

The appointed monitors were given the power to approve or veto local rules. In addition, the financial terms of the monitorship are directly in the interests of the Alioto clique.

The International directive stipulates that all of Local 10's funds—strike fund, welfare fund, etc.—shall be combined to pay off the Local indebtedness; and that "interfund indebtedness" be cancelled. This means that money owed by the Local to the technically separate hall corporation for upkeep of the hall cannot be paid. The monitors then ruled in a letter to the Local that the regular monthly assessment to the hall corporation could not be paid. Thus the terms of the monitorship and the actions of the monitors are geared to maneuver the Local into sale of the hall.

Meanwhile, the PMA was pleased with Bridges' victory in the vote for the monitorship. It voluntarily waived a contract provision which would have deprived the membership of its pay guarantee for that week (since the vote was held at a stop work meeting).

Normally the PMA uses this provision to intimidate the membership against any work interruptions. No doubt the PMA's pleasure was largely due to the fact that the terms of monitorship meant that members could be directed to be available for work seven days per week. The 1973 contract had provided Saturdays and Sundays off for the first time.

Despite the vote for monitorship, however, the ranks demonstrated their continuing will to resist by voting in favor of the plan to lease the hall in a referendum held after the monitorship was in force. Fear that unnamed "friends of the International" were trying to profit from the sale of the hall was cited by the Local leaders as reason for the vote, which was declared invalid by Chester. In the subsequent week the monitors demanded the resignation of the Local officers, and a dozen goons showed up at the hall to demand that the officers "turn in their keys and get out" (*Chronicle*, 14 September)!

At the subsequent membership meeting held yesterday (September 20), a massive turnout of angry members induced the International to drop its demands that the Local not pay the regular assessment to the hall corporation and that the leadership resign. However, Stout and Mills are still unwilling to come out openly against Bridges and expose the purposes of the International's maneuvers before the membership. Thus they opposed the demand raised by business agent Larry Wing that *all* the monitors' orders and the entire basis of the monitorship itself be declared invalid.

Bridges and Chester can remain confident that they will succeed in imposing full receivership over the Local in a short while. Stout and Mills, meanwhile, are counting on maneuvers at the top, by getting other locals (Los Angeles and Seattle) to call for an International executive board meeting, to stave off the Bridges-Chester offensive.

Need for a Class-Struggle Alternative

The refusal by the Local 10 leadership to mobilize the members and link the monitorship question to the struggle for jobs only plays into the hands of Bridges and Co. Alioto's boys on the docks are prepared to use any pretext to divide the ranks. Already they have sought to foster racial animosity as part of the offensive against Local 10. A group of black workers around one of the dispatchers with links to Chester was used by the International to form the goon squad against Stout and Mills in order to give the impression of a racial incident.

The same clique is trying to promote its chances of rising into the bureaucracy by conducting correspondence with black locals of the International Longshoremen's Association. If the International gets its way, Local 10 is smashed and the entire union is swallowed up by its old parent and adversary, the ILA (Bridges has repeatedly advocated merger), these goons hope to profit as a result.

Only the struggle for a shorter workweek at no loss in pay (such as through four six-hour shifts), coupled with demands for no layoffs and no reduction in manning scales, can provide a basis for uniting all segments of the union and defeating the International-imposed receivership. Already the loss of jobs is creating new frictions between the full members (A men) and second-class members (B men) which may prevent several hundred B men from getting full membership and lead to new erosion of the work force. This will simply serve to further strengthen the PMA and lead to massive layoffs and more speed-up in the future.

The Communist Party, after decades of building up Bridges as a great hero of labor, after supporting the contracts of 1961 and 1966, after supporting Bridges' persecution of the B men in 1963, is now meekly trying to join the opposition to the International. Yet, in typical fashion, its supporters in the recent Local meeting spoke in favor of Stout and Mills' moderation of the demands against the monitorship.

Through its many twists and turns, the CP has progressively whittled away its support in the Local during the recent years. With its class-collaborationist policy of working within the Democratic Party for the "lesser evil," the CP is incapable of exposing and fighting the main cause of Local 10's looming destruction. And radicals like the ex-"Longshore Victory" supporters, many of whom were disgusted former CP supporters, have only served to create a new bureaucratic clique (Stout and Mills) which opposes Bridges only for the purpose of advancing their own careers.

Militants in Local 10 and throughout the ILWU must form a class-struggle opposition to the pro-capitalist policies of Bridges. It is the alliance with Alioto and the companies which has led to the loss of longshore jobs to automation and the scheme to swindle Local 10 out of its property.

Without a fight throughout the union, linking the struggle for jobs to smashing the alliance of the bureaucracy with the capitalists and their politicians, the situation of Local 10 is hopeless. Labor struggle, including industry-wide strikes, must be used to stop the layoffs and runaways (including the pineapple growers on Hawaii planning to run away from ILWU contracts).

The demand for a shorter workweek at no loss in pay must be raised together with the demand for a workers party based on the trade unions, to fight for a workers government. The key to stopping Alioto and his shipping company friends is replacing the reformist union bureaucracy with a militant new leadership committed to class-struggle policies. ■

Continued from page 2

Defeat Anti-Busing Terror Campaign in Boston

poor and working people." Thus they give it no support, just as the RU opposes the Equal Rights Amendment to the U.S. Constitution, on the grounds that it doesn't do much for women's rights. Marxists, in contrast, would support the ERA and busing as embodying democratic principles, while pointing out the need to take the struggle further, to united class struggle for socialism.

The Maoist October League (OL) and Youth Against War and Fascism (YAWF) joined with local groups in a September 20 rally at Boston City Hall around a series of demands, including: "End White Boycott" and "Support Black Boycott of Boston High Until the Government Breaks Up the Fascist Gangs!" As in the case of the PWP, a black boycott of South Boston High couldn't serve the racists better.

Moreover, with this reformist demand the OL and YAWF lead militants to believe that the bourgeois government could somehow smash fascism or, to be more accurate, the racist politicians behind the white school boycott. The events of the last week have clearly shown that this is a total illusion.

The cops and liberal Mayor White are incapable of defeating the anti-busing racists—nor do they really want to. The present policies of the PWP, OL, RU and YAWF amount to unconditional surrender (without a fight) to Hicks and the Ku Klux Klan. What is needed *now* is a mass mobilization of black organizations, trade unions, socialist groups and all other forces prepared to defend black school children against mounting racist violence. ■

Continued from page 7

Detroit Cops...

in Detroit for many years. Last year the DPOA took it to court; the Michigan Supreme Court ruled that residency could not be enforced through legislation, but was to be a bargaining issue between each union of city employees and the city. Thus if the requirement is dropped for cops, it will be as a result of the "bargaining strength" of the cops—i.e., the intimidation tactics of the DPOA.

The residency requirement was blown into the headlines early last month when Detroit residents were treated in their morning papers to the ludicrous spectacle of DPOA chief Gary Lee sneaking out of his house in the white suburbs. Lee claims that the house belongs not to him but to his wife(!) and that his residence is in the city, as required by law (the landlord at his supposed city address had never heard of him). In the face of the massive publicity, Lee instituted divorce proceedings in order to technically satisfy the present rules.

Nobody likes living in Detroit. It is crime-ridden, ugly and oppressive. Yet more than a million blacks and working people are forced to suffer these conditions due to economic reasons and pervasive racial discrimination in the lily-white suburbs. The cops' organized resistance to the residency requirement stems from racist revulsion against living among the black population they oppress. It is also an expression of their desire to maintain a caste-like existence separated from the concerns and pressures that face working people.

Socialists do not take a position on how the capitalists should administer *their* police force (e.g., foot patrols vs. patrol cars, mini-precinct stations). But in this situation of sharp polarization we must give critical support to the maintenance of the residency requirement for cops.

This does not mean calling for a sensitized police force more "in touch" with its victims. In fact, the residency requirement—even if it leads to a wave of resignations and the hiring of more black police—will not protect Detroit working people from the arbitrary exercise of "cop power."

We give critical support to the Detroit residency requirement for cops not because it will alleviate the oppression of blacks (it won't), but because success for the DPOA's campaign against it would be a victory for the cops' bonapartist appetites, an invitation to ever more blatant terrorization of working people and racial minorities. The current battle has symbolic significance far beyond the question of where the bosses' armed thugs will live: the controversy is essentially a "referendum" on racism and cop bonapartism. We are not neutral in this conflict. With the lines thus sharply drawn we come down against the police and in support of the residency requirement, while pointing out that it is in itself worthless as a measure against police brutality.

On other issues a higher democratic or class principle may take precedence. Thus it is contrary to the principle of proletarian class independence to call on working people to administer (or take responsibility for) the repressive forces of the bourgeois state. Consequently, we do not call for or give critical support to the preferential hiring of black cops and "community control" of the police.

Another example: The Detroit Federation of Teachers is also facing imposition of a residency requirement in its contract next year. For this legitimate section of the labor movement we are firmly opposed to residency requirements. The DFT is a real union, and such requirements are a club which the state can use to bust unions, as well as to attack the democratic rights of teachers.

UAW Off the Police Commission!

The new civilian Police Commission set up by the mayor has also been a target of the DPOA's protest. The cops insist that Young's appointees are "too liberal." The only Commission member the cops like, according to DPOA head Lee, is Doug Fraser, head of the Chrysler Department of the UAW and probable successor to Woodcock.

The *Detroit News* (26 June) claims this is due to Fraser's "reputation of being solidly law and order." That reputation is undoubtedly based on Fraser's mobilizing of the 1,000-man goon squad used to smash the August 1973 Mack Avenue strike. More recently he was in the process of organizing a repeat performance for Dodge Truck when the strike there ended.

The Commission is not simply a review board to hear complaints of citizens against the police, but has policy-making powers and budgetary controls. UAW militants must demand that Fraser immediately resign from the Commission: labor's representative has no business administering and taking responsibility for the policies of the hired guns of the class enemy!

Having campaigned as a "community control" advocate, Young since his election has begun to reassess his former stance. According to the *Detroit News* (27 August) he is not about "to embrace a plan that requires him to relinquish power to community councils." Young will certainly oppose any measure which could undercut the strong centralized force he needs to "do his job"—i.e., maintain capitalist law and order.

In the racially inflamed situation of Detroit, it is the responsibility of organized labor to put forward a *class* alternative to bourgeois politicians like Young who now pose as the only "defenders" of the black masses. Recently a black family which moved into an all-white neighborhood in Detroit suffered attacks from its white neighbors, who threw rocks through the windows. A UAW local sent rotating patrols to defend the house and repulsed the attackers. Not the union bureaucrats on Young's police boards, but the ranks of the labor movement must be mobilized to defend the rights of working people against racist harassment and cop brutality.

Cop terror will always accompany a rise in the class struggle, whether it is manifested in strike waves or ghetto rebellions, for the unambiguous function of the cops is to preserve the "rights" of the Chryslers and Fords to make their profits. Especially in a period when the ruling class and its government are seeking to inflame racial antagonisms to deflect resistance to galloping inflation and unemployment, only united working-class action can defend the oppressed against cop atrocities. DISARM THE COPS—ABOLISH THE RED SQUAD AND DECOY UNITS! ABOLISH THE COPS—FOR RACIALLY UNITED WORKERS MILITIAS! SMASH THE DPOA OFFENSIVE! ■

NEW YORK SPARTACIST FORUM

Black Liberation and the Proletarian Party

Speaker: George Foster, SL Central Committee

Saturday, October 5
7:30 p.m.

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135 West 4th Street
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Continued from page 1

Boycott Military Goods to Chile!

Socialist League participated in the picketing.

Unloading of the Prudential Grace Lines ship Santa Maria was prevented for almost three hours as a result of the appearance of the protesters at the Long Beach wharves. When a Federal arbitrator arrived and ruled that the picket was not a "legitimate labor dispute" as defined by the ILWU contract, and that the union would have to send the men back to work or face heavy fines, the longshoremen still refused to budge. The demonstrators, they claimed, had been angered by Prudential Lines' aid to the Chilean junta and therefore the picket line, legitimate or not, constituted a "health and safety hazard"; obviously, they still could not cross the line.

While this was being considered by the arbitrator, who doubtless would have rejected this claim also, a call came in from none other than ILWU President Harry Bridges, ordering local officials to send the men back to unload the ship forthwith. He promised that a complete boycott of the ship was being prepared in San Francisco. Faced with Bridges' orders to move the cargo the demonstrators decided to end the picket, but promised to initiate similar actions in the future.

During the picketing comic relief was provided by the arrival of the Long Beach Police Department. The hostile, openly pro-company cops at first tried to supplement their own bullying by references to what the longshoremen would do to the demonstrators if the latter tried to keep them from working. The police were quickly shut up, however, when union members present made it clear that "the Long Beach cops don't have any business here," and that any more police harassment would result in all the union members' going home.

Longshore Ranks Active in S.F.

Delayed in part by the SL-initiated picket in L.A., the Santa Maria arrived at Pier 30-32 in San Francisco on Thursday, but Bridges' promised well-organized boycott was nowhere in sight. Despite the decision of the Local 10 executive committee to organize a mass demonstration at the pier to publicize the boycott, nothing was ever done about this.

Moreover, when members of the Committee to Enforce the Boycott inspected goods being prepared for shipment they found three trailer loads of chemicals to be used for mining in Chile! Union officials were duly informed of this violation of the boycott and a business agent was finally sent down who announced that union men would not touch these goods.

While the cargo was stopped, if there had been no action by the ILWU militants, nothing whatever would have been done. The next day, as the ship was being loaded, the Spartacist League (joined by the Class Struggle League) arrived to picket, calling for enforcement of the ITF boycott. Again there was no demonstration organized by Local 10 leaders. The only publicity about the longshore boycott in the S.F. press was the result of coverage of the SL-initiated demonstration.

Although invited to participate, a number of "socialist" organizations otherwise active in Chile defense work failed to show up at the docks, apparently for fear of offending Bridges. Their "contribution" was made on Tuesday with a small picket in front of the Grace Lines offices after which Archie Brown, a well-known CP supporter in ILWU Local 10, asked a representative of Prudential Grace to stop handling cargo to Chile!

Begging the capitalists to stop trading while refusing to participate in a demonstration of solidarity with labor action—this is the pathetic result of the perennial opportunism of these fake lefts. Needless to say, neither Brown nor any of his friends inside or outside the ILWU was to be seen at the Prudential-Grace pier during the two-day boycott period.

Enforce the Boycott!

The maneuvers around the September 18 and 19 ITF boycott were only the latest in a long line of subterfuges by ILWU officials to avoid implementing an anti-junta resolution passed by Local 10 in November of last year.

Under the impact of daily press reports of mass executions in Santiago's National Stadium, the same Archie Brown who today is doing everything to avoid industrial action against the junta actually authored a resolution calling for a boycott of Chilean shipping: "Local #10 goes on record to boycott all goods and cargo to and from Chile until such a time that the junta or government in Chile restores full rights to the trade unions, their membership and leaders. . . ." The Local 10 executive committee, however, passed the buck to the International where it was stopped dead.

As usual Bridges was more concerned about his arrangements with the shipping companies than about "ab-

Which Way Forward for Women Workers? A Class-Struggle Approach

Saturday, 28 September 2 p.m.
Boston University, Sherman Union, Terrace Lounge

Speakers: Lisa Diamond, Militant Solidarity Caucus, UAW Local 906
Irene Gardner, Spartacist League, National Committee SYL

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United-front picket of Prudential Grace Lines Chile ship in Long Beach. WV PHOTO

stract" questions of international labor solidarity. And due to the reformist Communist Party's long-time policy of supporting Bridges, CP supporters in the union also did nothing to implement the resolution.

In late February of this year, after learning of the Local 10 resolution, the Spartacist League organized a picket at the docks calling for a boycott of Chilean cargo. Longshoremen refused to begin loading the Santa Maria for about an hour until a business agent arrived to tell the men that, while he was "in sympathy with the aims of the group demonstrating here," the contract required that the ship be loaded.

At two united-front demonstrations initiated by the SL in April a longshore militant from Local 10, Stan Gow, spoke about the resolution, thus giving the first general publicity to a motion the union leadership would prefer to forget. Subsequently the SL was the only group to publicize the Chile boycott resolution at Chile defense demonstrations and planning meetings in the Bay Area, calling for pickets in support of its implementation. Interest in the resolution was widespread in the Bay Area, but the Communist Party, which was rapidly consolidating its hold over the local Chile coalitions, made it clear that it wanted nothing done that might offend the ILWU bureaucracy.

At a planning meeting for the May 11 Chile demonstration, for instance, Archie Brown (who also heads a "Trade Union Committee for Democracy in Chile" and is now the de facto head of the local Chile action coalition) opposed any action in solidarity with his own resolution!

Following the May 11 Chile demonstration, ILWU militants who supported the Local 10 resolution and wanted to see it implemented joined together to form the Committee to Enforce the Boycott. With members in Local 10 (longshore), Local 6 (warehouse) and Local 34 (clerks), the committee has been able to circulate its leaflets widely in the union and win broad support for implementing the Local 10 resolution. Their petition calling for implementation of the resolution has already obtained more than 450 signatures. Brown reluctantly signed the petition but refused to circulate it! In addition to the petition campaign the committee got the clerks' local to set up an official committee to work for implementing the boycott resolution.

Opportunism and sectarianism

Over the last year there has been a sharp division between reformists and revolutionaries in the U.S. Chile defense movement. The reformist wing is led by the Stalinist CP, which wants to "defend" Chilean militants while concealing that it was the Chilean SP and CP which paved the way for the bloody coup by preaching reliance on the "democratic" bourgeoisie as an ally on the "peaceful road to socialism." A principled policy in defense of the Chilean militants is put forward by the Spartacist League, the only organization consistently calling for united-front action to defend the victims of junta repression while refusing to hide its own revolutionary Marxist politics. Predictably, the CP's zeal to "defend" Chilean militants is expressed first and foremost in its bureaucratic efforts to exclude the SL and other leftists from Chile solidarity work.

Last spring, while the "respectable" SWP-led U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA) and CP-led Chile Solidarity Committees concentrated on defending liberal intellectuals and personalities of the Allende government, the SL initiated a campaign to save the lives of two leaders (Van Schouwen and Romero) of the Chilean Revolutionary Left Movement (MIR). In demonstrations, when the reformists chanted "Chile sí, Junta no," the SL responded with "Workers sí, Junta no" and "No popular-front illusions—for workers revolution!"

The Stalinists are driven to frenzy by these principled revolutionary politics. CPers have attempted to exclude SL contingents from Chile marches and regularly refuse to let SL speakers appear on the platform. The reformist SWP also consistently votes against SL proposals to give all participating groups equal speaking time. This same pattern of opportunist sectarianism was expressed even more clearly at recent Chile demonstrations in the Bay Area.

At yesterday's Chile rally Bob Mandel of the Committee to Enforce the Boycott asked to speak but was refused by the Stalinists who controlled the microphones. Incensed at this bureaucratic suppression, the Committee members wrote on the back of their picket signs, "We stopped the cargo but they won't let us speak!" and held them up in front of the speakers' platform. As members of the crowd shouted "Let them speak!" the Stalinists lined up a goon squad on the platform and threatened to physically attack Mandel.

Later in the evening, another member of the Committee to Enforce the Boycott, Bob Carson of ILWU Local 34, asked to speak at an SL forum on Chile. Speaking for almost 10 minutes, Carson told the audience what the Stalinists refused to let him say during the demonstration: He described how the Chile goods were stopped, condemned popular fronts and also noted caustically that many of the goons at the demonstration were ILWUers who had done nothing to implement the ITF boycott.

Last week's Chile boycott by transport workers around the world underlines the urgency of the Spartacist League's call for labor actions of solidarity with junta prisoners. As against the sectarian exclusionism and pathetic begging from the capitalists which are the policies of the reformists, the SL calls on labor and socialist militants to undertake united-front action around the demand, "Hot-Cargo Military Goods to Chile!"

This revolutionary perspective means combating not only the junta and its apologists, but also the labor bureaucrats and "left" fakers who stand in the way of effective proletarian action. This is the only road which can lead to victory. ■

SUBSCRIPTION DRIVE

September 26-October 23

In the year since our last subscription drive the weight of the Spartacist League in the workers movement has continued to increase. This is reflected both in the content and impact of our main press organ, *Workers Vanguard*. *WV* has been denounced for its revolutionary politics by union bureaucrats in CLUW and UAW meetings, but the facts it reports have not been denied; it has carried unique eyewitness coverage of the British miners' strike, Indian rail strike and Portuguese class struggle, including in-depth analysis of the tasks facing revolutionists and the policies of the competing left-wing tendencies; and it has played an important role in building SL-initiated campaigns of solidarity with British miners and imprisoned Chilean leftists.

Unlike many left newspapers, *Workers Vanguard* is not a mere rewrite of the bourgeois press. Reflecting the implantation of the SL in the working class, *WV* carries the only accurate reporting of the struggles of militant oppositionists in the unions. As part of our struggle for the rebirth of the Fourth International and the crystallization of the international Spartacist tendency, international coverage has been particularly prominent during the last year.

As we go forward to a weekly *Workers Vanguard* it is necessary to increase the stable sales and subscription base of our press. An important indication of the real capacity of the SL to shape political struggles, building the regular circulation of *WV* is an integral part of our efforts to construct the Leninist vanguard party in the U.S.

The quotas for this year's subscription drive are roughly double those of last year, reflecting the success of the 1973 drive. Also included in the quotas will be subscriptions to *Young Spartacus* (monthly newspaper of the Spartacus Youth League, youth section of the SL) and *Women and Revolution* (journal of the Women's Commission of the SL). We encourage our readers to subscribe to all publications of the SL/SYL for serious and timely Marxist analysis and a clear posing of the revolutionary tasks facing the workers movement.

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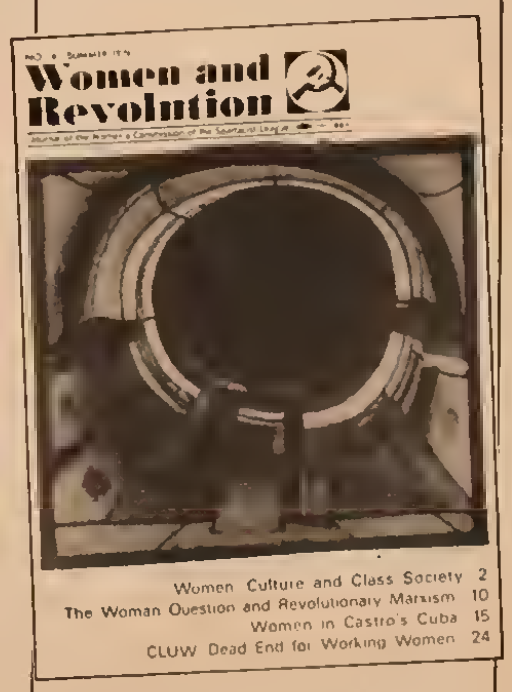

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Thugs Seize Keys to Union Hall

San Francisco Waterfront Scandal Mushrooms

Bridges Connives with Alioto in Land Grab

SAN FRANCISCO, September 21—Richard Nixon was a murderer, crook and cover-up artist, but even he could learn a few tricks on the San Francisco waterfront. S.F. Mayor Joe Alioto, reputed to be a "friend of labor," and Harry Bridges, who is his chief friend in labor as well as head of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, seem to be trying to prove to all concerned that the Republican Party has no monopoly on scandals, violence and anti-labor swindles.

At the heart of the rapidly emerging docks scandal in San Francisco is an attempt by capitalist friends of Alioto to get their hands on the dispatch hall of ILWU Local 10, the S.F. longshoremen's union, which sits on waterfront property valued at 5 to 8 million dollars. Bridges and his crony, ILWU Vice President Bill Chester, last month put Local 10 under the virtual dictatorship of International "monitors" in order to maneuver the Local into selling its hall to the Alioto interests.

The seriousness of the power struggle going on behind the scenes was indicated when Sheldon Osborne, a retired Local 10 member and long time socialist militant, received a death threat after trying to expose the swindle in a leaflet to the membership. Subsequently a goon squad of a dozen Bridges supporters was organized within the Local to seize the hall by force from Local officers, who are opponents of Bridges within the ILWU hierarchy. The attempt failed, but not without injuries administered to Larry Wing, a Local 10 business agent.

SAN FRANCISCO CHRONICLE

ILWU President/S.F. Port Commissioner Harry Bridges: "the devil with who (benefits), Alioto or anybody else."

Struggle for Power on the Waterfront

Control of the waterfront has clearly been foremost in Alioto's mind from the beginning. Shortly after his election as mayor in 1968 he backed a proposal to turn the Port of San Francisco over to the city from its previous status under state ownership.

During his years in office Alioto's friends and relations prospered as economic powers in commercial development and lucrative Fishermen's Wharf establishments. Now Alioto has apparently decided to "get his" and is moving in with amazing arrogance.

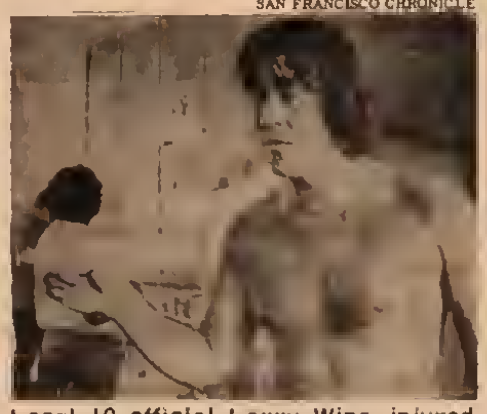
Having lost a bid for the governorship in the recent Democratic primary (where he was strongly supported by the ILWU tops), Alioto appears to have decided that his future lies in finance, not politics: he's decided to join the ranks of the fat cats and doesn't care who knows it.

Outstripped by the Port of Oakland, which boasts the most modern container equipment in the world, the Port of San Francisco teeters on the brink of bankruptcy. Alioto wants to push it over the brink to make way for commercial development.

In late August it was announced that American President Lines, one of the last major shipping companies using the S.F. port, was moving its operations to Oakland. The announcement came after "tense and unsuccessful" negotiations with Pacific Far East Lines, its major competitor, over joint use of the port's only modern container facility (Pier 96).

Pacific Far East Lines had just been purchased by Alioto's son John, who reportedly told American President Lines to "get the hell out" of Pier 96 (*San Francisco Chronicle*, 31 August)! Alioto's own direct involvement has recently been revealed in the press: he put up 1,318 acres of land in Placer County as collateral for his son to purchase PFEL and reportedly visits the shipping company's headquarters every morning before coming to work (*Chronicle*, 19 September).

SAN FRANCISCO CHRONICLE



Local 10 official Larry Wing, injured in goon attack on union hall.

Contractors and Patronage

Chief among Alioto's allies is Al Maisin, a construction contractor and the largest bidder for development of the Pier 45-Fishermen's Wharf area, in which sits the coveted Local 10 hiring hall. With the loss of American President Lines, Alioto's immediate response was that the Port of San Francisco will need new commercial development in order to remain solvent without using city tax money.

This is the threat (aimed to hurt working-class and small petty-bourgeois property owners) which Alioto needs to pave the way for commercial development of the Pier 45 area. Alioto interests are now therefore in a position to enjoy both a monopoly of the port's most modern facilities and to clean up on the high-rise office buildings, hotels and commercial establishments they want to build.

Alioto protects his interests by padding official bodies with his cronies. The significance of this is lost on no one. Bernard Orsi, the temporary Port Director, in office during the "negotiations" with American President Lines, is described as "a close political aide and family friend" of Alioto by the *Chronicle* (31 August). Port commissioners Cyril Magnin and Michael Driscoll and airport commissioner John Sutro were forced to resign recently because they were in too obvious violation of a new "conflict of interests" law. However, two Planning Commission members were allowed to stay on by District Attorney O'Connor.

At one point two members of the S.F. Board of Supervisors representing bourgeois interests counterposed to Alioto's threatened a major investigation of the Port over the loss of American President Lines. However, pro-Alioto forces on the Board managed to quash the proposal.

D.A. O'Connor did his part for the Mayor by coming up with a specious excuse which he claimed made it illegal for the Board to even investigate the appointment of Alioto's friend Orsi as head of the Port Commission! For his part, Alioto has dispensed with all pretense: he argued for Driscoll to stay on the Port Commission in direct violation of the law.

One of Alioto's appointees on the Port Commission, at $35,000 a year ($10,000 more than he makes as union president) is Harry Bridges himself. Chester, meanwhile, is Alioto's appointee (at $50,000 annually) to BART, the Bay Area's non-functional "rapid" transit system. A number of smaller ILWU fish occupy lesser city posts.

This alliance is no secret in S.F. political circles. Bridges was sufficiently open about being an Alioto man to hold a press conference recently, in his capacity as Port Commissioner, where he advocated special favors to Pacific Far East Lines, including lower rent and using tax money to improve the port. This was *after* American President Lines had already decided to leave. Clearly APL might not have left had similar inducements been offered to it. Yet, "... the devil with who [benefits], Alioto or anybody else," said Bridges (*Chronicle*, 12 September)!

Bridges vs. Longshoremen

Alioto has long had eyes on the Local 10 hiring hall but has been stymied for over a year by the ranks and leadership of Local 10 in his attempt to gain control. Bankrupted by rising taxes and membership loss due to containerization, the Local has tried to hang onto the hall in order to maintain some financial cushion for the members.

The loss of over one third of the Local membership since 1959 is directly due to the "Modernization and Mechanization" contracts signed by Bridges in 1961 and 1966. These sell-

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WORKERS VANGUARD 25¢

No. 54 11 October 1974

Portugal at the Crossroads

REVOLUÇÃO

Lisnave shipyard workers, September 12: "We are not with the government when it promulgates anti-working-class laws, restricting the struggle of the workers against capitalist exploitation."

OCTOBER 4—In recent days events in Portugal have escalated to a crisis level. A fragile truce between younger officers of the Armed Forces Movement (MFA) and their senior, more conservative commanders has broken down. On September 30 General Antônio de Spínola—symbol of Portugal's half-way liberation from the severe repression of the Salazarist dictatorship—resigned his post as president, warning that the country was headed toward political and economic chaos and "new forms of slavery from the left." Shortly before his resignation Spínola reportedly attempted to seize power in a palace coup, by declaring a "state of siege" and dismissing the military-leftist government.

Also forced to resign were Generals Galva de Melo, Silveiro Marques and Diego Neto, leaving only three members of the Junta of National Salvation, a body of senior officers chosen by the MFA, to sit as a second government. General Francisco da Costa Gomes became the new president and was acclaimed by the Communist Party and leftist public opinion, despite the fact that he has long been a supporter and close associate of Spínola.

The generals' resignations followed on the heels of an abortive right-wing demonstration. On September 10 Spínola had called on the "silent majority" to "awaken and to defend itself against extremist totalitarianism which fights in the shadows." A number of conservative groups responded to the call and announced a rally on September 28 in front of the presidential palace.

The demonstration was prevented when leftists set up roadblocks around

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For A Workers Party!

Ford/Rockefeller Threaten Mass Unemployment

During Gerald Ford's first 50 days in office, the U.S. economy has deteriorated at an accelerating pace. Both inflation and unemployment shot up dramatically last month, while stock prices continue to plummet.

On the other hand, Ford's "economic summits" have revealed only that none of the various interest groups and bourgeois economists knows what to do about the economic crisis. The new administration is banking on budget austerity as the solution, while the Democrats and Republicans alike voted for the "advisory" cost-of-living council, the first stage of wage-price controls.

The extent of the crisis and the clear inability of bourgeois politicians to remedy it underscore the urgent need for a workers party to oppose the twin parties of capital. Yet George Meany's reactionary AFL-CIO bureaucracy is scrambling to deflect widespread disgust with Nixon and Watergate into the meaningless campaign to obtain a "veto-proof" (two-thirds Democratic) Congress.

Economy Goes to Hell

The dramatic 3.9 percent rise in wholesale prices during August combined with an alarming increase in unemployment to 5.8 percent of the work force, points to the bleak prospects in store for the American working class—runaway inflation in a slumping economy. Moreover the fall in stock values, amounting to a decline of 45 percent since January 1973, indicates that many capitalists are feeling acutely the pincers of the current slumpflation. Ford is using the common political ruse of attempting to foist the blame for current hard times on the "foreigners"—in this case the oil-producing Arab states.

The tremendous (400 percent) rise in the price of crude oil has, in fact, transferred huge amounts

continued on page 10

NEW YORK TIMES/MIKE LIEN

Ford and Meany, in the Oval Office.

Racist Attacks on Black School Children, Columbia Point

Reactionaries Mobilize in Boston

BOSTON, October 5—The campaign of racist intimidation against black people in Boston continues to mount. Mob violence that marked the first week of court-ordered school busing could break out again at any moment. An indication of the seriousness of the situation was the mass demonstration by 5,000 opponents of busing and school integration in South Boston yesterday. In contrast, no demonstration supporting the embattled black school children has drawn more than 500 supporters.

Symbolic of the frenzied atmosphere in some white neighborhoods was the friendly reception given the murderous scum of the Ku Klux Klan. While many adults remained on the sidelines, hundreds of South Boston youth responded eagerly to the Klansmen's call for whites to organize against "forced race mixing." This powder keg of white racist blood lust could be ignited into an explosion by almost anything, including racial clashes in the schools or the escalation of anti-busing demonstrations into mob attacks.

While schools remain the focal point of struggle, a general pattern of physical and psychological terror against all racial minorities is rapidly developing. Black members of the Amalgamated Meatcutters' Union recently left a meeting at their union hall in South Boston to find their car windows smashed.

Last week several hundred white teenagers boycotting school in Charlestown, a neighborhood not yet affected by the busing plan, rampaged through the North End of Boston, attacking two blacks walking down the street. They also attempted to break into the Michaelangelo School where a number of Chinese students have been bused.

In addition, black and Puerto Rican families have been transferred out of predominantly white housing projects in South Boston and Charlestown after a renewal of the assaults that plagued them last year. Fifty-five Puerto Rican families were firebombed and stoned out of the D Street project in 1973, and a black youth was murdered by a sniper's bullet.

Liberals Capitulate to Racism

These atrocities occur against the background of a reactionary mobilization of anti-busing forces that grow more confident with every concession by the liberals. The white boycott of the schools that started in South Boston had by the second week of school spread to other neighborhoods. One-day boycotts and local demonstrations occurred in West Roxbury, Charlestown, East Boston and Hyde Park, although overall school attendance slowly increased to 80 percent by October 3.

As boycotting whites began to return to classes, confrontations inside the schools increased sharply. Several schools were temporarily closed as a result of clashes between black and white students, and every day there are more motorcades, marches and rallies against busing.

Every time the anti-busing forces flex their muscles, vote-conscious liberal politicians take another step backward. Mayor Kevin White has lobbied the District Court, which ordered the busing, for modifications of the plan. This produced the ironic spectacle of Hicks' and Kerrigan's racist School Committee successfully petitioning for White to be named a co-defendant with them on the grounds that, "remarks attributed to the mayor . . . border on obstruction of this court's order" (*Boston Globe*, 27 September).

Courts and Cops Will Not Protect Blacks

Even Judge Arthur Garrity, who does not have to face re-election and can therefore pose as a staunch defender of democracy and integration, has begun to shift gears in response to the racist blackmail. In his first hearing on guidelines for a permanent, city-wide integration plan to replace the temporary and partial plan initiated this September, Garrity remarked: "The less busing, the more acceptable to people all over the city. The real challenge will be to desegregate the schools with a minimum of forced busing."

The present busing plan is extremely artificial and busing is, in general, a wholly inadequate means for achieving integrated schools in a segregated society. Nevertheless, Garrity's declaration can only be interpreted as a victory for the racist anti-busing movement in its struggle with the vacillating, weak-kneed liberal bourgeois establishment.

The leaders of the pro-busing forces—NAACP, Freedom House, the churches, etc.—have relied solely on the courts, legislature and police. By failing to mobilize opposition to the racist campaign, the black and community organizations and labor unions who support black people's democratic rights have allowed anti-busing forces, led by demagogic local politicians, to pose as a popular mass movement defending the rights of the "little people" against big government.

Furthermore, the liberal strategy of reliance on the bourgeois state for protection means reliance on its professional racists and strikebreakers, the police. These cops that stood by while buses were stoned on September 12 can hardly be trusted to protect black children. The NAACP's call for federal marshals is simply an appeal to another level of the capitalist state. The deaths and beatings of many civil rights workers in the South during the 1960's are eloquent testimony to the "effectiveness" of federal marshals.

Mass demonstration of anti-busing forces in South Boston.

White youth hurls egg at bus in Boston.

BOSTON GLOBE/BOB DEAN

Cops, Racists Attack Columbia Point

The futility of reliance on the government was shown dramatically in recent events at the Columbia Point housing project. The project, 90 percent black, is a physically isolated concentration of the most oppressed poor people in Boston. It is located near a drop-off point for buses traveling between white South Boston and black Roxbury.

In contrast to the mob violence in "Southie" when the schools opened, parents at Columbia Point promised to personally protect all students, *black and white*, who passed through the drop-off point. Despite this admirable response by black parents, many of whose children were on the buses that were stoned, the project suffered continual and escalating harassment by cars full of whites screaming obscenities and racial slurs.

After several days of this provocation, project residents decided to organize their own defense units. On Saturday, September 21, about 250 tenants formed a human barricade across the street leading to the project and turned back any unknown whites. That same night several vigilantes wearing the white robes of the KKK fired shots at the project and escaped, despite the presence of dozens of cops in the area. The main concern of the police was to prevent project residents from apprehending the racist hooligans who shot at them.

Two days later a spokesman for the project issued a set of six demands on the city including, "1. We demand that the Boston Police Dept. co-operate with our selected representative in providing security for our community. . . . 5. We demand complete and effective police protection for our children against mob violence while being bused to and from school." The Mayor simply ignored these demands.

The police response to this call was typical. "For their own protection," residents at the project were subjected to a brutal military occupation by hundreds of police. The police justified this martial law with the lie that shots were fired out of the project instead of into it. Guard dogs and police with M-16s were placed on the roofs. Several tenants were hospitalized as a result of police brutality, and the project's church and community center was vandalized by these official representatives of "law and order."

Mobilize to Defend Black School Children and Columbia Point!

Instead of relying on local or federal government for protection, black people and all working people must depend on their own organizations for defense. The Spartacist League advocates the formation of a bi-racial defense force, organized by black and community groups and the labor unions, to protect the buses and maintain order in the schools.

The Boston Teachers' Union has a special responsibility in this area. The BTU should give up its phony, pro-racist posture of neutrality on busing and begin to assume responsibility for protection of the students during the desegregation plan. It should unionize the bus monitors and transitional aides in the schools, who are now responsible to the arch-racist School Committee. It should cooperate with other unions and black organizations to stop the racist violence.

The flying squads of UAW members who recently defended the home of a black family being harassed in an all-white neighborhood of Detroit can point the way to the formation of such a defense force. Those Columbia Point residents who organized their own security units to patrol the project also presented a concrete alternative to trying to pressure the racist, trigger-happy cops into protecting black people.

As a means of laying the basis for such forms of organized self-defense, the Spartacist League and Spartacus Youth League have been actively campaigning for black and labor organizations which have the necessary authority and resources to build a mass demonstration of all those who oppose the racist attacks on black school children and Columbia Point residents. ■

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Letters

16 September 1974
Portland, Oregon

Although I've no faith in "revolutionary politics" to solve human problems, I do enjoy reading your paper, because it is the only consistent exponent of Trotskyist politics that I have ever encountered, and the quality of its critical analyses is generally quite high.

I would like to bring your attention to a factual error in the article written by Charles D. which appeared in *WV* No. 52. He stated "I'm sure that if comrades had known that the S.L. had been the only group on the left to defend the Weatherman terrorists—even with all the unpopularity brought on to them for taking this principled position—then instead of us blindly throwing around accusations, we would at least have made a competent investigation of their politics on that question . . ."

The I.S., of which I was a member at the time, did defend the Weathermen, albeit critically. I remember reading of that in *Workers' Power*, and having a discussion with a non-member about it. Therefore, the statement by Charles D. that only the S.L. adopted this position is incorrect.

Yours for accuracy,

D. Raphael

WV replies: If the International Socialists ever did defend Weathermen against the state, we can find no evidence of it. Moreover, articles in *International Socialist* call on the left to "dissociate itself" from Weatherman and explicitly compare it to fascist groups. This equation hardly suggests defending Weatherman against bourgeois repression. We call the reader's attention to the following quotes, characteristic of IS' position at the time: "The left will have to work overtime to dissociate itself from the adventurous band which thinks that the only way to organize is to scream 'give up your white skin privilege' and then attempt to massacre infidels" ("Heavy Weather," *IS*, October 1969). A picture accompanying this article showed Weatherman supporters over the caption: "Arson, Rape and Bloody Murder, When the RYM Revolution Comes"!

In "The SDS's Desolation Row" by Jack Gerson (*IS*, February 1970) the IS position was elaborated by the following: "And so Weatherman has taken itself out of the movement. Their hallmark is violence for the sake of violence, and their anti-imperialist rhetoric looks more and more like a front.

"The violence, the hatred of workers, the chaos for the sake of chaos, the conscious orientation to 'lumpen' elements, these characteristics are all very reminiscent of another movement in another era: Mussolini's Brownshirts and Hitler's Fascists, especially Gregor Strasser's 'left' anti-capitalist groupings within Hitler's gang.

". . . The bourgeoisie, playing upon the aspirations of people themselves incapable of retaining power, can assume control of a fascist movement and direct it against the working class.

"This was the schema in Italy and Germany, where the Fascist movements originally had anti-capitalist overtones. Weatherman clearly is capable of walking the same route.

"So when it is suggested to Ted Gold of the Weather Bureau that his panorama of the revolution implies fascism in this country before a socialist revolution, he replies: 'Well, if it would take fascism, we'll have to have fascism.'

"Yeah, Ted; but which side will you be on?"

The SL's position was presented in an article, "Terrorism and Communism," in *Spartacist*, August-September 1970. While warning against terrorist diversions, adventurism and Weatherman's complete lack of any revolutionary program, the SL stated unequivocally: "As with the Panthers, it is the class duty of all radicals and militants to defend Weatherman." We pointed out that the Communist Party, Socialist Workers Party, Workers League, Progressive Labor and SDS all defended the Panthers yet none of them stated any solidarity with Weatherman. Why the difference? Because the Panthers were large, black and popular; Weatherman was small, white and unpopular. But for Leninists, we noted, "Class issues are not dependent upon what is currently popular with the liberals."

***People's World* "Reports" Chile Protest Actions:**

Stalinist Slanders Cover Popular-Front Betrayals

The September 28 issue of *People's World*, West Coast newspaper of the Communist Party, has given us one more in the endless stream of lies churned out by the Stalinist School of Falsification. In an insert on page 9, entitled "Marching for Chile's People," *PW* printed the following comment on a September 11 demonstration at the San Francisco Chilean consulate:

> "Allende had a united front, and all the banners at the demonstration expressed in one way or another 'united front'—except the Spartacists. Their banner read, 'No United Front.' I thought my eyes were playing jokes with me, but a couple of people confirmed it. No one seemed to pay any attention to the Spartacists since there were only four of them. Still it is poison among us."

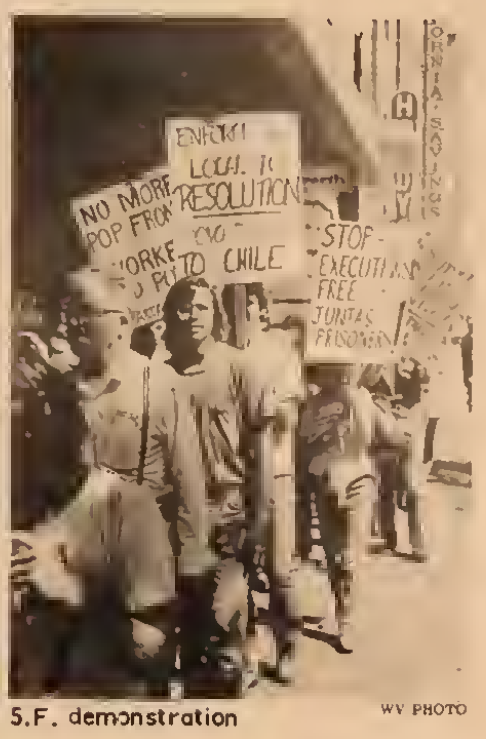
In a front page article in the same issue, entitled "Dock Boycott Hits Junta," *People's World* devoted a grand total of *one sentence* to the refusal of West Coast longshoremen, both in Los Angeles and San Francisco, to handle Chilean cargo on or for the Prudential Grace Lines ship *Santa Maria* on September 17, 18 and 19. This one sentence stated that longshoremen "set up picket lines to publicize their action." The quoted statements are deliberate lies and distortions!

The facts are these: Allende was not pursuing the Leninist tactic of a united front, a temporary alliance for common action between different tendencies allowing full freedom of criticism for all parties to the agreement. The classic slogan of the united front is "march separately, strike together." Instead he was following the disastrous Stalinist policy of the *popular front*, an on-going political bloc which subordinates the workers parties to the bourgeois parties and the capitalist system.

The CP knows well the difference between these two perspectives. At a planning meeting for the May 11 San Francisco Chile demonstration the Stalinists voted down an SL proposal that all groups receive equal speaking time in order to present their own views. Instead, they invited Senator Gruening, a representative of the capitalist Democratic Party. Political subordination to the bourgeoisie and exclusion of the communists—*this* is the line of the popular front as practiced by the Stalinists in Chile and the U.S.! At a September 21 demonstration in S.F. they refused to let longshoremen who were responsible for stopping the shipment of cargo to Chile speak from the platform.

The CP-dominated September 11 demonstration was saturated with slogans praising Allende and his policies, featuring the classless "Chile Sí, Junta No." It was intended as not merely a united protest against the murderous junta, but also as a mobilization of support for the popular front in exile, the United Chilean Left. The only tendency opposing this line in its banners, placards and chanted slogans *was* the Spartacist League. The SL carried slogans such as "No Support to the Popular Front United Chilean Left," "Down With the Junta—For a Workers Revolution in Chile," and "Free All Victims of the Junta Repression." These politics are indeed "poison" to the class traitors of the CP!

As to the picketing at Pier 30-32 in San Francisco on September 19, participants included members and supporters of the Spartacist League, Spartacus Youth League (youth section of the SL), Class Struggle League and the Militant Action Caucus in the CWA. With the connivance of CP supporters in the longshore union, ILWU President Harry Bridges and the leaders of ILWU Locals 10 and 34, there was no mobilization of union ranks to set up a picket line and publicize the two-day boycott of Chilean shipping.



S.F. demonstration WV PHOTO

The boycott was carried out largely due to the efforts of rank-and-file members of Locals 10 and 34 who had been working for months in a Committee to Implement the Boycott. The Committee's aim was to implement a resolution calling for boycotting Chilean cargo which was passed by Local 10 last November.

The distortion of these facts, accurately reported in *Workers Vanguard*, is not a matter of CPers' eyes "playing jokes" on them. They are examples of the technique of the "big lie"—a deliberate attempt to deceive the workers when the Stalinists are unable to politically defend their class collaboration. The failure of Allende and the CP in the "Popular Unity" government in Chile to prepare the workers for struggle against bourgeois reaction, their repeated statements of absolute faith in the "constitutionalist" officers, systematically prepared the way for last September's bloody coup. It is this record of betrayal which *People's World* seeks to hide. ■

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Britain Holds Elections as Economic Crisis Deepens

No to Wilson's Social Contract!

Labour to Power!

OCTOBER 6—As Britain's October 10 elections approach, all major political parties find themselves in agreement on one indisputable point: the country faces its worst economic crisis since World War II, perhaps its worst ever. The traditional sources of bourgeois confidence are now spouting fear for "the survival of Britain as a nation," by which they mean the survival of British capitalism.

It is more than "fear itself" which quivers the usually stiff upper lip of publications like the *Economist*. Inflation has broken into a gallop at 20-25 percent. Major companies have begun to collapse and unemployment is rising swiftly to one million, perhaps going on to two million (*Manchester Guardian Weekly*, 7 September). The balance of payments deficit is currently running at a rate of over $11 billion annually (*Economist*, 31 August); this is an intolerable level at any time and catastrophic in the midst of a worldwide economic downturn. Most important of all, no amount of government intervention, "Keynesian" or otherwise, can resolve the deepening economic crisis within the framework of capitalist principles of profitability.

Bankrupt Companies and Bankrupt Policies

The latest major British firm to go broke was Ferranti, an important electronic/engineering company handling defense contracts and employing 17,000 workers. Caught with a cash shortage, Ferranti was bailed out by the Labour government just as Prime Minister Wilson bailed out the bankrupt Court Lines travel company earlier this year. These two companies are only the tip of the iceberg. The Rolls Royce Corporation also faces a liquidity crisis, and the motor and airframes industry as a whole seems likely to go under at some point.

The Labour Party's policy is one of waiting out the economic slump while pouring taxpayers' money into the sieve of bankrupt corporations. Such a policy is futile; moreover, it attempts to make the workers, through taxes, pay the cost of capitalist irrationality.

In Britain there is an imminent possibility of widespread factory closures, producing so-called "redundant" workers. Within the Labour Party (BLP) the debate over the "redundant" workers continues to simmer. The left wing around Tony Wedgewood Benn sees failing business as an opportunity to extend the "public sector." Actually Benn's proposal is for the partial and gradual nationalization of bankrupt companies with *over-compensation* to management (i.e., more than they could recover through sale of stock shares on the market). Benn and his co-thinkers are viewed as wildly radical by Labour moderates.

But the policy of all wings of the BLP is meant to strangle any impulse to independent labor action against factories that close down for lack of profits. Union militants should begin now to prepare to occupy closed plants. It is not, after all, the workers who are redundant. Some militant factory seizures backed up by solid working-class support action would make that point in no uncertain terms.

Moreover, with memories of Heath's three-day workweek last winter still fresh in everyone's mind, occupations in response to a wave of factory shutdowns and massive unemployment would gain wide public sympathy. The Labour Party's formal commitment to nationalizations and its dependence on support from the trade unions makes unlikely an immediate confrontation with the armed might of the state.

Workers must demand that the BLP carry out not only its own timid projected nationalizations, but also the nationalization of all bankrupted industries, without compensation. However, even widespread nationalizations under the present state bureaucracy will not "rationalize" the economic crisis in Britain or bring unemployment under control. Union militants must organize to impose workers control of production in the nationalized industries. The working class cannot "wait out" the slump with Wilson or Benn.

Harold Wilson: Administering capitalism for the capitalists.

DER SPIEGEL

Rightists and the Military

Considering the depth of the British economic crisis the election campaign is singularly lacking in heated debate. However, ominous developments on the far right and in the forces of bourgeois "law and order" indicate that beneath the respectable veneer violent social currents are seething.

Police terror is on the increase. Particularly victimized have been black Africans, youths and leftists. Recently the police attacked a demonstration in Red Lion Square after which the Home Office asked for "improved State powers" (*Red Weekly*, 19 September).

Private armies of scabs are now being created for the first time in decades. One such "army" (called Civil Assistance) was started by former NATO chief General Sir Walter Walker. The group is reported to claim 100,000 members (*Workers Press*, 20 September). While such claims are wildly exaggerated, there is no doubt that these far right groups are increasing in size. These armies of strikebreakers are also getting sympathy in "respectable" quarters. The *Economist* (31 August), for instance, wrote that "this country may one day need a countervailing force to trade union power."

Persistent rumors that the army stationed in Northern Ireland refused orders to break the Loyalist strike last May have been confirmed by recent disclosures. A letter by an active-duty officer to the right-wing Tory "Monday World" commented on the Ulster incident that "for the first time, the army decided that it was right... and the politicians had better toe the line." The military, he went on, "has shown a considerable distrust of Socialist politicians" and is talking of extending Northern Ireland-style police operations to England itself. The army occupations of London's Heathrow Airport (three so far this year) are cited as examples (*Manchester Guardian Weekly*, 7 September).

The fascist National Front has also been increasingly active, directing most of its invidious propaganda toward racist anti-Irish and anti-Asian social attitudes. Since the summer the fascists have tried to reach an electoral agreement with the Ulster Loyalists. They are reported to be in close contact with the Loyalist paramilitary organizations (*Red Weekly*, 1 August).

While a military coup is not immediately on the agenda for Britain, and fascism does not immediately threaten the workers organizations, the increasing activity of the far right does pose real dangers for labor. The fascists should be smashed by the mass mobilization of the working class. This, however, is quite different from street brawls between bands of leftists and the police protecting fascist meetings, as occurred in London this June. Such adventurist substitution for the mass action of the working class is both impotent and dangerous.

No to the Social Contract!

Since the organizational muscle of the trade unions was flexed during the miners' strike last winter there has been a discernible softening of opinion within ruling class circles toward the idea of a Labour government. Many want to see a government which has, as the London *Sunday Times* put it, "the goodwill of the trade unions."

This "goodwill" is symbolized by Wilson's vaunted "social contract" with the unions. The social contract is nothing more than a promise to the bourgeoisie that the Labour Party will contain working-class struggle in order to stabilize a teetering British economy. The loose understanding with the Trades Union Congress (TUC) amounts to voluntary wage restraints. In exchange the Labour government was supposed to extend its projected nationalizations. But alter the government issued its sundry position papers, it was clear that the BLP was continuing to move away from the program of limited nationalizations it adopted at last year's party conference (see "A Left Face for Labourism," *WV* No. 33, 23 November 1973).

The social contract has been the mainstay of Wilson's election campaign. He argues endlessly that the BLP's influence with the unions makes him the only candidate who can "bring Britain through the crisis." He promises the workers that only he can save their jobs, improve their living standards and save "British civilization." The *Manchester Guardian* appropriately dubbed him the "Tarzan of Britain."

The real "social contract" is, of course, the classical one that exists tacitly between the BLP/TUC tops and the companies. It is the social contract of class collaboration. Workers must not be fooled by Wilson's Tarzan act—No to the social contract!

The published manifesto of the BLP retreats from earlier statements on the nationalization of banks and insurance companies. This only confirms the reformist Labour Party's unwillingness to do anything which would frighten the bourgeoisie. The workers' needs cannot be served by "regenerating" failing industry in the interests of capitalism. *All* industry and finance must be expropriated without compensation in the interests of the working class. The manifesto also refrains from a commitment to take Britain out of the Common Market. Instead the BLP pledges it will obey a referendum to be held in a year.

No Coalitions!

The militant coal miners' strike brought down the Tories (Conservatives) in February and resulted in a Labour government without a parliamentary majority. It is not surprising, therefore, that in this current election characterized by pleas for strong leadership, national unity and no divisive campaigning, there is much talk of coalition.

Bourgeois opinion is understandably worried about the possible results of another strike confrontation with a government lacking popular support. Heath's blustering confrontationism in February probably frightened away a number of traditional Tory voters into the camp of Jeremy Thorpe's Liberal Party. In the last election the Liberals received nearly one fifth of the vote, making them a serious political force

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Steel Workers' Convention:

Abel Flunkies Uphold Red Clause, ENA

I.W. Abel

ATLANTIC CITY—The leadership of the Steelworkers' union managed (not without some difficulty) to ram its program of no-strike bargaining, more money for officers and a membership dues increase through the 17th Constitutional Convention, held here from September 23 to 27. The controversy that raged around these points, however, revealed a growing gulf between a complacent, self-satisfied leadership and an increasingly restless and discontented rank and file.

United Steelworkers of America (USWA) President I.W. Abel keynoted the convention with a rabid and sweeping attack on "outside meddlers trying to horn in on this union." At the end of a boring and uninspired recitation, he struck out at "interlopers" whom "nobody elected" trying to "invade" and "take over" the union.

So blatantly did he attempt to smear all opposition with the brush of illegitimacy that his list of "outside" groups included well-known bureaucratic caucuses composed of elected officials in the union (such as the Rank and File Team of Local 1462). Raving on about how "none has the sweat and grime of honest labor on their brows," he suddenly shifted to the recognition that "some of our members have been duped into helping these outsiders." Abel thereby attempted to intimidate all dissident delegates, of whom he knew there would be many, into cowed silence.

This transparent, McCarthy-like smear effort failed to shut up the oppositional delegates. The response to the 20-minute eulogy by which the USWA president was introduced and to the brass band before and after his speech was also notably lacking in enthusiasm.

More practical methods, deeply imbedded in the undemocratic tradition of the Steelworkers' officialdom, were needed to carry the day safely for Abel and Co. Nearly 1,000 staff representatives paid by the International were on the floor, some using delegate credentials of delegates who never arrived. Their job was to push the leadership position, lead the voice votes, etc. The difficulty in obtaining a roll call vote, which would put the delegates on record, also played into Abel's hands. There has never been a roll call vote at a USWA convention despite many floor fights over this! Abel also introduced a new twist: he adamantly refused, despite repeated demands from the floor, to issue an agenda in advance to the body!

No-Strike Deal and Bureaucrats' Pay Raise

The impression of smooth unanimity which the leadership tried to create was first broken over discussion on the "Experimental Negotiating Agreement," a guaranteed no-strike bargaining policy which had been extended to 1980 by negotiation before the convention opened. ENA was secretly signed by Abel in 1973 and forced on the Basic Steel bargaining council prior to negotiation of the 1974 contract.

Despite a very defensive introduction of the subject in his speech, Abel called for "loud and clear" affirmation that ENA "did the job it was supposed to do." Nevertheless, the issue was buried in the officers' report and a resolution generally commending the officers for everything.

Delegates objected to sneak endorsement of ENA at both points, and discussion revealed Abel's fears to be true—the membership looks askance at his signing away of the right to strike for a measly $150 bonus and promises of fewer layoffs due to pre-strike stockpiling. Nobody defended ENA from the floor. A Canadian delegate was critical of ENA in the U.S. and warned, "Just don't bring it to Canada."

Later in the week there was also vociferous objection to the raising of International officers' salaries—Abel to $75,000—and to "readjusting" the dues structure by removing the $10 upper limit which would effectively increase dues for most members. The salary increase deal included a raise for the staff representatives to encourage them to enthusiastically support their "boss" on the convention floor.

Of all the controversial issues, the dues fight came closest to getting out of hand. Delegates demanding a roll call vote protested that support from 30 percent of all accredited delegates, as opposed to 30 percent of those present and voting, was required. Abel had to personally rescue Vice President Johns, who was chairing. The officers "are not the enemies of our members," intoned Abel.

Storm Over Anti-Red Clause

The major surprise occured on the third day when, in the middle of an interminably long Constitution Committee report, the Committee officially recommended deletion of specific reference to the Communist Party from the union's sweeping anti-communist membership clause. The Canadian delegations had demanded removal of the entire clause as a gesture of militancy to their membership, which is increasingly restive under the domination of the conservative U.S. International.

The officially recommended change was the leadership's bone tossed to the Canadian delegates. The "change" would have left the clause essentially unchanged, still barring membership to anyone who supports or even "participates in the activities" of any "organization which opposes the democratic principles to which the United States and Canada and our Union are dedicated." The weakness of the proposal was noted by Harry Greenwood of Hamilton, Ontario, who correctly stated that "the enemies of democracy in the unions are not the communists but the companies."

The Canadians got support from delegates from the Tucson, Arizona Local 937, the membership of which had just overturned an International-inspired effort to run an alleged CP member out of the union. Revealing its unprincipled opportunism, the exec board of the same International had just ordered the reinstatement to membership of open CP member John Severinsky of Local 6200 in Canada.

The "compromise" anti-red clause modification was revealed as a complete hypocritical fraud when the bulk of the U.S. delegates, staff reps included, voted it down. The International had clearly been less than enthusiastic about urging its supporters on the floor to vote for "its" official proposal. The original Canadian mandate to dump the entire clause had thus been sidetracked with a slick, face-saving maneuver for Abel and Co.

Reformist Oppositions

As Abel was trying to smear the reformist Rank and File Team (RAFT) and the CP-supported National Steelworkers Rank and File Committee (NSRFC) as "outsiders" on the first day, about 150 supporters of the Maoist October League (OL) and Revolutionary Union-Revolutionary Student Brigade and a few of their friends in the union had a demonstration outside. Attempting to protest the ENA and the "Consent Decree"—under which the union and the companies have conspired to legally choke off struggle against racial and sexual discrimination—the Maoists succeeded primarily in demonstrating how *not* to inspire the creation of a class-struggle alternative in the unions.

Chanting "Abel, Abel, slick as oil, you'll get yours like Tony Boyle," and "Abel you slob, get a job," they succeeded only in provoking the largely conservative delegate body precisely on the question of "outsiders." Such infantile stunts are no substitute for the hard fight to build a class-struggle opposition to oust Abel and Co.

Creation of a class-struggle opposition in steel is also made more difficult by reformist, bureaucratic oppositions in the USWA. The RAFT careerists based in Youngstown, looking for supporters to spread their caucus nationwide, have accepted the support offered by the OL-backed, newly created District 31 Right to Strike Committee. RAFT, however, was less eager than the OL-supported elements to demonstrate outside, and more eager to tone down their opposition to more controversial issues such as ENA in order to garner more support from whatever quarter on the inside.

At its pre-convention meeting in Atlantic City, the CP-backed National Steelworkers Rank and File Committee seemed ready to drop its entire program if it could just unite around one lowest-common-denominator issue. Chairman George Edwards of Lorain, Ohio, suggested the dues increase issue, but even this proved impossible as the meeting broke up in disarray.

No Government Interference in the Unions!

All the oppositions are united in their willingness to take the union to court over anything and everything, which plays into Abel's hands above all else. When Abel denounces communist groups as "outsiders," he is forced to denounce legitimate members of the labor movement. But when he is enabled to denounce the dissidents who use "high-priced lawyers" to bring in the government, he can unite the membership in the legitimate fear of the *real* "outsiders"—the class enemy itself! This discredits the opposition all the more. It was used to discredit Rarick's Dues Protest Movement and will be used against all oppositions until a revolutionary leadership mobilizes the workers against court intervention into the labor movement.

All the oppositions are united also in their reformism. Despite a running argument over the meaning of "critical support," both the OL and RU support (one way or another) Ed Sadlowski, the staff representative-oppositional candidate for District 31 (Chicago-Gary) Director. Sadlowski, however, just can't bring himself to clearly oppose even the ENA! In backing Sadlowski the Maoists are united with the CP-backed caucus, despite a few hesitant criticisms of Sadlowski in the *Daily World*.

Maoists and CP alike hold up the example of Miller of the Mine Workers as the path for the Steelworkers to follow to "progressive, democratic unionism." They do not mention that the UMW's "progressiveness" includes support to the Democratic Party, the crushing of wildcat strikes and the "democracy" of using the anti-labor Landrum-Griffin Act and Labor Department intervention into the unions. The reactionary bureaucracy—the Abels, Woodcocks and Millers—will only be broken through the creation of class-struggle caucuses based on a program which includes principled opposition to government intervention in the labor movement. ■

WV PHOTO

RU and OL demonstrate outside convention: "Abel you slob, get a job!"

PAIGC, Frelimo Turn Right

Guinea-Bissau Wins Independence

Last month marked an end to more than a decade of guerrilla warfare by independence movements in two of Portugal's African colonies. On September 10 then-President General Spínola signed a proclamation recognizing the independence of Guinea-Bissau. Three days earlier at a meeting in Lusaka, Portuguese Foreign Minister Mario Soares and FRELIMO (Mozambique Liberation Front) leader Samora Machel signed a joint declaration calling for Mozambican independence in June 1975.

Still unclarified is the status of the remaining Portuguese African "overseas territories." In theory the military-leftist Lisbon government, such as it is, has recognized their right to self-determination. But this has not put a stop to schemes for maintaining some degree of neo-colonial domination. A white-led regime "associated" with the former metropole is rumored for the oil enclave of Cabinda while a "coalition government," presumably including representatives of ultra-rightist colonialists, has been promised in Angola. The fate of the strategically important Cape Verde Islands is to be decided by a colonial referendum.

Loss of the colonies would certainly be a blow to Portuguese capitalism. During the last decade, more than $100 million annually was extracted from its African dependencies. Yet even full political independence will not remove new black-led states from the grips of imperialism. Short on cash and anxious to demonstrate their respectability, nationalist leaders of FRELIMO and the PAfGC (African Independence Party of Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde) have been eager to collaborate with Portugal's new rulers.

Will the Petty Bourgeoisie Commit Suicide?

None of the Portuguese colonies will be a focal point of socialist revolution in Africa. In Guinea-Bissau there is evidently no real working class at all, and the country is surrounded by peasant regions where urban workers are a tiny part of the population (in some cases only one percent). The Mozambican working class is small and concentrated in two port cities. It is essentially an extension of proletarian concentrations in the interior mining areas (South Africa's Witwatersrand and the Zaïre-Zambia-Rhodesian Copper Belt); its historical role will be as an integral part of the South African revolution.

The current relevance of developments in Portugal's African colonies is due rather to the wide publicity in leftist circles which has been given to the politics of the nationalist guerrillas. The PAIGC has a reputation as the most radical of the African independence movements. Though its founder, Amilcar Cabral, proclaimed the "uselessness of Marxism in a country where there is no proletariat" (*Le Monde*, 8 February 1973), the PAIGC was the only one of the "national liberation" groups to call itself socialist.

As we pointed out in an earlier article ("Independence for Portuguese Colonies!" *WV* No. 46, 7 June), this verbal "socialism" does not change the class character of a petty-bourgeois nationalist movement. The PAIGC is no more socialist than Nkrumah's Ghana, Touré's Guinea or Nyerere's Tanzania—all of which have a growing black bourgeoisie, have broken strikes and imposed state control of the unions.

His nationalist vision confined to the narrow limits of Portuguese Guinea, Cabral despaired of finding a revolutionary vanguard. "The peasantry is not a revolutionary force," he argued, and the petty bourgeoisie has systematically betrayed the exploited masses in Ghana and elsewhere. His answer: "the revolutionary petty bourgeoisie must be capable of committing class suicide in order to reappear as revolutionary workers totally identified with the deepest aspirations of the people of which it is a part" (Amilcar Cabral, *Revolution in Guinea*). But classes do not commit suicide.

Bourgeois Nationalism

Pan Africanists and "third world"-oriented New Leftists have made a hero of Cabral, lauding his bizarre theories as a "creative application of Marxism" and claiming that he alone drew the lessons of the Ghanaian fiasco. It may be useful to distinguish between the relatively serious nationalist Cabral and self-aggrandizing hucksters like Nkrumah. But had he lived to take power in Guinea-Bissau, Cabral would have seen his ideas serve as a cover for a rising new bourgeoisie. This has been the destiny of all varieties of "African socialism."

It was, in fact, impossible for the nationalist PAfGC to adopt proletarian internationalist policies. This would have meant defending the leaders of the Guinean teachers' union, clapped in jail for 10 years at Touré's orders for daring to strike in 1961. It would have meant solidarizing with the Senegalese PAI (African Independence Party), a Stalinist-influenced left-nationalist party similar to the PAIGC, outlawed by Senghor in 1960. It would have meant striving for African unity through working-class struggle against all the existing governments whether European colonies, white supremacist regimes like South Africa, feudalists like Ethiopia's Haile Selassie, or bourgeois "African socialists."

But Cabral instead gave political support to Touré, Senghor and Selassie. Although Senghor had previously aided a CIA-backed group of anti-PAfGC Guineans (the phantom "FLING"), Cabral spoke at the 1973 congress of Senghor's party, the UPS—a cabal of peanut traders, Muslim *marabouts* (religious leaders) and government bureaucrats. As for Ethiopia's recently deposed "King of Kings," Cabral praised "his splendid work of the liberation and preservation of the independence of his people" (speech to the Eighth Conference of African Heads of State, 1970)!

BRUNA AMICO

Good-Bye to "Socialism" in Guinea-Bissau

The betrayals implicit in Cabral's theories and incipient in PAIGC practice have taken on more concrete forms as independence approached. The first step was a series of revisions to the party program. The original document mentioned "democratic socialism" as the governing principle of economic activity and called for eliminating "subordination of the human individual to degrading interests, to the profits of individuals, groups or classes" (*Revolution in Guinea*).

The PAIGC radio station recently broadcast a new text in which these passages are removed. The revised version calls only for "elimination of unjust profits"; instead of "democratic socialism," economic activity is now to be guided by "democratic centralism" (see *Intercontinental Press*, 22 July).

The meaning of this "democratic centralism" is indicated in the new Constitution of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau. According to Article 6,

> "the P.A.I.G.C. will be the leading force in society. It will determine the orientation of state policies and will guarantee their concretization by the appropriate methods."
>
> —*O Seculo* [Lisbon], 24 September

In this Nkrumah-inspired "party-state," "The Party will be responsible for the selection of candidates" to the National Popular Assembly (Article 27). Article 15 guarantees "the right of all citizens to make suggestions or submit complaints to any organ of the state." But two separate sections of the new party program "outlaw[s] attempts to divide the people." Any deputy who "has seriously failed in his duties" may be removed.

The economic content of Guinean independence was expressed by a local PAIGC official and professional smuggler who was quoted in the *New York*

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For United Class Struggle in Ulster!

Against Sectarian Terror, Both Orange and Green

On the morning of September 16 the Belfast branch of the Irish Republican Army (Provisionals) assassinated two North Ireland judges. A subsequent statement by the Provos asserted: "Both men were warned time and again that they were part of the British war machine, and as such were liable to suffer the consequences" (*Manchester Guardian Weekly*, 21 September).

Certainly the Ulster judicial system is an arm of the British imperialist state apparatus, which is particularly repressive toward the oppressed Catholic minority in North Ireland. But this action—in itself a possibly defensible, although futile, act of resistance to oppression—is part of a sectarian terror campaign of indiscriminate violence against Protestant working people.

According to the *Sunday Times* (London), Conaghan, a devout Catholic, in 1969 made what in the context of Ulster "justice" was a rather exceptional settlement, awarding damages to three men injured by a police baton attack at a civil rights demonstration. After the introduction of internment (jailing without charges or trial) in August 1971, Conaghan awarded damages to 16 men who claimed they were assaulted by the British Army and Royal Ulster Constabulary during their imprisonment. But whatever his concessions to the moderate Catholics' sensibilities, he was also "widely known for his severe sentencing" of IRA militants in the special anti-terrorist juryless courts (*New York Times*, 17 September).

The killing of McBirney, however, raises some question about the Provos' motivation. Although part of the state apparatus, magistrate McBirney never dealt with any but the most routine and minor matters such as traffic offenses, petty theft and issuing liquor licenses. McBirney had broken with a Protestant backround to become a moderate labourite. In the 1960's he joined the North Ireland Labour Party and in 1966 ran for and almost won the East Belfast seat in the U.K. parliament. After criminal charges were brought against participants in the 1968 civil rights marches, McBirney offered his legal services free to defend these Catholic civil rights militants. He also defended many Republican leaders.

The assassinations were timed to coincide with the arrival in Ulster of a committee of the British Labour government investigating the Emergency Provisions Act which established internment and the special courts. It was expected that this committee would recommend a phasing-out of internment as an expression of sentiment in the British ruling class to cut the Ulster "tie," currently costing England more than $700 million a year. The London *Times* (22 September) quotes a member of Sinn Fein, the political arm of the IRA, as saying: "This may sound cynical, but some Provos think that if internment and the special courts are ended, then two of their best political levers will have disappeared."

While the Provos claim to have chosen these two victims because they were "part of the British war machine," the bulk of Provo terror has been directed against Protestant workers and is designed to feed on and inflame intercommunal strife. These recent assassinations were part of a campaign of deliberate terror carried out by the Provos and extremist Protestant groups alike, whose targets have often been pubs, shopping areas and workplaces where Protestant and Catholic workers intermingle, socialize and carry on common class struggle. The Provos have torn a page out of the history of another nationalist group spawned by the decomposition of British imperialism, the extreme right-wing Zionist Irgun, which often selected as its targets workplaces (such as the Haifa oil refinery and docks) which had militant traditions of joint Arab-Jewish class struggle.

The opposite perspective, of Protestant-Catholic working-class unity, was indicated in an unusual incident last month when Republicans and Loyalists cooperated in a mass demonstration that brought Belfast to a standstill. The issue around which such united action was achieved, for the first time in 40 years, was the food and conditions grievances of the prisoners in Long Kesh concentration camp. As a Republican spokesman said: "... the working-class people of both the Protestant and Catholic areas can, when the necessity arises, pool their resources to get justice" (*Irish People*, 21 September). Such necessity arose long ago. Were such rhetoric and action to become the rule in Ulster, rather than the exeption, the road to proletarian revolution would break through the mire of retrograde sectarian violence.

Revolutionists in Britain must fight for the immediate and total withdrawal of British troops from Ulster and an end to the Emergency Provisions Act. They must defend IRA and other Republican militants against victimization and indiscriminate arrest. At the same time they must expose the Provos' violence against these two judges as futile. Moreover, to the Provos it is of a piece with the truly criminal bombings of, e.g., Protestant workingmen's pubs. Marxists *oppose* the sectarian extremists' campaign of indiscriminate mass terror as simply indefensible.

This counterposition exposes the hypocrisy of groups like the International Marxist Group (IMG), British section of the fake-Trotskyist "United Secretariat," who equate the struggle against British martial law in Ulster with uncritical enthusing over Provo terrorism. Oppositionists within the United Secretariat—particularly those repelled by the crass reformism of the SWP and attracted to the IMG as the most "healthy" and "left-wing" element in the USec Pabloist swamp—must judge the IMG not only on the basis of its often correct attacks on the SWP, but also on the basis of its political record in the British class struggle, specifically its liquidationist, anti-Leninist orientation on the Irish question. The revolutionary unity of Protestant and Catholic workers in Ulster can only be forged through implacable opposition to the sectarian terror of both the Orange and the Green. ■

UAW Local 600:

Labor Party Resolution Censored

As occurs regularly every two years, top union leaders from George Meany to Leonard Woodcock are once again calling on labor to vote Democratic in November, for a "veto-proof Congress." But with prices skyrocketing, unemployment mounting and the stench of corruption still seeping from the Nixon-Ford White House, many workers are fed up with all brands of bourgeois politicians. An indication of this growing sentiment was a resolution passed in late August by the Dearborn Assembly Plant (DAP) unit of United Auto Workers huge Local 600 (Ford River Rouge) calling for a labor party and a definitive break with both capitalist parties:

> "That DAP go on record in favor of the formation of a labor party based on the trade unions, to wage a political fight against our enemies, the big business-controlled parties and government. We reject the lesser of two evils dead-end of Meany, Woodcock and Fitzsimmons, and therefore call for no political endorsement or financial support of any Democratic or Republican politicians."

The motion, which reportedly passed by a vote of 22 to 14, should have been printed in the unit bulletin and distributed to the membership. However, since it represented a challenge to the class-collaborationist policies of the entire trade-union bureaucracy, the resolution underwent a strange transformation on the way to publication.

A laundered version was printed under a heading labeling it an official communication from Hank Wilson, president of the DAP unit in Local 600. The revised edition, passed off as the resolution actually voted by the unit meeting, conveniently omitted criticism of Woodcock, "forgot" to mention big business-controlled government and tacked on an escape clause opening the door to backing liberal Democrats: "no political endorsement of any Democratic or Republican politicians, *except those candidates who commit themselves to the labor party platform*" (our emphasis).

This censorship by higher-ups in the union was reported in a leaflet to the membership from six militants who had supported the original motion. They complained that the rewrite job "completely reverses the essential content of the motion: the need for a complete break with the two big business parties." They insisted that Wilson's bulletin not be passed out, to which he agreed. The militants' leaflet put this episode in the context of past efforts to get the union to initiate a movement for a labor party:

> "When in the past the UAW—in locals and in national convention—has called for a labor party, the leadership has always thwarted that desire by finding 'exceptions' or saying 'now is not the time.' But we have heard too many promises; for years we have been told that the Democratic party is for the working people and racial equality, only to find it passing wage freezes, ushering the racist George Wallace back into the fold, and supporting Jerry Ford when Nixon got too embarrassing. And the labor 'leaders' have covered for these cynical maneuvers. The changing of our original motion is one more 'cover up.' We *need* a party of the workers to fight for the interests and needs of all the oppressed and exploited."

In an interview with *Workers Vanguard*, Wilson took full responsibilty for the changes. Claiming to be responsible for the motion's passage, he defended the alterations because of differences with the author of the resolution, Jerry Harris! The DAP unit president claims to "really" want to build a labor party; he just disagrees with the "methods" proposed in the original motion (which he voted for).

According to Wilson, opposition to the wage-freezing, anti-labor, racist government could only mean a labor party would be "communist." His version would be a labor party that doesn't "turn anybody off." Wilson supports Democrat John Conyers (is he committed to a "labor party platform"?) and feels that Ted Kennedy could be induced to support a labor party. This would "give us the grass roots support we need"!

The capitalist politicians Wilson is chasing after *cannot* build a labor party, for such a party must be built through uncompromising struggle against the bourgeois parties. This difference over "methods" is just a way of backing off from a real fight to implement the resolution. Likewise, at the June UAW convention in Los Angeles Wilson called for a labor party, only to end up voting for Woodcock—the pro-Democratic, anti-labor party architect of betrayal—for UAW president.

Although Wilson takes responsibility for the censorship incident, bigger fish in the Local 600 hierarchy are behind this. The pro-capitalist labor bureaucracy stands squarely in the path of any effort to build an independent party of the working class in the U.S.—the only advanced capitalist country without a mass workers party. The struggle for a workers party and a workers government is not simply against support to Democratic and Republican "friends of labor." To be successful it requires a struggle to dump the sellout union bureaucracy, replacing it with a new leadership committed to policies of consistent class struggle. ■

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Portugal...

Lisbon to keep reactionaries out of the city. Cars were searched for arms and some were reportedly found. Buses scheduled to bring demonstrators to the rally were stopped when the bus drivers' union called out its members.

Now rumors circulate of both a brewing right-wing coup to restore Spínola and a plot to assassinate government leaders. Over 200 known supporters of the old regime were recently arrested on the charge of attempting to resurrect a rightist dictatorship.

Down with the Military Junta! For a Workers Soviet!

Portugal stands at the crossroads between proletarian revolution and bloody suppression of the masses. Vacillation now can only aid the counterrevolutionaries.

Despite the best efforts by the Stalinist CP to betray the masses, the Portuguese working class is now in an extraordinarily favorable position. The reactionaries have overplayed their hand, temporarily removing themselves from the governmental triangle (Junta of National Salvation, Armed Forces Movement, Provisional Government). Instead of constituting a renovated junta (as the MFA and CP seek to do), it is necessary to press forward resolutely. Otherwise the forces of Salazarist dictatorship will be able to regroup and prepare their return which, sooner or later, could mean a massacre of the workers on the order of last year's Chilean bloodbath.

The heterogeneous Armed Forces Movement cannot be relied on to prevent a coup, nor will sporadic leftist mobilizations such as on September 28 stop a determined rightist thrust. It is urgent now to establish united-front defense guards based on the unions and workers parties, to build soldiers' committees in the armed forces. Rather than gambling on the outcome of behind-the-scenes maneuvering in the Belém Palace, it is necessary to mobilize the workers in united demonstrations demanding freedom of the press, the right to strike, immediate independence for the colonies and withdrawal of Portuguese troops from Africa, abolition of the officer corps and the junta, immediate elections for a constituent assembly.

Only by uniting workers' defense guards, soldiers' committees, unions and factory committees along with the workers parties in a unitary organization of the working class, a *soviet*, can the exploited masses hope to achieve victory. Above all, success requires not merely adequate organizational forms and clear objectives but the construction of a revolutionary Trotskyist party which can provide the necessary leadership to the class. Unfortunately this party does not exist in Portugal today.

Armed Forces Movement Stymies Junta

The recent confrontation was prepared by a series of disputes between the junta and the MFA. The younger officers complained that Spínola was too slow in pulling troops out of Portugal's African colonies. Spínola, who sought all along to establish an "autonomous" federation of "overseas provinces" under the Portuguese flag, charged that colonial policy had been changed by "antidemocratic measures that went against the real interests of the population of the African territories."

Then last July the 21-member, MFA-dominated Council of State refused to grant the premier the right to name his cabinet. Spínola's plan for a plebiscitary election confirming him as president was also rejected. At the end of August the conservatives tried to regain the upper hand by circulating a manifesto demanding abolition of the Armed Forces Coordinating Commission in which the "leftist" officers predominate.

Despite Spínola's charges that the younger officers have become "crypto-communists," the younger officers (like their Communist Party backers) are unwilling to go beyond the limits of capitalism. Although the MFA and CP are now dominant within the government, they will no more be able to deal with Portugal's economic ills—30 percent inflation (the highest in Europe), rising unemployment aggravated by the return of colonials and Portuguese working abroad, loss of revenues through decolonization—than were the two post-April 25 governments before them.

The Stalinists, for their part, are banking everything on an alliance with the "progressive" officers. To the CP freedom of the press, the right to strike and independence for the colonies all must be sacrificed on the altar of unity with the MFA:

> "The Provisional Government is not a Popular Government. But in essence it serves the people....despite certain decisions which objectively constitute concessions to the presence of the right, the fundamental general line of the Provisional Government is democratic and progressive."
>
> —*Avante!*, 6 September 1974

And, of course, the CP helps the government "serve the people" by acting as chief strikebreaker! This despicable performance reached a nadir in the postal workers' strike in June, where the CP tried to take over the facilities by organizing goon squads to attack the strikers (see "Portuguese Postal Strike Defeated," *WV* No. 48, 5 July 1974).

Antônio de Spínola

CHAUVEL/SYGMA

Opposition to Dictatorial Decrees Mounts

The recent surge of activity has not been confined to conspiracies in the government palaces. After a short period of relative quiescence, working-class actions have increased over past weeks. In early August three bourgeois newspapers were suspended for merely reporting a demonstration by the Maoist MRPP (Movement for the Reorganization of the Proletarian Party). Faced with threats of a strike by the entire news media, the government backed down. A few days later however, the junta indefinitely suspended the MRPP newspaper, *Luta Popular*, thereby violating its own decree of June 20 (limiting press suspensions to 60 days).

Strict decrees regulating the right to strike were also issued in August. Outlawed are political strikes, strikes of solidarity, strikes that seek to upset the terms of a collective bargaining agreement, strikes by public employees, partial strikes in key sections of a plant and plant occupations. No strike can be called until after at least thirty days of negotiations and seven days' notice to the employer. On the other hand, an employer may lock out his employees as long as he gives them seven days' notice.

These stringent prohibitions have not prevented workers from walking off their jobs. At the end of August striking workers at TAP (Portugal's airline) demanded the removal not just of former agents of the political police (PIDE) but also of "individuals who have taken anti-working-class positions, like the loyal dogs serving capitalism that they are" (*Revolução*, 7 September).

The TAP strike also included among its demands higher wages and shorter hours, a freeze on the wages of administrators and punishment for those responsible for disciplinary layoffs. It ended only when the military declared martial law against the strikers. Militant strikes have also taken place recently by employees of *O Jornal do Comércio*, 6,000 farm workers in the South, textile workers and others.

"Democracy for the Workers, Repression for the Reactionaries"

On September 7 textile workers, joined by TAP workers, construction workers and others, organized a demonstration of 3,000 in Lisbon centering around demands against layoffs and factory closings. A declaration explaining the reasons for the demonstration stated:

> "The Movement of the Armed Forces, by staging April 25, did not put an end to capitalism, nor put an end to the exploitation of which we are victims. April 25th came...to create better conditions for our struggle....In the last few months we have gained some victories, namely increases which have made our wages a little less miserable. But the boss doesn't want to give up a situation which enriches him easily and rapidly; he doesn't want to give up his enormous profits obtained at the cost of our work and our misery...."
>
> —*O Seculo*, 9 September

On the previous day thousands of public functionaries had demonstrated in Lisbon for higher salaries and against "increases that benefit the privileged."

A high point came on September 12 when 7,000 workers marched out of the Lisnave naval shipyard in Almeda, past lines of troops stationed outside the plant to prevent their demonstration, and into the streets of Lisbon. A communication of the Lisnave workers, whose demonstration centered around the demand to "expunge all manifestations of fascism," stated: "We are not with the government when it promulgates anti-working-class laws, restricting the struggle of the workers against capitalist exploitation" (*Revolução*, 21 September 1974). Among the approved list of demands were: "Death to PIDE—Death to Fascism—Down with Capitalism," "Right to Strike, Yes—Lockout, No" and "Democracy for the Workers—Repression for the Reactionaries."

The march was carefully planned and held only after repeated unsuccessful attempts to obtain official action against Salazarist elements in the company. (It was over this issue that Lisnave workers struck the shipyards in May.) The CP openly opposed plans for a march, but when a vote was taken by 6,000 workers shortly before the demonstration was to begin, only 25 opposed it. The Stalinists had previously been the strongest political group at Lisnave.

A tense moment came as the columns prepared to leave the yard. Three companies of special commandos, parachutists and military police had surrounded the entrance on government orders to prevent a demonstration. But when the workers began chanting "soldiers are the sons of the people" a number of riflemen broke down. The commander finally let the demonstrators pass rather than risk a confrontation.

The Key: Revolutionary Leadership

As the working class is becoming more politically educated, more disillusioned in the provisional government and the Communist Party, the groups to the left of the CP continue to tail behind the workers. While they may raise slogans for the expropriation of industry, for workers control of the monopolies and other demands which go beyond simple democratic rights, they abandon these slogans in the course of the actual workers' battles in favor of "support" to trade-union struggles.

The worst example of this tailism is provided by the workerists of the Proletarian Revolutionary Party (PRP) who continue to insist that the organization of the workers must take place *independently* of political parties. The tasks of a revolutionary Trotskyist vanguard party would be exactly the opposite—to actively intervene in the workers' struggles with a program of transitional demands which would *lead* the workers to victory.

Such a program would include calling for immediate elections to a constituent assembly, immediate and total independence for Portuguese colonies and withdrawal of colonialist troops, military victory to the MPLA, for the con-

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struction of a Leninist vanguard party in Southern Africa. Also, trial of criminals of the Salazarist regime by democratically elected people's tribunals, full freedom of the press, full right to strike and trade-union association, a sliding scale of wages and hours, equal pay for equal work, militant defense of the picket lines, expropriation of the monopolies and banks, workers control of industry, formation of democratically elected factory committees joined in a unitary organization of the working class, a workers government.

The urgent task of the hour, which concretizes the Transitional Program at this crucial moment in an escalating pre-revolutionary situation, is the call for united working-class self-defense. This would include local and factory defense groups, the seeds of a workers militia, and must be combined with the building of soldiers' committees in the army. It must also include the formation of workers soviets, unitary organizations representing the working masses and the embryo of a future workers state. The choice before Portuguese workers at this moment is to take decisive steps forward or face annihilation.

All workers parties, trade unions and other working-class organizations must join together to defend what few gains have been made since April 25 and to prevent a full-scale onslaught of frenzied capitalist reaction. The sectarianism of those like the Maoists of the MRPP, who refuse to collaborate with any other group even in the defense of their own victimized militants, is a criminal policy which will only serve to further atomize and isolate the beleaguered Portuguese working class. The demand that the reformist CP and Socialist Party join such a united-front workers defense could be decisive in exposing the true appetites of these class-collaborationist betrayers and in winning large portions of their ranks and followers to the side of genuine working-class struggle.

The Portuguese proletariat is facing a moment of decision. If proper leadership develops in time, the Portuguese working class stands ready to surge forward and overthrow its oppressors. But if revolutionary leadership, i.e., a Trotskyist party crystallized from the most advanced elements of the ostensible left and workers organizations, cannot be constructed in time, the Portuguese experience will simply be one more page in the history book of Stalinist betrayals. ■

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MELMER ET ROMARE

Continued from page 6

Guinea-Bissau ...

Times (4 September): "Now that we are independent our businesses will be run so that Africans can make bank loans, use credit and deal with importers and exporters." According to another *Times* report (9 September), "Although the white small-business men want to leave, large businesses controlled by whites plan to stay. These include the country's largest commercial enterprise, the União Fabril Company [CUF], a giant Portuguese international concern. . . ." So far, PAIGC officials have made no statement about the monopoly's future, but it is noteworthy that the constitution does not speak of nationalizing foreign firms. If CUF stays, economic independence for Guinea will be entirely fictional.

FRELIMO Postpones Independence

With the new rulers of Guinea-Bissau proclaiming their willingness to work with the refurbished "democratic" representatives of Portuguese colonialism, the leaders of FRELIMO have gone a step farther. Although the Portuguese army was already in open rout in northern Mozambique, the nationalists agreed to push the date of independence back to 25 June 1975.

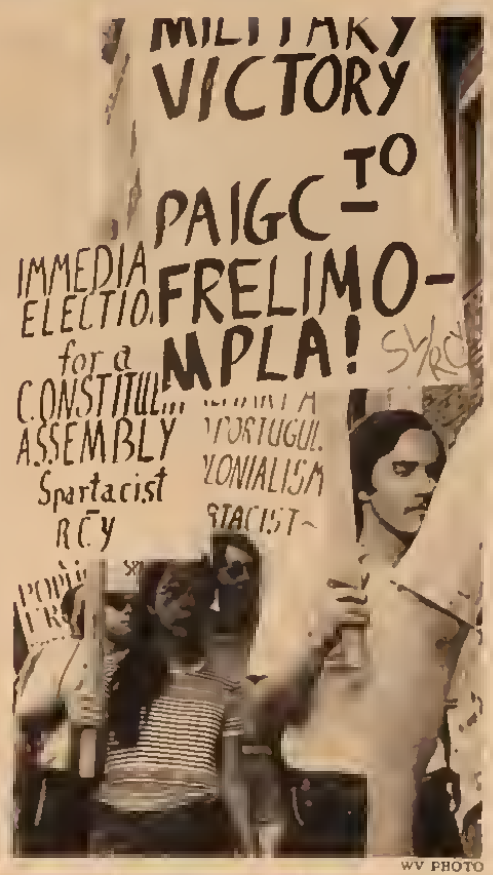
During the interim period "law and order" will be maintained by a joint FRELIMO-Portuguese government in which the prime minister and two thirds of the seats go to the Africans. Defense and foreign affairs, however, will be controlled by whoever holds power in Lisbon. A police corps will be set up by the transitional government, but in the meantime the Portuguese High Commissioner will control the colonial cops. Moreover, according to Article 10 of the Lusaka agreement:

> "In case of serious disturbances of public order, requiring the intervention of the armed forces, command and coordination will be assumed by the High Commissioner, assisted by the prime minister, who will have direct charge of the armed forces of the Mozambique Liberation Front."
>
> —*O Seculo*, 10 September

Exemplified in Portuguese control of FRELIMO armed forces, the orientation of the new government is clearly one of maintaining a stable colonialist regime. While dock workers' strikes have rocked Lourenço Marques several times since April 25, FRELIMO leader Samora Machel's message (read at the installation of the transitional government) announced, "In this situation and phase in the life of our country, strikes have no place. . . . The order now is work and sacrifice" (*New York Times*, 21 September).

Build a Trotskyist Party!

Communists are resolute opponents of all forms of colonialism. We call for immediate independence for Portuguese colonies, for immediate withdrawal of all colonialist troops. We call for military victory for the MPLA (Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola) and called also for victory to the PAIGC and FRELIMO against the Portuguese forces. But at the same time we warned:



WV PHOTO

SL demonstrates, Boston.

> "Once in power the petty-bourgeois nationalists of MPLA, FRELIMO and PAIGC will behave no differently than their predecessors and mentors in Conakry, Lusaka and Dar es-Salaam. They will not hesitate to smash the unions, jail Marxist revolutionaries and fatten their purses with the spoils of the bureaucracy. Only through a relentless fight to create Trotskyist parties committed to the proletarian program of permanent revolution can this be reversed."
>
> —*WV* No. 46, 7 June

Quite a different perspective is offered by the revisionist fake Trotskyists of the "United Secretariat" led by Ernest Mandel. The current issue of the USec publication *Inprecor* (19 September) calls for "Full Support to the PAIGC, MPLA and FRELIMO!" Mandel and Co. have recently taken a more critical attitude toward these left-nationalist formations, noting their "insufficiencies of analysis," "uneven practices" and "multiclass conceptions," while also remarking that "many other elements will come into play in the future," and concluding on a note of Marxist "clarity" (?): "In the final analysis, then, the MPLA, the PAIGC, and FRELIMO constitute specificities in the history of the African revolution" (*Inprecor*, 4 July). Yes, indeed!

Behind the Maitanesque mumbo-jumbo of this pseudo-analysis, the USec position is apparently that the independence movements are basically healthy revolutionaries who haven't yet "got it together" theoretically. But, "in general the dynamics set in motion by the specific features of Portuguese colonialism and by the years of struggle have incontestably separated this revolutionary nationalism from the swamp of rightism and reformism" (*Inprecor*, 20 June).

This is just the sophisticated cover. A good example of the real USec position is the following gem from its Canadian sympathizing organization, the Revolutionary Marxist Group:

> "FRELIMO's statements and press, while still resisting public calls (like those of Cabral) for socialist transformation, have definitely transcended the earlier and more restricted emphasis on the nationalist struggle. But the dynamic of FRELIMO's increasingly progressive practice is now tending strongly towards a fusion of revolutionary nationalism and socialism."
>
> —*Old Mole*, September 1973

Cabral's open calls for "socialist transformation" have now been stricken from the PAIGC program, and FRELIMO's "increasingly progressive practice" turns out to be banning strikes and maintaining colonial law and order under Portuguese command! Once again the Pabloist belief that the "underlying dynamic" makes unnecessary the struggle for a proletarian leadership leads the revisionists to apologize for the current crop of bourgeois nationalist regimes. Pablo's paeans to the revolutionary virtues of the Algerian nationalists are repeated. Perhaps, again like Pablo, Mandel will soon be winging his way to Bissau or Lourenço Marques to advise these "unconscious Marxists" who have "incontestably separated . . . from the swamp of rightism and reformism" on how best to control the rebellious workers and peasants. ■

JEAN-CLAUDE FRANCOLON, GAMMA

FRELIMO organizes fraternization of the troops.

Continued from page 1

Ford/Rockefeller...

of money capital into the hands of a few Arab sheiks and colonels. This caused severe monetary dislocations, placing whole countries such as Italy on the dole, while setting the stage for a possible series of collapses in the world's major financial institutions.

The $80 billion of monetary reserves which has accumulated in the hands of the rulers of oil-producing countries creates substantial deficits for oil-consuming nations. Moreover, years of subsidizing U.S. balance-of-payments deficits have combined with the oil crisis deficits to put much of Europe in dire financial straits. Anticipating a series of bankruptcies in their major financial institutions, Common Market countries have been pushing schemes to "recycle" some of the petro-dollars their way. The U.S., which has received many of these dollars, is noticeably standoffish to such proposals.

Ford's response to the economic crisis ranges from homesy slapstick to old-style sabre-rattling. The new "middle America" chief executive first suggested that families fight inflation by exchanging lists of helpful hints on how to conserve energy. He has since taken to reading these productions on television.

In a later speech, undoubtedly ghosted by the heavy hand of Henry Kissinger, Ford ranted about dictatorial abuses of "sovereign nations" and the threatening "breakdown of world order." The clear implication was that the U.S. would do the "breaking down." Soon after, Defense Secretary Schlesinger was hauled before the TV cameras to assure the public that no immediate invasion of Iran was in the offing. But, whether Ford's threats were meant only as verbal bombast or something more real, it is clear that under the blows of economic crisis the imperialists are moving toward trade war and even military conflict.

Of course, the anguished cries of oil blackmail which have recently issued from the White House are the purest hypocrisy. For years it has been government policy to hold down grain production in the U.S., despite the plight of the starving masses in the rest of the world. And Mr. Kissinger, currently portrayed in the press as brooding because of the revelations of CIA dirty tricks in Chile, is doubtless brewing similarly crude tactics for the Arab states behind his Hamlet-like facade.

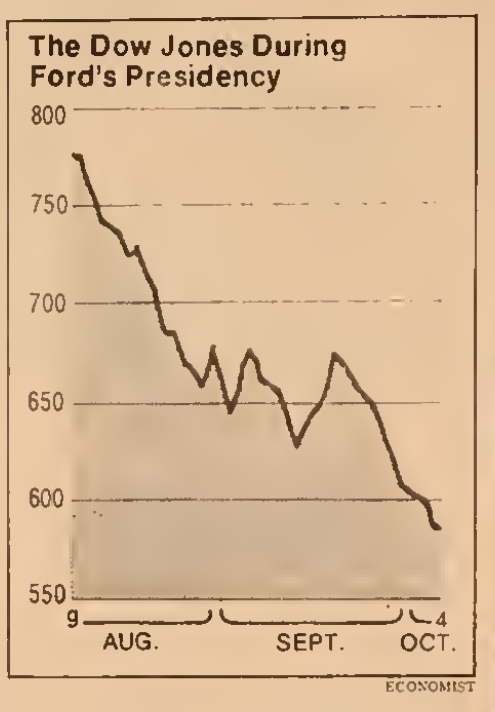
"Easy Money" for the Bosses, Wage Controls for the Workers

The reason for this fluctuation between quack remedies and displays of bullying militarism is clear. All of Ford's economic mini-summits notwithstanding, capitalist economic strategists are powerless in the face of the developing crisis. The traditional bourgeois policies of war and deprivation are being increasingly bandied about.

Starvation will continue to prevail as the bourgeois "solution" to decreased food production in the underdeveloped nations, while in the more advanced capitalist countries constricted markets will drive food prices ever higher.

Domestically the Ford/Rockefeller administration is opting for an "easy-money" policy combined with social-service cutbacks and wage restraints. (The more austere course of a deflationary program would immediately threaten the economy with a string of bankruptcies.) Thus in the past few weeks the Federal Reserve System has taken steps to "free-up" almost $1.4 billion worth of credit for these profit-hungry robbers. These easy-money shenanigans are far from sufficient to satisfy Wall Street and stave off economic slump. However, they definitely add to the forces driving up inflation.

Another key element in the Ford scenario is wage controls. While the bourgeois press was filled with categorical denials that Ford would countenance state controls after the experience of Nixon's disastrous "Phase III," *Workers Vanguard* predicted (see "New Wage Controls Threaten," *WV* No. 52, 13 September) that the government would resort to wage controls as workers' strike militancy died down. Ford's proposed delay of Federal pay raises, recently rejected by the Senate, was but the first move in this direction. Business interests seem recently to have seen the handwriting on the wall. Economic consultants for America's leading financial and industrial institutions are recommending price increases to their clients in order to protect profit margins against anticipated wage/price controls (*New York Times*, 25 September).



Reaction Down the Line

Gerald Ford, although a confirmed reactionary, had seemed to many like a breath of spring after the slitherings of the small-time hood, Nixon. This veneer of "honesty" quickly crumbled, however, when Ford bestowed an unconditional, total pardon on America's foremost political gangster. In contrast, "draft dodgers" and "deserters" from the wanton slaughter in Indochina received an offer of two years of forced labor, adequate testimony to the compassion of the "even-handed" president. Heaping insult upon injury Ford then proceeded to plead with Congress for increased support to Vietnam's butcher Thieu.

The new commander-in-chief topped off his right-wing course by unconditionally supporting the policies of Kissinger in Chile, adding a bland assertion that the U.S. has the right to overturn any government it pleases. Ford's cover for this standard operating procedure of imperialism was his claim that the U.S. had funded poor, persecuted anti-Allende "opposition" parties and newspapers out of a commitment to "democracy." This hypocrisy is of a piece with the tale that the Bay of Pigs invasion was a spontaneous uprising of the Cuban masses.

In actual fact, Mr. Kissinger's current unpopularity in the eyes of the likes of the *New York Times* has nothing to do with the role he played in overthrowing the Allende government. Such dealings are the norm for U.S. foreign policy. The coup was supported by U.S. liberals, including the *Times*. Mr. Kissinger is, however, one of the few remaining advocates of détente, a policy viewed with increasing disfavor in leading bourgeois circles.

The nomination of Rockefeller as vice president is an additional proof of the reactionary character of the Ford regime. Ostensibly a "Republican liberal," the butcher of Attica is anti-détente, pro-budget cuts and as rich as they come in bourgeois politics. During the past few weeks Rocky has alternately "guessed" that his wealth was either $32 million, $66 million or $218 million (the current figure). Yet in 1958 the holdings of the "Rockefeller group" were estimated to be $61 *billion*, an amount which has surely grown past the $100 billion mark today!

Mr. Rockefeller could not, however, keep his bloody role in the 1971 massacre of 35 inmates at New York's Attica State Prison out of his confirmation hearings. Angela Davis, testifying at the Senate hearings, made an ironic comparison between Rockefeller's defense of the Attica massacre with his description of Ford's pardon of Nixon as "an act of conscience, compassion and courage." This blatant hypocrisy marks all bourgeois morality and "justice," a fact Davis neglected to mention.

The Liberals Have It

Watergate plus Ford's rightward course seem to have given a boost to "anti-establishment" politicians during the current primary elections. Left-of-center candidates generally (but not always) profit during corruption clean-ups and economic downturns. Last month's New York State primaries, confirmed this tendency.

Most New York voters displayed their antipathy to bourgeois politicos by not bothering to cast a ballot. The remaining 30 percent expressed their disenchantment by rejecting all four of the candidates for important positions nominated by the normally powerful Democratic Party machine in that state. The winners ranged from the left-liberal maverick, Ramsey Clark, to the right-populist, Hugh Carey. The 1974 elections will almost certainly result in victory for Democratic liberals.

WASHINGTON POST/FRANK JOHNSTON

Henry Kissinger

The Black Question—Key to American Politics

Both implicitly and explicitly the last three national elections were focused on the "black question." In the eyes of strata of the white population, especially those suffering from perpetual economic and social insecurity, the program of liberalism, from Kennedy and Johnson to McGovern, came to represent the threat of "social justice" and economic advancement for blacks at their expense. Liberalism was identified with "crime in the streets."

The seeming wane of Wallacism is not indicative of any change in white attitudes or in the political milieu. It reflects instead the general capitulation of the liberal bourgeoisie to racist reaction, notably registered in recent Congressional votes over school-busing. By abandoning blacks the liberals have robbed Wallace of his big issue.

On the other hand, it is no accident that the income level of the black minority has recently been falling compared to whites. In major "inner cities" the rightward trend has been led by the liberal Democrat black mayors and their pork-chop nationalist promoters. Abandoning the struggle for school integration in exchange for a little patronage, these phonies are openly promoting the "theories" of Booker T. Washington—racial isolation and self-uplift. They have also demonstrated a casual willingness to let loose the hounds of repression on "their own" people.

Black people have become isolated from mainstream politics at a time when they are bearing the brunt of the current economic decline. Although the black question (e.g., busing, "law and order" demagogy) is playing a diminished role in this election, this in no way alters the basic racist dynamic of American social reality.

The outbreak of cop terror directed against racial minorities and the recent anti-black violence in Boston around busing demonstrate the possibility for a rapid reawakening of racial politics in the U.S. However, at present, both black and white liberals and various brands of black nationalism are thoroughly discredited in the eyes of the black masses. There is an urgent need for and potentially great receptivity among the black population toward a workers party based on the trade unions, provided it addresses the aspirations of racial minorities for economic and social equality in American society. Only a perspective of united class struggle can answer their demands.

No Half-Way Solution to Capitalism's Decay

The worsening economic crisis reveals that capitalism cannot begin to answer or significantly ease the catastrophes it creates. At times like these socialism appears as the only rational solution to the problems of declining real income and growing unemployment. It is apparent that only the nationalization of the banks and industry, without compensation to the capitalists, and global planning can begin to answer the questions posed by the collapsing economy.

Reason alone will, however, never be able to separate the capitalist from his property. Only the united force of the working class can accomplish that end. There is, however, a major obstacle standing in the way of such unity, the trade-union bureaucracy which continues to bind the working class to the Democratic Party. Its program is to bring the trade unions under the discipline of the capitalist state and to subordinate the interests of the working class to the "welfare of the nation," that is, to what's good for the ruling class.

Currently the Meanyite bureaucracy has distinguished itself by leading the working class through the most disastrous decline in real wages since the early 1930's. This was accomplished in open collaboration with the anti-communist swindler, Richard Nixon. At a time when working and poor people have been subjected to an unbroken series of economic and political reversals, union tops refuse to sever their links with bourgeois political parties.

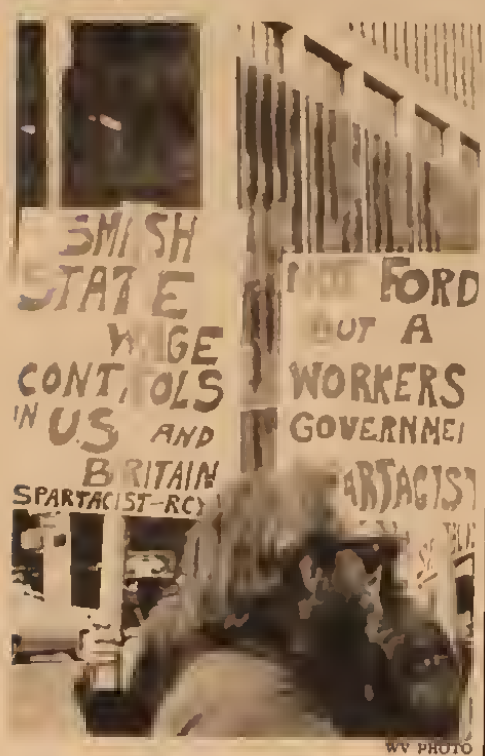
These phonies must be ousted if the working class is to avoid the sewers of ruling-class corruption and achieve political independence from the bourgeoisie as a step on the road to a revolutionary transformation of society. They must be replaced by a new leadership based on a class-struggle program capable of uniting all sectors of the working class, black and white. A key element in such a program is the call for a workers party, based on the trade unions, to struggle for a workers government. The demand for a labor party, raised by Trotskyists in the U.S. ever since the 1930's, is counterposed to any form of support for

capitalist parties or politicians.

The reformist, Stalinist Communist Party U.S.A. has responded to the current situation with its usual two-faced opportunism. During the last presidential campaign, the CP leadership came under criticism from its ranks for its backhanded support to Democrat George McGovern. Gus Hall, party chairman, responded to these complaints with a heavy dose of "left" demagogy:

> "For a Communist not to vote for a Communist violates the most elementary understanding of a class approach to struggle. . . .
> ". . . the structure for the movement of political independence cannot be built within the Democratic Party."
> —"A Lame Duck in Turbulent Waters," 1972

Moreover, Albert Fitzgerald, president of the Stalinist-influenced United Electrical Workers, called for a labor party at the recent UE international convention. UE representatives repeated this call at a recent conference sponsored by the CP-dominated Trade Unionists for Action and Democracy.



Yet *no* Communist Party candidate for political office has called for a labor party. The CP has instead used its campaigns to whip up interest in a preposterous "peoples" summit on the economy. Finally, the *Daily World* (October 5) carries an article comparing Ramsey Clark, Democratic candidate for the U.S. Senate in New York, to George McGovern in curiously baroque phraseology:

> "If this is combined with retreats on program by Clark for 'the sake of unity with the Democratic leaders,' he *might* well end up in the same position as McGovern.
> "Independent pressure on the issue is needed directed at both Javits and Clark. Only this type of struggle can lead to a *defeat of Javits* at the polls." [our emphasis]

Members and friends of the CP who have been called on to "defeat Goldwater," "defeat Nixon," etc., in the past will get the message—i.e., vote Clark.

The backhanded support to bourgeois parties from the CP is just one of many indications of its reformist character. It demonstrates that the Stalinists, although claiming to be socialists, are in fact no real alternative to the present pro-capitalist labor bureaucracy. What is needed is a fight to break the working masses from the stranglehold of the capitalist parties. The resolution (printed elsewhere in this issue) recently passed by members of a unit of United Auto Workers Local 600 calling for a labor party and no support to Democrats and Republicans is an example of such a class-struggle orientation.

As AFL-CIO, UAW and Teamsters officials conduct their perennial collections for big-business politician "friends of labor," we urge militants to take up the fight for a workers party and for class-struggle caucuses in the unions, to oust the pro-capitalist bureaucrats who are today the biggest obstacles to working-class independence. ■

Continued from page 4

British Elections...

(even if only temporarily) for the first time in decades.

To meet the economic crisis the Liberal Party has openly come out for a statutory incomes policy. After their experience with the miners not even the Tories are advocating wage controls. Nevertheless, an incomes policy is almost a certainty no matter what party is elected, including Labour. As this will be done in the name of national unity, the social contract or both, militants in the unions must launch a *political* struggle against Wilson's "social contract" and prepare to strike against the reimposition of wage controls.

The Conservatives are running on an open invitation to the Liberals for coalition. The *Economist* would like to see a Tory/Liberal coalition on the economic policies of the Liberals. However, the Liberals' political survival depends upon differentiation from the Conservatives. Therefore the Liberals are fond of speaking about how much closer they are to the BLP.

All the talk about coalitions naturally raises speculation about a Labour/Liberal coalition. Such a coalition would be a classical popular front in which the reformist working-class party formally subordinates the interests of the proletariat to its bourgeois coalition partners. Marxists can give no political or electoral support to such a "Lib-Lab" coalition, the very antithesis of working-class political independence. Fortunately, the British working class has had its fill of class-collaborationist coalitions in the past. Ramsay MacDonald's "National Unity" coalition with the Tories from 1931 to 1935 is still bitterly remembered by many Labour militants.

Oust Wilson—Vote Labour!

For sixty years the ultra-reformist, social-democratic Labour Party has compiled a miserable record of betrayal and capitulation. The BLP deserves to be swept into history's dustbin. But the British working class still has illusions in this political creature of the trade-union bureaucracy. The working class must be convinced in struggle that the BLP is not its "own" party. But so long as the mass of the workers believe it is, and on the condition that the BLP runs independently and refuses any class-collaborationist coalitions, we call on workers to vote for Labour against the capitalist parties.

While calling on British workers to cast their ballots for Labour in the upcoming election we do so warning that the BLP is incapable of carrying out policies in the revolutionary interests of the working class. On the contrary we wish to see Labour in power precisely in order to expose Wilson and Co.'s fundamentally pro-capitalist policies. Breaking the mass of workers from illusions in the treacherous BLP is critical to the construction of a revolutionary, Trotskyist party as the vanguard of the proletariat. Where ostensibly revolutionary groups are presenting candidates whose platform and campaign, despite flaws, present an essentially anti-reformist and anti-coalitionist thrust, militant workers should critically support such candidates, as a means for registering a protest vote against the class-collaborationist policies of the Labour tops.

—Vote Labour—No Coalitions! For a Labour/TUC Government Pledged to a Socialist Program of Expropriating the Capitalist Class!
—No to the Social Contract! Prepare to Strike for Substantial Wage Increases and Sliding Scale of Wages and Hours!
—For Factory Occupations Against the Threat of Plant Shutdowns—Expropriate Bankrupt Industries—For Workers Control!
—Britain Out of the Common Market—For a Socialist Federation of the British Isles and a Socialist United States of Europe!

Continued from page 12

...Feinstein Amendment

strikes, take politics out of bargaining, etc. It demagogically claims that "streetsweepers were demanding an annual wage of more than $17,000 a year—more than police officers and firefighters now receive. . . ." Interestingly, the Feinstein Amendment does *not* apply to three categories of city employees: police, firemen . . . and the Board of Supervisors!

As to the "$17,000-a-year streetsweepers," city workers who attended the Labor Action Committee rally today provided the real story. Only one full-time sweeper has been hired by the city in the last three years and most of the sweepers are temporary employees, ineligible for pensions, insurance and other "fringes." Their bi-weekly gross pay is $363—hardly a king's ransom—and the top pay for full-time sweepers is $11,400 a year.

For Strike Action to Stop Proposition "L"

The union leadership has relied on the usual liberal arguments to counter the open union-busting campaign by the Chamber of Commerce. One leaflet by the SEIU made much of a statement by a Chamber legal counsel that the Feinstein Amendment was "a legal disaster." But despite this electoralist, legalistic approach, whose axis is dependence on Alioto and the Democrats, sentiment for independent mass labor action is growing among the union ranks.

At a mobilization called by "Citizens United" last Saturday union officials spoke to approximately 300 city workers, many of them from the Laborers' union, and several times referred to the need for labor action. Dan Del Carlo, head of the Building Trades Council, referred to the San Francisco general strike of 1934 and said that to oppose the Feinstein Amendment labor must even work together with communists.

Union militants in the Bay Area must urgently raise the call for mass labor action, including a Bay Area-wide general strike, against the Feinstein Amendment. It is, of course, necessary to campaign for a "no" vote on Proposition L in the November elections, but the most decisive means to defeat this union-smashing, wage-cutting measure is to organize for militant strike action against it. The passivity of the unions is allowing the capitalists to scare the petty bourgeoisie with talk of higher taxes to pay "greedy" streetsweepers. But a decisive display of labor power, such as a two-day general strike just before the election, could win vacillating middle-class voters to labor's side.

With distrust of Alioto running high after his racist "Operation Zebra" last spring and the current scandal over his waterfront landgrab operation, S.F. labor leaders are beginning to feel the pressure to dissociate themselves from their Democratic "friends in City Hall." Thus the labor rally scheduled for October 19 is being built with a leaflet which does not mention a single bourgeois politician. It is necessary to take the demand for mass labor action to the unions and to this rally, to build rank-and-file opposition to the bureaucrats' passive electoralism. At the same time, communists and union militants must raise the call for a workers party, based on the unions, to fight for a workers government, in order to counter the union tops' dead-end class-collaborationist strategy of relying on the twin parties of capital. ■

Sub Drive Report

Area	Quota	First Week
Bay Area	325	55
Binghamton	25	9
Boston	160	100
Buffalo	35	15
Chicago	250	112
Cleveland	160	81
Detroit	250	221
Houston	50	5
Los Angeles	200	45
New Haven	25	8
New Orleans	15	1
New York	500	131
Philadelphia	75	64
Toronto	50	19
At Large	50	7
Total	2170	873

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WORKERS VANGUARD

S. F. Labor Under Attack

Strike Against Feinstein Amendment!

SAN FRANCISCO, October 7—Municipal employees here are facing a union-busting, wage-cutting offensive that is the most dangerous attack on Bay Area labor in decades. The so-called "Feinstein Amendment" to the S.F. city charter would virtually prohibit collective bargaining for city workers, tying their wages to a formula based on an average of salary levels in lower-wage areas of the state of California. This measure, which appears on the ballot in November as "Proposition L," would mean a wage freeze for two thirds of the city's employees, which in the context of continuing high inflation means a de facto sharp wage cut. Muni drivers (public transit) face an immediate cut of $2,000 annually in fringe benefits if Proposition L passes. It is not surprising that the Chamber of Commerce is vigorously backing it, euphemistically labeling it the "Fair Pay Amendment."

Adoption of the Feinstein Amendment would be the signal for an anti-labor offensive by employers, "public" and private, throughout California. Nationally, President Ford has initiated a new attack on wages by attempting to cancel scheduled pay raises for federal workers. Already the press is speculating about when government wage controls will be reimposed. (Under Nixon's wage controls, since mid-1972 the real earnings of U.S. workers fell by *10 percent*, the largest wage cut since the early 1930's.) The entire labor movement must be mobilized now to defeat the employers' offensive. Mass labor action must be the answer to these wage freeze/wage controls threats.

The leaders of the Bay Area union movement, however, demonstrate no inclination to undertake such action. As usual they are relying on their friends in the Democratic Party to bail them out. Official labor is banking everything on stopping the Feinstein Amendment at the polls, with all efforts being channeled into the "Citizens United Against Proposition L," a Democratic Party operation. Among the "honorary chairmen" of this "Citizens" committee are Mayor Joseph Alioto, Sheriff Richard Hongisto and all S.F. congressmen and state legislators.

In contrast to reliance on the Democratic Party of big business, groups and individuals in the workers movement who are campaigning for mass labor action against the union-busting amendment have joined together in a Labor Action Committee (LAC) to Stop Proposition L. The LAC, which was initiated by the Bay Area Spartacist League and includes among its endorsers more than a dozen union executive board members, committeemen and stewards from AFSCME, CWA, ILWU, TWU, UAW and UTU locals, demonstrated today at the S.F. City Hall.

Though the picket line was small, a rally afterwards attracted about 50 militant city workers. Labor Action Committee signs called for "Mass Labor Action to Stop Proposition L," and "For the Unrestricted Right to Strike and Full Bargaining Rights for Public Employees." Among the signs and chants of the SL at the demonstration were "For a Bay Area-Wide General Strike to Stop Proposition L" and "Not Alioto, Feinstein or Ford, But a Workers Party—Oust the Bureaucrats."

"City Fathers" Answer Strike Wave

The Feinstein Amendment is the ruling class' counterattack to a near-general strike by San Francisco city workers last spring. The rolling strike wave in March began as a wage dispute between the city and the Service Employees' union (SEIU): the Board of Supervisors had offered a 2-5 percent

Dianne Feinstein SAN FRANCISCO CHRONICLE

wage increase in the face of 9 percent inflation (since escalated to 13 percent). As picket lines were set up by SEIU ranks they were instantly respected by hospital workers, the Operating Engineers (who shut down sewage plants) and transit workers. At the height of the strike Muni, BART and AC Transit workers shut down all public transit service in and to San Francisco, and threats were made to close the airport, port and commuter rail service as well. Simultaneously, teachers took the AFT out on strike, although their contract was not linked to that of the SEIU.

Union leaders were eventually able to regain control from the rebellious ranks and force through a sellout pact. But the isolation and weakness of the bureaucracy was clearly noted by the bourgeoisie. The Feinstein Amendment is their answer: if labor tops can't enforce class peace, then collective bargaining will be outlawed! At a debate with S.F. Central Labor Council head Jack Crowley last month, Ms. Feinstein (who is president of the Board of Supervisors) stated flatly that, "collective bargaining won't work in the public sector." She also complained about "the crushing power that public employees have" and condemned labor for its March strike as "not a responsible labor movement" (*San Francisco Examiner*, 25 September).

The continuing strike activity in the Bay Area (a three-week nurses' strike in June, a five-week construction workers' strike in June-July and the 62-day militant AC Transit strike in July and August) has already led local business interests to launch a crackdown on the unions. The S.F. Chamber of Commerce has held up payment of the raises won by city workers in March by filing a court suit on the grounds that the strikes were illegal.

"L" No!

The sweep of Proposition L is far broader. By determining wages according to the levels in other California cities, particularly open-shop Southern California, the Amendment would be a wage freeze for an indefinite period for more than 65 percent of city employees. According to the language of the measure, wage levels cannot be more than 3 percent above this "generally prevailing rate." Moreover, if the wage is lower it still may not increase more than 7.5 percent a year.

As a "concession" the Amendment states that no wages will be lowered. It permits the Board of Supervisors to grant a cost-of-living increase, but only based on the increase in the official U.S. c-o-l index from July to December of the previous year! In fact, this is a substantial wage *cut* even if a full c-o-l escalator were provided for the six-month period. Moreover, the wage surveys on which salaries are to be decided will be based on rates which are one year out of date by the time they would be implemented in San Francisco.

Other provisions of the Amendment provide for advancement to maximum level salaries not only on the basis of seniority, but also on "the attainment of such standards of efficiency as the civil service commission shall by rule prescribe." This kind of "efficiency rating" is a favorite management weapon for victimizing union militants. Fringe benefits are not tied to other areas and, under the Amendment, would have to be approved by three fourths' vote of the Board of Supervisors. The obvious intent is to make it possible for a hard-line anti-labor minority to prevent increases in fringe benefits.

To understand the import of this measure it must be noted that in the past the wages of city-employed craftsmen had been linked (but not tied) to comparable job classifications in the private sector in San Francisco. Transit workers' pay had been linked to the average of wages in the two highest-paid major public transit systems in the U.S. This would now be repealed and the much lower California state average substituted.

In campaigning for Proposition L, Feinstein and her Chamber of Commerce backers have pulled out all the stops. One propaganda statement argues that the Amendment will prevent

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Endorsers of the "Labor Action Committee to Stop Proposition L" include the following:

WANDA ADAMS, shop steward, AFSCME Local 829*
HARRY ANDERSON, KPFA "In Transit"
G. BERLINER, MUNI motorman*
GUS BILLY, committeeman, UAW Local 1364*
AL BROUSSARD, executive board member, ILWU Local 10*
GERALD CLARK, member, ATU Local 192*
AL GREENGOLD, member, ATU Local 192*
Class Struggle League
Committee for a Militant UAW, UAW Local 1364
PATRICIA CULL, Carpenters Local 668*
JOHN DOW, Warehouse Union*
BILLY ELLIS, executive board member, TWU Local 250A*
CHARLES GARRY, lawyer
DONALD P. GILLIS, shop chairman, Oakland Parts Warehouse, UAW Local 1364*
STAN GOW, executive board member, ILWU Local 10*
JOAN JORDON, Union W. A. G. E.
HOWARD KEYLOR, member, ILWU Local 10*
La Raza, S. F. State University
GENE MADDOX, Office and Professional Employees Union, Local 29, president Union W. A. G. E.
BEN MARTINEZ, steward, CWA Local 9415*
JOYCE MAUPIN, OPEU Local 29, Union W. A. G. E.
DICK MEISTER, KQED*
Militant Action Caucus, CWA Locals 9415 and 9410*
ED NELSON, executive board member, ILWU Local 10*
G. R. NIKKOLA, area representative, CWA Local 9490*
CHARLES PAYNE, steward, CWA Local 9415*
MARIE POINSON, steward, CWA Local 9415*
H. DON. SCHURR, president, UTU Local 239, Roadmen*
Spartacist League Spartacus Youth League
REGINALD THERIAULT, executive board member, ILWU Local 10*
UE Local 1412
Women's Center, S. F. State University
Committee for Working Class Studies

*organizations listed for purposes of identification only.

WORKERS VANGUARD 25¢

No. 55 25 October 1974

No Federal Troops, but Labor/Black Defense!

Racist Terror Shakes Boston

BOSTON, October 19—The spectre of race war looms in this city. In the last two weeks, the tension from a month of virulently racist anti-busing marches, stonings of school buses carrying black children and mob violence in South Boston has erupted in a series of racial clashes between black and white students. The event which triggered these clashes was the near-murder of a black worker by a crowd of reactionary whites on October 7.

The response of the liberal politicians has been an elaborate buck-passing ritual, in which each tries to save his own career. Neither they nor the police have demonstrated the slightest interest in preventing deaths of black children and working people threatened by the racist lynch mobs. All are desperately trying to avoid appearing to support integration.

The crisis situation in Boston clearly cries out for the formation of integrated trade-union and black defense squads to protect the bused students. Yet black Democratic Party liberals call instead for federal troops. Their camp followers in the ostensibly revolutionary left, notably the Socialist Workers Party and Communist Party, tag along obediently.

Incredibly, the Maoists of the Revo-

continued on page 8

Demonstrators at rally to support school integration, Boston Common, October 12. AP

Bourgeois Morality, Bourgeois Hypocrisy...

The Sewers of Washington

Wilbur apologized.

Robert Byrd (Senate Rules Committee): "Does your vast wealth give you any political power?"

Nelson Rockefeller: "No, not at all."

****

Newsman: "What about your gift of $675,000 to William Ronan?"

Nelson Rockefeller: "What's the matter, haven't you ever given anybody anything?"

In the wake of Watergate has come a flood of reported scandals in Washington. It turns out that the most cynical defense of Nixon is likely to have been the most accurate one: no national politician could withstand vigorous investigation.

Of course, capitalist politicians are not getting so much more corrupt in 1974. Rather, under the pressures of the Watergate exposures it is harder for them to get by with their usual cover-ups.

A few years ago an investigation of Nelson Rockefeller would have produced no suggestion in the press of any wrongdoing. There would have been the routine questions and answers, and confirmation. They tried to pull it off this time also, but it hasn't worked.

The newspapers are now filled with stories of graft, corruption, influence peddling, obstruction of justice and various reports of "debauched" behavior on the part of important public figures. Just as the official Watergate investigation of Nixon covered up his most important crimes against working people (the terror bombing of Southeast Asia, for instance), the present wave of scandals in the capitalist press will not expose the truly monstrous crimes of these politicians.

Wilbur Mills, who for years has reigned supreme in Congress as chairman of the powerful House Ways and Means Committee, recently got caught "in an episode in Washington involving strong drink, late hours, and a former striptease dancer" (*New York Times*, 19 October). So, for the first time in his 36 years as a congressman, Mills will have to campaign for election in his

continued on page 9

Protest Anti-Communist Exclusion!

U.S. Bars Ceylonese Trotskyist Leader

The Spartacist League/U.S. bitterly denounces the action of the United States government in refusing Edmund Samarakkody and Tulsiri Andrade, two leaders of the Revolutionary Workers Party of Ceylon, admission to the U.S. The law under which these comrades were barred is but one of many such undemocratic measures which abound in this capitalist "democracy."

But the U.S. government does not bar all who are called communists or socialists! A key official at the U.S. embassy in Ceylon in rejecting the visa application of Comrade Samarakkody reported that one Bala Tampoe—leader of the Lanka Sama Samaja Party (Revolutionary) and re-elected member of the International Executive Committee of the "United Secretariat"—*was* permitted to enter the U.S., in 1967, because "he was sponsored by the government of the United States."

We have already exposed this trip as one of a number of unprincipled acts on the part of Bala Tampoe (*Spartacist* No. 21, Fall 1972).

Comrade Samarakkody has been an outstanding leader for 30 years of Ceylonese Trotskyism and a leading representative in parliament; Comrade Andrade is secretary of the RWP. They were barred from entering the U.S. in an act of bureaucratic anti-communism directed against valiant fighters opposed to capitalism and imperialism.

We have dedicated ourselves to the struggle for the rebirth of the Fourth International, world party of socialist revolution. Reactionary legislation will not deter us from our revolutionary path. We look forward to the day when we can greet the comrades of the RWP in the Soviet United States of North America, and these reactionary laws will be remembered as part of the dark ages of bourgeois rule in its death throes.

Comrades Samarakkody and Andrade, from the small island of Ceylon, are infinitely more precious to the needs, feelings and aspirations of the American revolutionary proletariat than the gang of criminal degenerates in Washington. ■

Edmund Samarakkody speaking in Toronto. WV PHOTO

Letters

15 October 1974
Comrades,

The article "UMW Boycott of South African Coal" printed in *WV* No. 53 raises several considerations which were not directly covered in the story. For instance, a number of non-white political and trade-union organizations have called for an international boycott of South African goods. Are the UMW bureaucrats responding to this call, even if only for their own national-chauvinist, protectionist reasons? Do South African working-class elements support the UMW boycott?

The article states, "We call upon coal miners and all members of the labor movement to oppose the UMW boycott of South Africa. . . ." What about the attitudes of the miners in the UMW? If this boycott is seen by the miners as an act of international working-class solidarity against the reactionary Vorster regime it seems revolutionaries would have to take such attitudes into consideration before determining whether to oppose or critically support the boycott.

Comradely,
A.R.

WV replies: A boycott is a tactic in the class struggle. It can be useful and effective, or futile and diversionary. Each case must be examined on its merits and in its concrete particulars.

We repeat that the United Mine Workers' boycott of South African coal is a protectionist scheme and not an anti-racist gesture against Vorster's apartheid regime. Our position has been dramatically confirmed by the attempt of the UMWA to *extend the boycott to Australian coal*. Confronted by this fact, a miners' union official was reported as saying: "It makes no difference. We are opposed to any foreign coal being imported" (quoted in *Workers' Power*, 17-30 September 1974).

But it was not necessary to wait for the UMWA to extend the South African boycott to Australia in order to see its real purpose. Mine Workers' president Arnold Miller was clear about this from the beginning:

> "It's an outrage that in a country with billions of tons of low sulfur coal under the ground that Southern Co. would go out and contract for coal from a foreign country more than 9,000 miles away."
>
> —*UMWA Journal*, 1 June 1974

Or again:

> "We have coal operators sitting down there in Alabama who would just love to make a nice profit out of selling their available low sulfur coal to the Southern Co."
>
> —*UMWA Journal*, 16 August 1974

Miller's additional references to slave labor conditions in South Africa are simply an attempt to mask his real aim—to "save U.S. jobs" by lining up mine workers behind coal operators "down there in Alabama" against workers way over there in that foreign country (i.e., buy profitable Dixiecrat coal instead of the racist South African brand!). This is the same protectionist routine offered by the textile and garment union bureaucrats who complain about the pennies-a-day wages of non-union Taiwanese and Korean textile workers in order to build their "Buy American" gimmicks. Of course, they do nothing to raise the wages of Asian textile workers through international strike action and the formation of a real international federation of textile and garment unions.

Our article called on socialists and union militants to oppose the current boycott of South African coal and direct their efforts toward a struggle within the UMWA to force the bureaucracy to drop its national-chauvinist campaign. The letter printed above raises questions about how this would be done tactically.

In the first place, militants would honor picket lines set up to enforce the boycott. Crossing the lines would be interpreted as strikebreaking by mine workers who take at face value the UMWA's anti-racist cover story and believe (wrongly) that in boycotting South African coal they are defending their jobs. We seek to win over these workers, convincing them of the need to struggle for a truly internationalist policy. It is the miners who must force the union to drop this protectionist boycott.

The difference between the consciousness of the membership and the intentions of the bureaucrats is indeed an important consideration. The revulsion felt for the white supremacist South African regime in many quarters of the labor movement is genuine and strong. But only if the essential protectionist character of the boycott were changed by the ranks into an anti-racist action could we support it, however critically. For now the Miller bureaucracy is calling the shots.

The UMWA-initiated action could be transformed (although this is unlikely) if it were taken up by other sections of the labor movement which have no possible economic interest in boycotting South African coal. The workers of Local 1410 of the International Longshoremen's Association, for instance, crossed the UMWA picket of Australian coal while respecting the picket of South African coal. This action certainly reflects anti-racist feeling.

It is true that a number of South African non-white trade unions, black and left organizations have for years called for a boycott of everything South African. We have pointed out (see "International Labor Boycotts: When and How," *WV* No. 50, 2 August 1974) that such generalized boycotts are futile as a means of bringing down a hated but well-entrenched regime. If successful in causing widespread economic disruption, they could actually harm the working class of the boycotted country. Nonetheless, as an attempt (however ineffectual and misguided) to protest racism, we could give critical support to a move by unions to implement a boycott of South African goods.

But so far no real efforts have been made by the world labor movement to boycott South Africa. The Mine Workers' leaders are clearly acting for their own, quite different purposes. There is essentially no (or only an accidental) relationship between calls for a permanent boycott of South Africa and the current coal boycott.

A change in tactics would be necessary if the UMWA boycott actually became a *cause célèbre* in South Africa, seen as a symbol of international labor solidarity against apartheid. While remaining opposed to the protectionist, national-chauvinist coal boycott we would not call on the UMWA ranks directly to dump the boycott. Rather, our first duty would be to explain the protectionist character of the coal boycott to the anti-apartheid forces in South Africa. Communists and class-struggle forces in the unions must not side objectively with the racists.

Clearly, boycotts can raise numerous complicated tactical situations, but the principles guiding our intervention should be clear. In a period of world-wide economic contraction and sharpening inter-imperialist rivalry it is essential for labor militants to counterpose a policy of international labor solidarity to the divisive national-chauvinist protectionism promoted by the pro-capitalist union bureaucracy. Whether the theme is "Buy American" in textiles and auto or "Boycott South African" in coal, the purpose of the labor fakers is the same: to mobilize the working class behind "its own" bourgeoisie.

Revolutionaries must be uncompromising in their opposition to plans which divide the proletariat along national lines. Our opposition to the coal boycott stands in contrast to the Maoist *Guardian*'s mindless enthusing over black-white unity in the miners' union around boycotting South African coal. The reformist Communist Party has, typically, reported the UMWA action uncritically, and the Workers World Party/YAWF-backed "Center for United Labor Action" actually demonstrated in favor of the chauvinist coal boycott.

The International Socialists have pointed out its protectionist character, but can only bring themselves to term the chauvinist boycott a "wrong policy" and express their "hope" that the UMWA would fight U.S. support to South Africa in the future (*Workers' Power*, August 1974). Nowhere in the article do they criticize Miller directly. Why this restraint? Because in its usual taillist fashion the IS "critically" supported the aspiring bureaucrat Miller for UMWA president in 1972 and will continue to support him till it's "opportune" to do otherwise.

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An Interview with Edmund Samarakkody

We print below an interview with Edmund Samarakkody, spokesman of the Revolutionary Workers Party of Ceylon. The interview took place on October 13 in Toronto, where he spoke on "The Revolutionary Struggle in Ceylon." Comrade Samarakkody was prohibited by U.S. authorities from entering the country.

WV: On the basis of reactionary anti-communist legislation the government of the United States has barred you from entering the country. The SL and other left organizations have protested this undemocratic exclusion. Could you tell us more about this? How did the official representatives of the "free world" explain their action?

Samarakkody: Myself and Comrade Andrade of our party, the Revolutionary Workers Party, made applications for our visas to enter the U.S. on an invitation sent to us by our friends there. In regard to my application, which was considered first at the American Embassy, I was told that in view of my political background a person like me could not enter the United States.

At the Embassy they, of course, referred me to the existing law in the U.S. Because of this law the official indicated that I was not qualified to get my visa. He told me, "we ourselves do not like this law but what could we do? This is our law. We are very sorry."

He went on to give a further explanation in this regard. He said, "of course you know there have been exceptions to this rule. I am referring," he said, "to the case of Mr. Bala Tampoe of the LSSP-R [Lanka Sama Samaja Party-Revolutionary] who went to the United States some time ago." He further told me that, in his own words, "you know in this case, Mr. Tampoe's invitation was sponsored by the government of the United States."

Well, after he said this I had no comment to make. I was not at all surprised because the details of Bala Tampoe's visit were very well known to us. I was also aware that not only did the government of the United States sponsor this visit, but no less a man than Mr. McNamara was there to receive Bala Tampoe when he entered the United States.

WV: In recent months there has been reportedly a sharp rightist offensive in Ceylon. Would you describe this for us? What is Mrs. Bandaranaike doing in this context?

Samarakkody: With the worsening of conditions in Ceylon, that is to say, with the increased blows struck at the masses by the coalition government, there was serious mass dissatisfaction, especially over increased prices of consumer articles including food. These price increases were directly made by the coalition government [headed by Mrs. Bandaranaike and her Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP)].

At the end of last year, 1973, the United National Party (UNP)—the older bourgeois party—sought to utilize mass discontent in order to further its own aims. While raising questions like increased prices and highlighting the problems of the people, the United National Party pointed its finger at the son-in-law of Mrs. Bandaranaike, [Kumar] Rupasinghe and her daughter [Sunethra], who were running a newspaper called *Janavegaya* or "People's Power."

The UNP made allegations that a group of people around Mrs. Bandaranaike's son-in-law and daughter was seeking to organize a coup against the government. This matter was raised by the United National Party in parliament also. At the same time, the UNP sought to link up this group with the left of the government, especially the LSSP [Lanka Sama Samaja Party]. This debate got considerable publicity in the papers.

The SLFP reacted to these allegations of the UNP by seeking to discipline the group of people around Mrs. Bandaranaike's son-in-law. This group led by Rupasinghe was posing as the left of the SLFP, sometimes using left language, but without any clear differences with the SLFP politics. In their paper they used to criticize some of the older leaders of the SLFP. The SLFP leadership took the opportunity to discipline this group led by Rupasinghe. Therealter—very soon therealter—the paper of this group reflected the change, and all criticisms of the government were stopped.

Edmund Samarakkody

WV Photo

Meanwhile, the UNP directed its attention more and more at the left of the coalition government. UNP papers indicated that all the trouble was due to the LSSP. With these sentiments being expressed in its paper, certain moves were going on behind the scenes. There were rumors that the UNP—persons in the UNP—were meeting with people in the SLFP and both parties were coming closer to each other in the perspective of some offensive against the left in the government and the left in the country.

It was in this context that the United National Party developed its propaganda and opportunistically sought to raise the question of rising prices and the problems of the people. But the UNP never blamed the government. They sought to plead and pray to the gods publicly to save the people. In other words, it would appear that this was careful propaganda—linking themselves up with the SLFP to direct attacks on the left.

When this situation was developing and when the UNP organized a sort of extra-parliamentary action in what is called a civil disobedience movement—sitting down on the roads and public parks—the government decided to take action against it. The police were sent against them and the meetings were dispersed. When the United National Party was preparing for the public meetings, the government in fact banned all meetings of the UNP. And furthermore the government banned a newspaper—a well-known newspaper belonging to the rightists.

Thereafter a new development took place. The government parties thought it was a good opportunity to get the people closer to them by indicating the danger from the UNP—that "the reactionaries are seeking to overthrow the government." And, in fact, very soon they were saying, "the fascists are coming." The LSSP, CP, SLFP, Mrs. Bandaranaike's son-in-law and his group all were shouting, "Fascists are coming, we have to fight the fascists." In this context the LSSP was shouting slogans saying that capitalism must be exterminated.

It is important to note that in the course of these developments each party of the coalition sought to gain as much publicity and support as possible. The LSSP organized a very big meeting of the LSSP youth with a demonstration. This caused considerable concern to the rightist forces, including the SLFP. All this while there was talk that there were secret talks going on between the UNP and SLFP, but there was nothing definite.

However, about a week or so therealter a public meeting was held in a rural constituency, and it appeared as if this was according to some plan. This meeting, which would ordinarily have been attended by all three coalition parties, was attended only by the SLFP led by Mrs. Bandaranaike.

There were slogans shouted out by people who participated in the demonstration and there were a few red flags only being carried in a certain section of the meeting. And among the slogans that were shouted out were calls upon the prime minister to go forward like Lenin, to go forward like Trotsky, to go forward like Castro and to go forward like N.M. Perera [leader of the LSSP]. When the prime minister heard these slogans, when her time for speaking came, the prime minister immediately took up this matter and angrily denounced the slogan shouters. She said it was a disgrace to bear slogans like that, that she had waited patiently but now she must speak out. She said that the SLFP had its own philosophy, its own policies, and they were Bandaranaike's policies and nobody else's policies.

Now this was the jist of her talk. The speech of Mrs. Bandaranaike was sent out on the radio several times for the next two or three days. This was known among the coalition ranks, but the LSSP and CP sought to ignore it. Nevertheless, Mrs. Bandaranaike herself had apparently intervened and seen to it that the speech got more publicity. The government newspapers—both English and Sinhalese—carried it in full several days thereafter.

Thus it would appear that this was something that Mrs. Bandaranaike wanted, and this speech was a virtual declaration against Marxism and the left. This is precisely what was the reality. The speech was the talk everywhere, but this was not the end of it: it was only the beginning. Very soon after there were several other such meetings at which Mrs. Bandaranaike kept on repeating that she is not going to be led by Castro, Lenin, Trotsky or N.M. Perera. Similar speeches were made thereafter by members of the SLFP, directing their attacks on LSSP ministers. A minister of the SLFP government attacked L.S. Goonewardene, the Minister of Communications, and this was repeated by other SLFP members.

Now this is the situation in Ceylon. It is very clear that the SLFP and the UNP, in the process of their coming together, have taken the first step to strike at the left. This was the anti-Marxist anti-left declaration of Mrs. Bandaranaike. It is difficult to say how fast this development will grow, but it is inevitable. This can't end. The perspective of the right is not just to pressure the LSSP and the CP too. This is linked with the perspective of smashing the entire left and the trade-union movement.

It would not be an exaggeration to say that we are not too far away from a Chilean situation in Ceylon. In this situation the LSSP and the CP—far from taking steps in their own defense against the gathering forces of the right—have adopted a policy at first of saying nothing, being silent. The Communist Party started blaming the LSSP for getting irresponsible people to raise irresponsible and adventuristic slogans.

As for the LSSP, it failed to report any of these speeches or meetings. In their private gatherings their advice to the working class and their supporters is to say nothing, that whatever the government was doing was in accordance with the policies of the LSSP also, and it does not matter what Mrs. Bandaranaike says. Thus it would appear that the LSSP—not only that they have betrayed the masses, not only that they have disarmed the masses—but they are continuing to disarm the masses in the face of a growing threat against them from the right.

The question is what the working class should do in this situation. This brings us to the other left groups. The other left groups—small groups—and the movement of the independent trade unions are completely silent. So is the isolated trade union of Bala Tampoe [the Ceylon Mercantile Union]. Neither the CMU nor Bala Tampoe has said anything. He is completely silent about it. The so-called LSSP-R [led by Tampoe], Ceylon section of the "United Secretariat of the Fourth International," is also completely silent. As for the Healy group, a very small group, it has been for a long time calling upon the LSSP and CP to take power. Now in the present situation it has called upon the LSSP and the CP to get out of the government.

As for the RWP, Revolutionary Workers Party, we have from 1970 onwards indicated to the working class that the urgent need of the working class is to break from bourgeois coalition politics and take the road of independent organization of the working

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LATEINAMERIKA HEUTE

Above: Miguel Enríquez (center), Bautista Van Schauwen (right).
Below: Carmen Castillo.

DAILY WORLD

Miguel Enríquez Killed in Gun Battle

Free the MIRistas!

On October 5 Miguel Enríquez, secretary-general of the MIR (Movement of the Revolutionary Left), was killed in a two-hour gun battle with units of the Chilean police and army. Seriously wounded during the fight were two other leading members of the MIR—Carmen Castillo (who was Enriquez' companion) and Pascal Allende (nephew of the murdered Chilean president Salvador Allende). Their lives are in immediate danger! *It is the urgent duty of all socialists and labor militants to demand freedom, immediate and unconditional, for Castillo and Allende!*

With this murderous assault the reactionary generals have struck another serious blow against the largest organization to the left of the reformist Communist and Socialist Parties. Also rotting in the junta's jails and detention camps are MIR leaders Arturo Villavola, Roberto Moreno, Victor Toro, Ricardo Ruz and Bautista Van Schouwen. Van Schouwen has been mutilated and made an invalid by repeated torture.

General Pinochet's blood-stained regime has not retreated from its massive terror campaign aimed at destroying all socialist and workers organizations in Chile. Nearly 24,000 victims have been arrested since July alone! Among the prominent leaders of other left groups still under arrest are Communist Party head Luis Corvalán and Luis Vitale, a supporter of the "United Secretariat of the Fourth International."

The use of Brazilian-style torture has been repeatedly documented in recent months. A report compiled last May by the Committee of Cooperation for Peace—an interchurch group which includes the leaders of the Chilean Catholic hierarchy and prominent Protestant and Jewish clergymen—cited literally hundreds of cases of torture including burns, beatings, sexual abuse, electric shock, immersion in water and simulated executions. Many have perished as a result of these brutal practices: recently, as one more example, the mutilated corpses of Alfonso Carreño (central committee member of the CP), Cortez Munroy (a leader of the Radical Party) and an unidentified Socialist leader, were discovered in the basement of the Santiago arsenal in early August. Medical examination revealed Carreño was shot in the neck.

We vehemently protest these savage murders, arrests, torture and executions of labor and left militants! The international workers movement must demonstrate its support for the victims of the repression by concrete acts of proletarian solidarity. One effective means would be a labor boycott of all military goods to Chile, demanding the release of all prisoners of the reactionary junta.

Another important step would be for labor militants to demand that their unions break all ties with George Meany's American Institute of Free Labor Development. While Meany is currently making hypocritical noises "deploring" CIA intervention in the 1973 Chile coup, the CIA-backed AIFLD is busily setting up pro-junta scab "unions"!

—Free the MIR Leaders Castillo, Allende, Villavola, Moreno, Toro, Ruz and Van Schouwen! Free Corvalán and Vitale! Free All Class-War Prisoners!

—Labor Boycott of Military Goods to Chile! Labor Out of the CIA-Backed AIFLD!

—Smash the Junta—For Workers Revolution in Chile!

Marxism in the Epoch of Capitalist Decay

Speaker: ED CLARKSON
Spartacist League

WASHINGTON, D.C.
American University
Ward Building Basement Room 2
Thursday, October 24 8:00 p.m.

PHILADELPHIA
U. of Penn, Houston Hall, Franklin Rm.
Friday, October 25 7:30 p.m.
For information call: (215) MO7-5695

1974 Elections

A Socialist Choice?

American workers face the 1974 elections with no alternative to the twin Democratic and Republican parties of U.S. imperialism. The deepening international economic crisis marked by rising unemployment, record inflation and a generalized capitalist onslaught against the workers only underlines the need for an independent, class-struggle party of the working class.

Yet in the face of this deteriorating situation—and accompanied by the continuing Watergate scandals, Ford's pardon of Nixon and Nelson Rockefeller's shameless political bribery and cynical defense of the Attica butchery—the misleaders of the labor movement continue to support the capitalist parties. They do nothing to mobilize the enormous power of the trade unions to defend the living conditions of the working masses.

By their policies of class collaboration these labor lieutenants of the bourgeoisie lay the basis for widespread moods of apathy, cynicism and despair afflicting the working class. These moods were accurately caught in a recent *New York Times* interview of a Detroit auto worker, a disillusioned former supporter of George Wallace: "'You can't blame it all on the politicians,' he said, 'but I wish just for once that one of them would say, "now folks, I swear to God, if you'll elect me I won't do a damn thing." That's the fellow I'd vote for. Somebody who'd just let us alone'" (*New York Times*, 17 October). This "pessimistic" attitude toward "the politicians" noted by the *New York Times* is the perfectly logical outcome of the trade-union bureaucrats' do-nothing policies and decades of bootlicking support to bourgeois "friends of labor."

Yet the American working class, misled as it is, has demonstrated great capacity to fight back if only it is given the opportunity to do so. Last spring's near-general strike in San Francisco and the wildcat of West Virginia's coal miners protesting the "gasoline shortage" show the class-struggle capacity of U.S. workers. The fact that these sharp struggles produced little because of bureaucratic sabotage reveals the treacherous potential of the American labor bureaucracy.

In this year of governmental and economic crisis the usual array of bourgeois swindlers, buffoons and charlatans fills the tickets of the Republicans and Democrats. The Democrats, with the aid of the Meanyite labor bureaucrats, hope to capitalize on the Watergate scandal and the current economic crisis. But as these bureaucrats know full well and as the workers will soon discover, this party of American imperialism will have precious few crumbs and plenty of hard knocks to dole out to working people in the next period.

Eager to leap into the fray and get a piece of the action, several fake-left organizations have decided to field candidates. Most important among these, in terms of size and influence, is the Communist Party USA (CP). Throughout the whole Watergate scandal the CP was chronically ambivalent about the question of Nixon's impeachment. Why? Because the Soviet bureaucracy had decided this professional anti-communist had over the years become transformed into a "progressive," a friend of "peaceful coexistence" and " détente."

The CP claims to stand for independent labor political action and, indeed, some of its friends in the trade-union movement (e.g., Albert Fitzgerald of the United Electrical Workers) occasionally test the waters by issuing sporadic calls for a labor party.

But the Stalinists are reluctant to go whole hog on the labor party due to their reformist conception of an "anti-monopoly people's" government as a stage on the road to a workers government. Hence, "Communists stand for a new political formation around a program against the monopolies.... Communists encourage and want to work with all movements and candidates independent of the big money machines of the old parties, who are commited to the people and not monopoly profits" (*Daily World*, 16 October).

Evidently Ramsey Clark, the Democratic candidate for U.S. Senate in New York, is independent of "the big money machines," since the *Daily World* continues to lavish its attention on this pro-Israel hawk. Class-conscious workers must reject out of hand such disgusting capitulation to the liberals. They should also know that this policy of "fight the right" has been the line of the Stalinists for decades—support for Roosevelt, World War II, Humphrey, Johnson, McGovern, etc. While the puny efforts of the CP at class collaboration are simply farcical here, Chile reveals the full implications of this "strategy" for the working class.

Another "socialist" contender in the elections, the ex-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party, is currently rediscovering the working class. SWP electoral campaigns since its deterioration in the early 1960's have tailed after every variety of petty-bourgeois radicalism (youth vanguardists, black nationalists, gay liberationists, feminists). Now, if the audience is right, the SWP will even occasionally allude to the need for a labor party. But these fakers do everything in their power to give this demand a purely reformist character. Readers of the *Militant* (12 April) are instructed to look at the British Labor Party, headed by Harold Wilson, as an example of what a labor party can do for workers.

But once the SWP hits the campaign trail the working class is quickly forgotten. Its candidates push for community control of everything including the labor movement; in Los Angeles the SWP urges a vote for the candidates of the "classless" La Raza Unida Party; and in Boston it urges the bourgeoisie to send in Federal troops to quell the racist mobilization, troops commanded by Gerald Ford and dedicated to defending the bourgeois order. In short, the SWP stands on a program directly counterposed to independent class-struggle politics. To nurture illusions in this petty-bourgeois swamp by urging workers to vote for SWP candidates would be the height of folly.

Some Odds and Ends

The Progressive Labor Party (PLP), after years of denouncing all electoral activity as a bourgeois snare, recently fielded a candidate in the Democratic Party primary elections in Washington, D.C. As one PLer explains it: "The only way that tendency [of electoral activity] to create illusions can be minimized is if electoral activity has the same level of militancy and boldness that we strive for in the rest of our struggles" (*Challenge*, 10 October). We can only look forward to following more of PL's militant and bold adventures in the capitalist

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Protestant, Catholic Political Prisoners Revolt in Northern Ireland

The Long Kesh concentration camp in Northern Ireland was virtually burned to the ground on October 15. In an unusual display of non-sectarian unity, Loyalist and Republican prisoners collaborated in the revolt against conditions at the jail complex. The next day demonstrations in support of the prisoners' demands swept through Ulster including some rioting in Protestant areas of Belfast.

During recent months opposition has mounted among both Catholics and Protestants in Ulster against the British policy of "internment" (arrest and confinement with neither charges nor the right to *habeas corpus* and a trial). Protests at the Long Kesh camp (also known as "the Maze") began in September, focusing on living conditions and the prison food. On September 14, Republicans and Loyalists cooperated in a mass demonstration against internment, reportedly the first joint Catholic-Protestant action in the last 40 years. Plans to burn the camp had been openly discussed by both Orange (Protestant Loyalist) and Green (Catholic Republican) nationalist groups.

Internment is only one aspect of the Special Measures Act, a dictatorial ukase which grants British authorities the power to cancel the democratic rights of anyone suspected of being a political militant. Revolutionary socialists oppose such repressive regulations. Although the burning of Long Kesh prison camp can hardly lead to fundamental changes in Ulster, it is an understandable and thoroughly defensible action.

Recent events in Ulster point to the need for common cause between Catholic and Protestant workers in Ulster. However, the policies of the nationalists are directly counterposed to such proletarian unity. A Loyalist spokesman for the Protestant political prisoners at the Maze made it clear that cooperation between the warring nationalists would not extend beyond the perimeter of Long Kesh or include "political" matters (*Irish People*, 19 October). The interests of the working class—both Protestant and Catholic—do, however, extend beyond the perimeter of Long Kesh.

AP

Long Kesh prison comp in Ulster following fire.

The need for a revolutionary, communist party and policy in Ulster was underlined by the recent British elections. Notable was the absence of the "Irish question" from the political campaigns of all parties. This has been widely interpreted as a sign of the willingness of the major British parties to "abandon" Ulster. The threat of a Protestant-dominated Ulster state has produced some interesting reactions. The "Provisional" wing of the Sinn Fein (political arm of the Irish Republican Army) recently issued a statement declaring that it feared a "secret or sudden withdrawal (by Britain from Northern Ireland) without proper preparations" (*Irish People*, 5 October).

Thus the Provo nationalists find themselves forced to call on imperialist Britain to solve the Irish question! The reformist Republican Social Democratic Labour Party has exactly the same position. It calls on Britain to overturn the results of a proposed Convention in Ulster if the latter has a Loyalist majority against power-sharing with the Catholic minority (which it almost assuredly would).

The Loyalists, for their part, seem to be planning a repeat of the reactionary general strike in May, in order to overturn direct British rule and install a right-wing Protestant regime. There are some indications that Britain may passively support such a development. A new British security plan calls for phasing out British troops, replacing them by expanded part-time police forces in Northern Ireland. Since these forces are currently 95 percent Protestant, this plan bodes ill for the Irish Catholic minority.

It seems clear that events in Ulster are rapidly developing toward a new political crisis. It becomes dramatically clear that neither the Provo and Official Republicans nor their Loyalist opponents have any democratic answer to the sectarian strife in Ulster. At best they can offer only the continuation of the status quo—at worst, civil war. Nor does the dead-end reformism of the Stalinists and assorted Labourites provide any solution.

Trotskyists do not, however, simply ignore the present sectarian struggles. It is necessary to organize opposition to internment and the Special Measures Act. Republican militants must be defended against the British authorities; demands for democratic rights for the oppressed Catholic minority must be supported. Instead of capitulating to the nationalism of the IRA, revolutionary socialists must reject a forced reunification of Ulster with the Irish Free State; all acts of indiscriminate mass terrorism must be opposed. It is necessary to go beyond reformism and nationalism to pose a revolutionary, communist program of united struggle against capitalism—the only real basis for unity of the working class and a truly democratic solution to the Irish question. ■

How the RSL "Defends" Workers Democracy

The October issue of the *Torch*, monthly (formerly bi-weekly) newspaper of the Revolutionary Socialist League, includes an account of recent activities in "defense" of workers democracy in Los Angeles. For the benefit of those unfamiliar with the RSL's shameful record on this question, and its proclivities to dishonest self-serving journalism, we would like to set the record straight.

The article in question purports to show that of all the organizations present at recent L.A. meetings to discuss the problem of violence within the left, only the RSL emerged as unblemished supporters of workers democracy. In opposition to the violence of the capitalist state, and of Stalinist goons against their left opponents, the RSL argued for a "permanent United Defense Committee" and commitment to the "united front... as the only way to unite the working class movement around concrete issues while at the same time ensuring a forum for the most open political debate."

The RSL falsely claims the meetings were called "in response to a CP-inspired attack on the Socialist Collective." In point of fact, the original meeting was called by the Socialist Union to discuss the question of workers democracy in general, presumably in response to recent attacks on its members by the Maoist Revolutionary Union. The SU was actually quite uninterested in discussing the vicious, brutal Communist Party-engineered attack on the Socialist Collective.

More curious is the RSL's sudden concern for "ensuring a forum for the most open political debate." At its own public forums the RSL has consistently limited the number of oppositional speakers during discussion periods. Asserting its supposed right to run a meeting in any undemocratic way it wishes, the RSL has engaged in acts of gross physical provocation against Spartacist League supporters.

An example of this odd notion of workers democracy was provided by an RSL forum in Detroit on June 8. When an SL supporter protested the chairman's refusal to call on SLers who had not spoken (yet recognizing an RSLer who had already had a chance to speak), RSL leader Bruce Landau grabbed our comrade with the threat, "if you don't shut up you'll go out of here on a stretcher!" These fake Trotskyists' supposed commitment to "open public debate" is hogwash.

More honest, at least, was the openly Stalinist position of the October League at the August 31 meeting. The *Torch* account quotes Sue Klonsky of the OL as stating that some groups, presumably Trotskyists, "deserve to get their toes stepped on."

The RSL's main accusation against the Spartacist League is that at an initial meeting SL spokesmen allegedly agreed to a permanent defense committee and then inexplicably "changed their minds." At the second meeting on September 6 (not September 13 as reported in the *Torch*), according to the *Torch* account, "The SL speaker stated that she was opposed to any permanent body...." This is pure fabrication. What actually happened is the following:

At the first meeting, on August 17 (not August 31, as reported in the *Torch*), the SL agreed to a statement denouncing thug attacks within the left and stated that it was not in principle opposed to some form of standing coordination among groups committed to defending workers democracy. However, we noted that even apart from the Stalinist OL the groups represented at the meeting were far from unanimous on the meaning of this term. "Everyone here would probably agree that any socialist group should have the right to sell its newspaper on an empty street corner at 2 a.m.," said an SL spokesman, noting that there was little agreement beyond this point.

For example, several groups present accused the SL of "disrupting," by which they did not mean the use of violence or physical disruption but rather the SL's practice of politically struggling for its program. Thus the International Socialists accused the SL of "ripping off" demonstrations it did not help to build; a supporter of the Women's Union condemned SLers for arguing against feminism in women's liberation meetings; and an independent assailed the carrying of our banner "All Indochina Must Go Communist!" in a "Sign the Treaty" peace march.

As if to underline the point, the chairman of the September 6 meeting declared at one point that no more SL speakers would be permitted, since there had already been two and "we know what they have to say." However, after an SL spokesman argued that this was blatant anti-communism the body overruled the chair.

As to the permanent defense committee, the RSL's detailed proposal was presented only at the second meeting. More than a standing arrangement for coordinated united-front defense action, it called for a governing "coordinating council." According to the proposal, "no organization can refuse to engage in a defense action decided by the majority of the Council without jeopardizing its membership in the United Defense Committee."

Nothing short of full *programmatic agreement* can be the basis for such a blank-check stipulation. Yet the RSL's phantom "United Defense Committee" is not a political party or even a mass organization, but a bloc between independent organizations.

What would happen if, for instance, the RSL should obtain a "majority" to prevent the SL from speaking at RSL public forums? By agreeing to such a hair-brained scheme the SL would give up its own political independence. What the RSL wants is not a Leninist united front—based on the principle of "march separately, strike together"—but a classical "front group" in the Stalinist tradition.

During its one year of existence the increasingly isolated and demoralized RSL has amassed a truly wretched record on the issue of workers democracy. Not only excluding speakers from other left tendencies and threatening physical violence, it recently expelled a minority which stood for the traditional Trotskyist policy of unconditional defense of the USSR and other deformed workers states against imperialism. The charge: "cliquism" and "entrism." Not alleging any violation of RSL discipline, Taber and Co. expelled the defensist minority solely for its political views. And then they turn around and demand for their "United Defense Committee" a level of discipline appropriate only for a Leninist party! Given the RSL's Shachtmanite "third camp" reconciliation with U.S. imperialism we are not surprised that it cannot distinguish the class line on workers democracy. ■

Into the Swamp

Socialist Collective Fuses with International Socialists

We reprint below excerpts from a leaflet directed at the membership of the Socialist Collective, a grouping of black socialist militants that recently joined the International Socialists.

For the IS the recruitment of the SC must be seen as a turning point, beginning a recovery from the organizational consequences of the serious split it suffered just over a year ago. At that time the IS lost about a third of its membership. The bulk of those who left went on to form the Revolutionary Socialist League, a so-far unsuccessful left-wing version of the IS.

At the time of the split the Spartacist League stated that while the RSL's future was bleak, the IS emerged from the split a politically homogeneous left social-democratic formation with the possibility of pulling together a cohesive cadre. The experience of the intervening months has borne out these projections.

The RSL, a genetically defective hybrid offshoot of New Leftism and Shachtmanism which had no principled reason for splitting with the IS, is now foundering. Unable to make a linkup with the Class Struggle League, forced to expel a Soviet defensist minority for its political views and now obliged to retreat to a monthly press, the future of this tendency is dim indeed.

On the other hand the success of the IS, demonstrated by its recruitment of the SC, indicates that this opportunist outfit has indeed been able to stabilize itself around a deep and consistently reformist world view. The IS is thus in the position of seriously contending to be a successful political pole of virulently Stalinophobic left reformism in the coming period. A basis is thus laid for a series of "regroupments" with the IS, from the right as well as from the left, as bits of anti-communist flotsam in search of a home spy this social-democratic garbage heap.

As for the Socialist Collective, its coming together with the IS is a distinct step backward for most of the SC membership, many of whom stood to the left of the IS on important questions. In joining the IS SCers will find that they are obliged to abandon many of their previously held views. They will find that they are now compelled to take full responsibility for the IS's past, present and future betrayals of the working class.

Of course the SC statement printed in *Workers' Power* (1 October) claims a joining together on the basis of complete agreement on the fundamental questions. Thus:

> "The Socialist Collective and the International Socialists have complete agreement on the question of party and class—the duty of the revolutionary party is to immerse itself in the struggles of the class, raising its consciousness and bringing the most advanced workers into the party. The party must win this position daily by championing all working class struggles and defeating all other left tendencies politically."

Those familiar with SC leader Joe Johnson's views (e.g., that the October Revolution was a "mistake" or his support for a Stalinist version of the democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry) might be inclined to be skeptical about this unity and "complete agreement." But they would be missing the essence of the hasty unity of Johnson and the IS. This "complete agreement" is "agreement" to bloc together to "immerse" themselves in the swamp of classical Kautskyian step-at-a-time pressure-group politics.

What Joe Johnson Completely Agrees With

Socialist Collective members should be clear on the nature of the outfit they have joined. For the International Socialists, like all social democrats, the question of "democracy" (abstract and classless) overrides everything. They reject the Leninist concept that there is no *abstract democracy*, but that the *class question* is *fundamental*.

Thus the IS will use the "democratic" *capitalist* courts and police to bring "democracy" to undemocratic trade unions. Thus the IS will support "community-controlled" police because this is more "democratic." Thus the IS shudders in fear in the face of the Chinese and Cuban revolutions, because the states established by them are "undemocratic" (which they are), remaining indifferent to the enormous advance for the world working class which planned economy and destruction of the bourgeoisie represent.

Now the IS claims to be a "third-camp" organization, regarding both the U.S. and the USSR, Cuba, China and the other Stalinist-ruled countries as class societies. Hence the IS claims to reject both "camps." But notice how *in practice* the IS, like all reformists, knuckles under to its "own" government.

Would the IS want *Mao Tse-tung's* government to "arrest and jail all union bureaucrats who discriminate"? Would it call on the *Russian* secret police to decide who will and who will not vote in union elections? You bet not! But when it comes to the government of Lyndon Johnson, Richard Nixon and Gerald Ford, and *their* secret police, the IS is more than happy to invite them into the labor unions to "establish democracy."

We have a suggestion for Joe Johnson and the comrades of the SC. Next time there is a faction fight in the IS and you find your "complete agreement" in question, propose to your IS comrades that the U.S. Department of Justice come in, seize the files, examine all the records, see who has paid up his dues and who can vote, supervise the delegate elections and do everything that your new-found IS comrades want to do to other workers organizations. To the shrieks of outrage that will arise from your comrades, you can calmly explain that this is "just a tactic," and that "we don't think that this is generally a good idea, but let's not be rigid about it; after all, we don't want to tie our hands," etc. After all, fair is fair.

An Open Letter to the Socialist Collective

September 30, 1974

Dear Comrades:

The Spartacist League has learned of the decision of your leaders to liquidate the Socialist Collective into the International Socialists (IS). While, as Leon Trotsky once remarked, it is impossible to keep adults from committing suicide if they really want to, you should at least know that that *is* what you're doing: committing suicide as revolutionaries!

Look closely at the organization you are joining! As a longer statement to follow this letter will carefully document, the practice of the IS has been consistently reformist and anti-revolutionary. Soon *you* will have to defend before the working class the following betrayals, and the ones to come:

The IS, the Cops and the Bosses' Courts

- In 1968 the IS (then called the ISC [Independent Socialist Clubs]) demanded that "all employers and *union bureaucrats* that discriminate must be arrested and jailed" by the capitalist state [our emphasis].
- More recently, the IS sympathetically commented upon the strike of Baltimore cops this June.
- The IS has called for "community control" of the cops, fostering the illusion that the repressive arm of the capitalist state can be "controlled" through elections. The ISC demanded that "The black community should have the right to hire and control its own police force and should receive whatever technical and financial aid that task requires from the city which contains the ghetto."
- The IS is a mainstay of the United National Caucus, an opportunist caucus of would-be bureaucrats in the United Auto Workers. The UNC is asking the bosses' courts to decide who can and cannot vote in the UAW, and the IS supports this.

The IS and CASA

The Socialist Collective has had some direct experience with Bert Corona's CASA, a reformist outfit led by Stalinists quite willing to use gangster methods. The Socialist Collective has been a target of CASA's gangsterism, as has the Spartacist League. Well, if you join the IS, your problems with CASA are over, as you will never give the Stalinist leaders of CASA any reason to attack you, because the IS stands (or more accurately, kneels) in fundamental solidarity *with* CASA *against* its Trotskyist opponents.

This can be seen from the following incident: Last March CASA had a conference on immigration, at which many other issues of concern to militants, such as Chile, were also discussed. Over 400 people attended the conference. The SWP and the IS had supporters there, who never once challenged the reformist politics pushed by the CP. Only the Spartacist League took part in the workshops, putting forth revolutionary politics. For this, we were attacked and physically thrown out of the conference by a CP-organized goon squad. (The courageous IS and SWP sat by in silence, of course).

An article in *Workers' Power* on the conference enthused over it as a "step forward" and mentioned not a *word* about the Stalinist expulsion of the SL. In a letter written to CASA at our urging, the IS praised the conference, solidarized with CASA's motives for desiring to get rid of the Spartacist League, and then explained that the IS was disturbed at our violent physical expulsion because it was important for us to be defeated *politically* (by the likes of IS and CASA) instead of physically. Challenge the IS to show you this truly disgusting letter—it sums up the essence of IS politics: not socialism-from-below, but social-democracy on its knees.

Burying Yesterday's Opportunism

These examples are only a tiny sample. They are not isolated "mistakes" but illustrations of the IS *method* which is to *tail* whatever is popular. Of course the IS has a justification for this. They argue that they are really getting right in there with people, fighting with them, raising their consciousness step by step in an "interventionist" rather than a "sectarian" way. The CP and SWP say the same thing in defense of the same method.

The SC used to be very fond of the quote, "The Communists everywhere disdain to conceal their aims." The very heart of the IS method is to conceal its aims. It is the Spartacist League that has confidence in the working class, that fights for revolutionary politics, that says what is, that tells the class the truth.

The IS will tell you that the SL's real program is to "agitate other Trotskyist sects." (The IS considers *itself* a sect, revealing the deep self-hate of frustrated reformists who have been able to build next to nothing to sell out.) The IS simply lies when it charges the SL with "abstention" from struggle. As the SC knows from its own experience, the SL is quite active—more active and successful than the IS, in fact. You need only remember the Committee to Defend Van Schouwen and Romero, our intervention in CLUW, our demonstration at Los Angeles City College, and our hot-cargo action against the ship from Chile, as well as our extensive involvement in the trade-union movement.

But it is also necessary to be the memory of the working class. All [fake-socialist] organizations try to make themselves sound revolutionary, and to bury yesterday's opportunism. The IS is infuriated because we won't let them do this. That's the real reason behind the IS attitude toward the aggressive, polemical approach of the SL. The IS pretends disdain for such an approach, because it is afraid of its own record, even its record of a few months ago.

Joe Johnson knows all this. Why, then, is he leading you into the IS? Because the IS looks like a cozy home for burnt-out ex-revolutionaries—Joe is not the first to take this route. The IS knows that Joe Johnson is not likely to last a year, but they hope that they can absorb enough of the SC in that time before he drops out to make it worth while. They also know of Joe's political differences—some to the right (against the Bolshevik Revolution), some to the left (against the concept of black, female or gay exclusivist organizations).

If the IS does *not* believe Joe will soon leave, then they are only once again trying to build an organization without principled political agreement, the classic Menshevik method of "party-building." Their last experiment ended a year ago July with the expulsion of the RSL after four years of constant internal warfare. The IS ended up *smaller* than the SL/SYL whose principled method of recruiting only those with whom we have fundamental programmatic agreement was laughed at by the "smart" IS.

Many SCers admit that the IS is reformist, and that its many opportunist crimes are embarrassing. Why then crawl into such a sewer? Joe has probably told you that you will be able to change the IS. Utter nonsense! The IS will no doubt have future splits to the left, but that will occur only in struggle *against* the slick cynics who lead the group. Joe is taking the SC into the IS not to struggle, but to dissolve.... ■

General Strike to Stop Proposition L: Strategy to Win

Speaker: MARTHA PHILLIPS
SL Central Committee

Saturday, October 26 8:00 p.m.

Everett Junior High
450 Church Street
Room 232

San Francisco

For information call: (415) 653-4668

World Oil Crisis: U.S. Threatens Force

ARAMCO

"...nations have gone to war over natural advantages."
—Gerald Ford

Thus spoke the President of the United States concerning recent actions of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC). The furor caused by Ford/Kissinger's sabre-rattling at the United Nations evoked only a weak half-repudiation of gunboat diplomacy from the U.S. war minister, Schlesinger. "It is not anticipated there is going to be military conflict," he is reported as saying (*International Herald Tribune*, 27 September).

What lies behind this doomsday rhetoric used in threatening oil-exporting nations who only a few years ago were docile client states of U.S. imperialism?

The Oil Cartel and World Economic Conjuncture

The exceptionally sharp worldwide boom of 1971-73 generated one of the classic contradictions which lead to capitalist economic crises. With demand far outpacing productive capacity, the relative price of raw materials skyrocketed, deeply cutting into the rate of profit on manufactures. Between late 1971 and the oil boycott in late 1973, world prices of raw materials roughly doubled (*Wall Street Journal*, 14 November 1973).

Thus objective economic conditions were highly favorable for cartel-imposed oil price increases. Even before the October War in the Near East, the price of Arab oil had risen steadily since 1970 (see "World Oil Tangle," in *WV* No. 34, 7 December 1973). The panicky reaction by the West European and Japanese governments to the initial oil boycott further strengthened and emboldened OPEC, so that by last December world oil prices for crude petroleum were four times the level prevailing during the first half of the year.

The advanced capitalist countries are expected to run a $40-50 billion trade deficit in 1974, which must be financed by loans from or capital transfers to the oil-producing states (*Financial Times*, 4 October). During the first half of 1974, official reserves (gold and government securities) transferred from the advanced capitalist countries to the Persian Gulf sheikdoms totaled some $7 billion.

So far, most of the Arab oil money has flowed into short-term bank deposits, mainly in the U.S. Under conditions of severe economic contraction and increasing bankruptcies, the banks *cannot* re-lend this massive flow of funds at secure and lucrative rates of return.

Thus, far from welcoming the flood of oil money, U.S. bankers are more afraid of sudden withdrawals threatening their own solvency. Both U.S. and big European banks have been *discouraging* short-term Arab money by offering ridiculously low rates of interest.

The massive transfer of surplus value from industrial capitalists to the semi-feudal landlords of the Persian Gulf under conditions of world economic contraction has an enormous depressive effect on productive investment. The sheiks are desperately searching for some safe way to *hoard* their ever-increasing money capital. However, with inflation rates skyrocketing, the best way to accumulate wealth may be to keep the oil in the ground—a policy which has the pleasant side-effect of keeping prices up.

The Recycling Games

Behind the new-fangled financial jargon about "recycling" there is one single problem: Who is going to "lend" money to deficit nations—like Italy, Britain and India—which cannot pay it back? Pierre-Paul Schweitzer, head of Bank of America International, went to the heart of the "recycling" dispute when he observed recently that his most avid customers were poor risks:

> "We banks are up to our limits for financing Italy, France, Britain and others. We are not now in any danger, but we cannot go further."
> —*International Herald Tribune*, 3 October

The banker observed that these countries are likely to run balance of payments deficits for many years to come.

The "recycling" negotiations have consisted of the U.S. (and West Germany) suggesting that oil-exporting states might take a hand in financing international trade deficits and the sheiks replying that this seems a rather risky business. Yet while former Wall Street bond dealer William Simon and Saudi Sheik Yamani are (unsuccessfully) trying to con each other into giving away billions, India is starving and Italy and Britain plummet to depression levels of production and unemployment.

Polar responses to their oil deficits have characteristically come from France and Britain. France has reacted with a hard-nosed nationalist policy immediately placing the burden on its own masses. There is to be an absolute money ceiling on oil imports representing a 10 percent consumption cut at current prices. If prices go up, the volume of imports will be cut proportionately. This is a deliberate depressing of the French economy, as well as of the standard of living of the French masses.

In addition, a ban has been placed on the oil countries' buying up French capital assets (as Iran recently purchased 25 percent of Germany's Krupp Steel). And the French government is undertaking an export drive. Faced with large oil deficits, Giscard is resorting to 1960's-style Gaullist economic policies—the kind which led to the May 1968 events.

The British, as usual, are advocating permanent subsidies from the U.S. and West Germany: the IMF should offer the Arabs an absolutely secure, inflation-proof bond at near-market-level interest rates. The money acquired from this offer the Arabs couldn't refuse would then be re-lent to insolvent deficit nations, like Britain. But, says the U.S. Treasury, who pays the Arabs if the deficit nations default? Why, the U.S. and West Germany, of course, replies Chancellor of the Exchequer Denis Healy. And the British press wonders why Ford and Schmidt are not so keen on such a brilliant "recycling" scheme!

The sheiks will not give their oil surplus money away and the U.S. cannot now afford to subsidize West Europe and Japan, much less the backward countries. Thus the U.S. is impelled to try to break OPEC and force down oil prices.

The Carrot Before the Stick

Except for the oil majors (who represent, to be sure, an important section of U.S. capital) and a few favored banks, OPEC's price inflation is very much against the interests of U.S. imperialism. U.S. hostility to the oil cartel and determination to bring down prices has until recently been disguised by behind-the-scenes maneuvers and a "soft" approach. Kissinger's aim has been and remains (if possible) to induce national splits within the OPEC camp.

Since the October War oil boycott, the role of the two major exporters, Shah Pahlevi's Iran and King Faisal's Saudi Arabia, has in a sense been reversed. Seizing an exceptionally favorable opportunity to outflank his republican-nationalist enemies and establish himself as leader of the Arab cause, Faisal was the driving force behind the deployment of the "oil weapon" following the October War. In contrast, the Shah not only kept his wells flowing, but made veiled threats against the sheikdoms if they pushed the boycott too far.

However, apparently believing that the battle of Marathon was only a temporary setback for the Persian Empire, Shah Reza Pahlevi is determined to transform his kingdom into a world power. He is ostentatiously trying to reverse traditional imperialist relations, buying into the Krupp trust and purchasing sophisticated weaponry on a scale far beyond what Iran's limited trained manpower could deploy in a war. To attain his inflated ambitions the Shah is trying to drive up oil prices to whatever the market will bear.

In contrast, King Faisal is an extreme Islamic traditionalist understandably worried about the effects of industrialization upon the "good society" of which he is the god-given ruler (via a palace revolt). Thus the Saudi regime has somewhat less incentive to maximize current oil revenue than the vainglorious Shah. Knowing this—and noting that Saudi Arabia is the largest oil exporter, with far and away the most money careening around the international financial system—the U.S. government undertook to woo Faisal.

Nixon/Ford/Kissinger no doubt appealed to Faisal's sense of "social responsibility," pointing out that the economic collapse of the "free world" could only benefit Russia. However, the old anti-communist united-front line is no longer adequate.

Kissinger's key tactic was a promise that the U.S. would pressure Israel into a settlement favorable to the Arab cause. In addition, the U.S. would be generous to Faisal's new-found ally, Sadat's Egypt. Thus, for example, Nixon offered Egypt (as well as Israel) a nuclear reactor. As Indira Gandhi has dramatically shown, this is a code word for the capacity to produce atomic bombs.

At first, Kissinger's seduction act on

continued on page 11

GAMMA

Aircraft carrier Forrestal. U.S. is increasing naval forces in Persian Gulf area.

DER SPEIGEL

Kissinger with Faisal.

Continued from page 1

Racist Terror...

lutionary Union have lined up solidly alongside the reactionaries and the Ku Klux Klan in protesting busing. Though wholly inadequate, busing is at least a minimal step in the direction of racial integration of the schools. But in order to appeal to the poor whites now being led by racist demagogues like Louise Day Hicks, the RU supports the continued imprisonment of black people in the ghettos.

The only socialist organization which has consistently and unambiguously struggled to support busing and called for labor/black defense of the bused school children and black areas is the Spartacist League. Intervening in demonstrations and teach-ins, distributing tens of thousands of leaflets in both black and white working-class neighborhoods and housing projects and proposing united-front efforts against the racist terror, the Spartacist League has raised the need for common working-class/black mass action—the only effective means to put a stop to the mobilization of the reactionaries.

State and Metropolitan police at Columbia Point. BOSTON GLOBE/DAN SHEEHAN

Mob Violence Mounts

Although the leaders of the anti-busing forces constantly talk of "law and order," the mobs in South Boston have gone rapidly from stoning school buses to random attacks on defenseless blacks. On Friday, October 4, some 6,500 opponents of busing marched "peacefully" through Southie, hurling racist threats and epithets at any black person unfortunate enough to be near the line of march. The demonstration was led by members of the School Committee and Boston City Council.

The following Monday, the racists attempted to form a "human barricade," blocking access to the Gavin School. A mob from a predominantly white South Boston housing project was dispersed by the Tactical Police. However, it re-formed in a short time and roamed the area attacking several blacks. A black worker on lunch break from a printing plant was chased down the street and into his shop. Fellow workers, almost all white, forced his pursuers out of the plant and locked the doors.

Another black worker did not escape so easily. Jean-Louis André Yvon, an immigrant from Haiti, was confronted by a white mob while driving to the South Boston factory where his wife works. He was dragged from his car and unmercifully beaten by the mob, which included men armed with clubs. Yvon's life was saved only by the intervention of a local resident and a cop who fired warning shots.

The lynch mob attack on Yvon was only one of many incidents of the racist terror to which Boston black people have been subjected for weeks. During this time the behavior of the Tactical Police Force has repeatedly demonstrated that the armed thugs of the capitalist state can be trusted to defend nothing save capitalist property. On the first day of school, a crowd of rock-throwing racists followed 18 school buses for many blocks while the police were nowhere in sight.

However, in the cases where cops have actually stood between the school children and the anti-busing gangs, the TPF has occasionally used the "overkill" tactics usually reserved for student and black demonstrations or picket lines. This has produced the ironic spectacle of demonstrations against police brutality by forces who are the staunchest supporters of the cops when that brutality is directed against blacks. But the counterposition of the "little people" in Boston's white ethnic neighborhoods to the "big government" liberals has produced a reactionary populist atmosphere which is only heightened by the elitist goon squad mentality of the cops.

Liberals Pass the Buck

The vote-conscious liberal politicians fear the racist frenzy above all because it threatens their political careers. Boston Mayor Kevin White, Massachusetts Governor Francis Sargent and District Judge Arthur Garrity have engaged in an elaborate hand-washing ritual that would put Pontius Pilate to shame. Republican Sargent, in the middle of a tough race for re-election, has attempted to upstage Democrat White as the firm upholder of law and order. His opponent, liberal Michael Dukakis, has cooperated in submerging busing as a campaign issue.

White is in a more difficult position, having been elected with both black and white votes; furthermore, if race riots break out he will be, in effect, holding the bag. He has, therefore, concentrated on calling for federal intervention, initially in the form of federal marshals to replace the hated TPF in South Boston.

White's October 7 statement to Judge Garrity declared: "We can no longer maintain either the appearance or the reality of public safety and the effective implementation of the plan in South Boston. . . . Without additional assistance, the school buses cannot roll in South Boston, the plan cannot be implemented. . . ." Every racist in the country took heart at this statement, a clear indication that vigilante anti-busing violence in Boston was paying off. President Ford's statement two days later opposing "forced busing" in Boston and turning down federal intervention likewise emboldened the reactionary forces.

Black Democrats Demand Federal Troops

Because the labor bureaucracy, in the best traditions of narrow business unionism, refuses to mobilize its strength in defense of the racial minorities who are under attack, the black masses see only two courses open to them: reliance on the bourgeois state or indiscriminate retaliation. The latter course was taken by many black youths in the wake of the lynch mob attack on Yvon. The next day gangs of black youths fought with whites outside several schools in Roxbury and then set off on a spree of windshield smashing attacks on innocent whites.

WV PHOTO

While communists do not defend such attacks on working people, it must be emphasized that this retaliation is in response to repeated terror attacks to which blacks have been subjected during the last month. For almost four weeks, black youths had put up with endless racist threats.

In a mass-distributed leaflet the Spartacist League warned: "The racists and the Ku Klux Klan want futile black reprisals as an excuse to launch massive terror against blacks. . . . Don't play the reactionaries' game, but repel all racist attacks! For Organized Self-Defense!" ("Stop the Racist Terror," 9 October). If any serious attempt had been made to organize integrated defense squads of unionists and blacks, to protect the buses, schools and black areas, there would be no threat of massive racial clashes today.

The self-serving careerist black liberal politicians have preferred to rely instead on the bourgeois state. Representative Mel King, NAACP head Atkins, the Black Caucus in the state legislature, Freedom House, Black Ministerial Alliance, etc., have constantly sabotaged efforts at mass mobilization of black and white supporters of busing to defend the school children.

Not deigning to answer a Spartacist League proposal for a mass demonstration around the slogan "Stop the Racist Attacks Against Black Children" (see *WV* No. 53, 27 September, for a copy of our letter), the NAACP called a demonstration a few days later at the State House. However, it utterly failed to mobilize for the rally, so that only 60 participants appeared.

Again, during the days before the October 12 demonstration the Black Caucus repeatedly vacillated over whether there would be a march at all. Finally, in a stupid act of racial exclusionism, at the last minute black leaders decided to exclude whites from the march! (Whites joined black marchers

Revolutionary Union: Criminal Opportunism

REVOLUTION 25¢

People Must Unite To Smash Boston Busing Plan

Of all the responses to reactionary anti-busing demonstrations in Boston, without a doubt the most disgusting has been that of the Revolutionary Union. Its line that "People Must Unite To Smash Boston Busing Plan" (headline above) puts it in league with the worst racist elements, including even the Ku Klux Klan! If this is what Mao Tse Tung Thought leads to, then truly the Great Helmsman (Mao) is a worthy successor to the Great Organizer of Defeats (Stalin).

at the Boston Commons.)

Federal marshals and troops do not serve the interests of oppressed minorities or the working class any more than the TPF, state troopers or National Guard! They are the armed fist of the bourgeois class. At best the presence of federal troops in Boston might mean the maintenance of "social peace" based on continued segregation of the black minority in inferior ghetto schools. As everyone from the liberal White to the conservative Ford has made clear, they will not enforce school integration.

But, in fact, given the rightward-moving political climate in recent months, particularly with regard to the rights of black people, it is likely that any large deployment of troops or police would be concentrated in the black areas and could result in small-scale genocide. It is no accident that the command center for the 400 state troopers and MDC (highway patrol) police assigned to Boston is Bayside Mall, an abandoned shopping center right next to the overwhelmingly black Columbia Point housing project.

For Labor/Black Defense

Columbia Point residents have already seen the results of reliance on the bourgeois state as advocated by white and black liberals and various fake-socialists. When project residents appealed for police protection from racist nightriding attacks by white-sheeted vigilantes, they got military occupation instead. Racists in uniform vandalized their community center and sent a number of residents to the hospital.

In contrast to the reformists who build illusions in the neutrality of the bourgeois government, the Spartacist League has insisted that working people and oppressed minorities can rely only on their own forces for defense. As a first step in this direction the SL has called on trade unions, black and tenant organizations and socialist groups to mobilize a mass demonstration to counter the reactionary anti-busing campaign.

The response of the liberal union leaders has been cowardly, defeatist and hypocritical. The Civil Rights Committee of the Massachustts State Labor Council issued the most tepid policy statement imaginable, announcing: "...it is very clear that organized labor as a body is deeply committed to integrated quality education and to the achievement of that principle. Obviously, the unleashing of violence and hatred, as has happened in the city of Boston, can only be deplored. The first to suffer are the children of working people."

If the labor bureaucrats were so "deeply committed" to integration, then one might expect them to do something. For example, the head of this civil rights committee, Rexford Weng, is a leader of the Amalgamated Meatcutters, an integrated union whose work places are concentrated precisely in the area between white South Boston and black Roxbury. The SL has sought to direct its agitation in particular at such key unions, pointing out that they have a particular obligation and immediate interest in stopping the racist terror. However, like the black liberals, most "progressive" union leaders prefer to rely on the government.

Fake Socialists Tail After the Liberals

Having long since abandoned any semblance of revolutionary, Trotskyist politics, the reformist Socialist Workers Party has dutifully applied its "principled" line in Boston—support whatever the "black community" wants. But who is this black community? We live in a class society. Black working people do not have the same interests as the Mel Kings and Tom Atkins, although all are affected by the racist terror. Yet time after time the SWP makes crystal clear that the "black community" means the bourgeois "leaders" such as the NAACP, Black Caucus, et al.

And, of course, since the "black community" (i.e., King and Atkins) wants federal troops, then so does the SWP: "We completely support the demands of the Black community that federal troops be sent to Boston immediately to protect Black students from the escalating rightist violence," brays the *Militant* (18 October). But it is the ABC of Marxism that the armed forces of the bourgeois state are the enemies, not the allies, of working people.

The Communist Party, which has been cynically debauching Marxism for decades, naturally has the same position: "The Federal Government must act—send in Federal marshals and troops to end the racist terror" (*Daily World*, 11 October). But if you are going to tail after the liberals, then at least you should do it right! The CP-backed Mass Alliance Against Racism and Repression called on those who defend busing and support the rights of black people to join the October 12 march; but when the Black Caucus decided to exclude whites, the Young Workers Liberation League (acting as marshals for the march) duly turned back a number of white parents and members of socialist organizations who showed up to demonstrate their solidarity!

Of the remaining groups the Workers League's *Bulletin* has called for labor defense and opposition to troops. However, WL criticisms of the SWP's call for federal troops also raise certain questions about their own view of the capitalists' armed forces. The Workers League supports bringing cops into the unions and defended the 1971 NYC police strike!

In any case, the WL constantly avoids struggling in planning meetings and demonstrations for these positions. Having an abstentionist and purely literary conception of politics, the WL is quite content to let the reformists have a field day with their opportunist tailing after the liberals.

This would be pitiful if the consequences of abstention were not so potentially catastrophic. Those who today are preaching reliance on the bosses' hired guns and abstaining from the struggle for united labor/black defense are preparing the way for tragic deaths and perhaps race riots tomorrow.

—Implement the Busing Plan! Extend Busing to the Suburbs!
—No Troops! For a Labor/Black Defense! ■

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Continued from page 1

Sewers...

home state of Arkansas.

Mills, who is a vicious segregationist, during the late 1950's signed the white-supremacist Southern Manifesto. He has for decades maintained the pernicious oil depletion allowances. He blocked even the most minimal medicare proposals for four years until his own miserable formula was accepted. In general this kingpin of capitalist politics writes nearly all the anti-working-class legislation in Congress. It is for this that he should have to answer to the working class rather than "apologizing" for the "Tidal Basin incident."

The Butcher of Attica Gives Gifts

Nelson Rockefeller has now been found to owe nearly a million dollars in back taxes. Further, he has given millions away as "gifts," no doubt to buy political influence for the Rockefeller family. Such deals are made all the time

Nelson Rockefeller TIME

in ruling circles. It takes well-greased palms to maintain the capitalist political machine.

Rockefeller should be tried for any violations of formal bourgeois law (since it appears he is caught). However, such deals are dwarfed by his criminal responsibility for the massacre at Attica prison, where 29 prisoners died during a state police onslaught personally ordered by then-governor Rockefeller. The butcher of Attica was simply caught giving "gifts" to his servants. Only the working class can hold Rockefeller responsible for his crimes at Attica and against working people. His friends on the Senate Rules Committee will not call on him to account for his butchery, because he was only doing the job they would do in his place.

The average working person who finds it increasingly difficult to make ends meet because of inflation is now being treated to the spectacle of Rockefeller's "gifts." It was disclosed that one gift to Dr. William J. Ronan, millionaire chairman of the Port Authority of New York and New Jersey, amounted to $675,000!

Who is William J. Ronan? He reportedly authored a secret agreement in February 1968 between the governor of New York and the chairman of the Chase Manhattan Bank, that is, between Nelson and David Rockefeller. The apparent financial hanky-panky involves tens of millions of dollars in state bonds, according to the speculations of the *New York Times* (10 October). The deal ended with Chase some $12 million ahead in interest and Ronan having consolidated his position as "czar" of New York-New Jersey transportation.

The defense of Rockefeller's "charity" is a sickening mixture of cynicism and sentimentality reminiscent of Nixon's early Watergate defenses. Ronan says that if he is investigated "others will be too." Rockefeller says that all his life "he was taught to share"! (With whom?) And the sycophantic governor of New York, Malcolm Wilson, has beaten his bible for the proper quotation: "Forgive us our debts as we forgive our debtors," he intoned to newsmen. In a further display of sanctimony he described the Ronan gift as "charity in the sense of love" (*New York Times*, 10 October).

Bourgeois Moralism, Bourgeois Hypocrisy

What do Rockefeller, Mills and the rest have to say to the workers whose real wages are falling daily due to galloping inflation? "Tighten your belts." While the haughty 18th-century French queen Marie Antoinette advised her starving subjects to eat cake, Gerald Ford says: "Bite the bullet."

To the extent that exposures of "dirty" deals and escapades lessen the moral authority of the capitalist politicians, the scandals are useful. But socialists should reject the "moralism" contained in recent comments in so much of the bourgeois and left press.

It is the fascists and reactionaries generally, who campaign on a platform of "moral purity" in the political process. While Nixon scandalized many of his supporters with his use of "foul language" on the tapes, socialists are not opposed to "bad words." Rather, it is the content of Nixon's *acts*, his crimes against the working people, that we condemn.

The desire to appeal to backward puritanical attitudes that exist in the working class has carried the fake-Trotskyist Workers League to a parody of muckraking that entirely obscures the real crimes of these hypocrites. A recent *Bulletin* (15 October) article on the Wilbur Mills "Tidal Basin" incident focuses on the woman with whom he was caught, explaining that "she takes off her clothes for a living." By appealing to puritanical moral standards the WL only reinforces reactionary social attitudes preached by the likes of Billy Graham, spiritual adviser to Richard (I Cannot Tell A Lie) Nixon.

Another example is the *Bulletin*'s recent series on the Kennedy family, which revels in minute, incidental, personal details. Followers of the WL press can learn, for example, that Jackie Kennedy "isn't really quite so good looking in real life as she is in photographs" (quoted in the *Bulletin*, 13 August). Then comes the WL's central political point: "The crimes of Watergate and Chappaquiddick are the crimes of the capitalist class" (*Bulletin*, 6 August).

What does this mean? It is true that Kennedy's enormous wealth makes possible his jet-setting life style. Wilbur Mills probably spends more money on one night's entertainment than an Arkansas sharecropper earns in a year. But the sexual antics, personal corruption and wanton extravagance of these scoundrels are not their class crimes against the working class.

At a time when coal miners in West Virginia are being organized by racist fundamentalist bigots against "dirty" textbooks, the WL's hypocritical moralizing plays right into the hands of some of the worst obscurantist and reactionary ideologues. This bible-thumping fake puritanism is, in fact, the stock-in-trade of the Wilbur Mills, Richard Nixons and Gerald Fords. The task of revolutionaries is not to ape the Sunday-morning sermonizing of these windbags, but to expose their crimes against working people the world over. *Attica and Vietnam—these are the real crimes of the capitalist class.* It is for such crimes that these butchers will be hauled before the revolutionary tribunal of the international working class. The sooner, the better! ■

Sub Drive Report

Area	Quota	Third Week
Bay Area	325	289
Binghamton	25	21
Boston	160	133
Buffalo	35	56
Chicago	250	233
Cleveland	160	117
Detroit	250	363
Houston	50	50
Los Angeles	200	152
New Haven	25	20
New Orleans	15	7
New York	500	330
Philadelphia	75	139
Toronto	50	39
At Large	50	12
Total	2170	1961

Continued from page 12

...Proposition "L"

the Militant Action Caucus of the CWA, the Committee for a Militant UAW, several ILWU militants and a representative of the Class Struggle League.

The Spartacist League also carried a banner reading, "Not Alioto, Feinstein or Ford, But a Workers Party—Oust the Bureaucrats! FOR A BAY AREA-WIDE GENERAL STRIKE TO STOP PROPOSITION L!" About a quarter of the audience was carrying the distinctive black and yellow signs calling for a general strike.

Labor Fakers Back Democrats, Send Goons After Militants

The determination of S.F. union tops to prevent any strike action and to channel unrest among the ranks into electoral support for Alioto and Co. was made crystal clear at the rally. The very first words out of the mouth of the first speaker, Larry Martin of Transport Workers Union (TWU) Local 250A, were: "We have not called for a general strike." He demanded that the General Strike Contingent move across the street "because you don't represent any union organization here."

After this "announcement," a rock band was brought on while a large goon squad wearing jackets labeled "Transport Workers Union" proceeded to harass those holding general strike banners. The goons, however, had a hard time explaining why rank-and-file militants were being excluded as "outsiders" while Democratic politicos were assembling at the microphone. Eventually they gave up (apparently not wanting a brawl in front of the television cameras), although some banners were forced to the side for the benefit of the "friends of labor" on the platform.

Among the Democratic Party celebrities who spoke were Mayor Joseph Alioto (who received a chorus of catcalls and shouts of "Operation Zebra!"), state senators Moscone and Marks, and Congressman Phil Burton. Interspersed between the capitalist politicians was a string of union "leaders," all urging their members to be sure to vote against Proposition L on November 5. Right after Alioto spoke, his appointee to the Port Commission—Harry Bridges of the ILWU—declared that the Mayor "is strongly with us." Jimmy Herman of ILWU Local 34 assured the audience that Senator Moscone, too, "stands with the labor movement."

Near the end of the list an international officer of the TWU again ripped into the general strike slogan. "These signs are not ours," he said, emphasizing that if there were to be a general strike, "we'll decide that and you won't."

He was right about one thing—the call for a general strike is not the policy of the labor brass. However, the course of the class struggle will not be decided by these slimy "labor statesmen" but by the working class itself. The task of revolutionaries and of class-conscious militants in the unions is to break the stranglehold of the reactionary and reformist misleaders over the labor movement. This is the struggle which the SL has taken up. But by their opportunist policies various fake socialists in the Bay Area have simply liquidated into the bureaucrats' "citizens" committee.

"Oppositionists" Fall In Behind Bureaucrats

Aside from the General Strike Contingent the only signs visible were the officially approved "L No!" placards. "United Trade Unionists," one of Progressive Labor's fabled "left-center coalitions," passed out a leaflet, but restricted itself entirely to electoralism ("Vote *NO* on Prop. L"). This is not surprising, as the group includes known supporters of the Democratic Party. Moreover, PL itself ran candidates in the Democratic primaries this year (*Challenge*, 10 October).

The Revolutionary Union-supported Concerned Muni Drivers, a caucus in the TWU, took a similar capitulatory position. Their paper, *Draggin' the Line* (September 1974), gave as the answer to Proposition L: "*mobilize the membership to take the message out*. People to people: That's the key." By not counterposing themselves to the bureaucrats' support for Alioto, Concerned Muni Drivers and their RU supporters were, in effect, building "people-to-people" support for the Democratic Party of the bosses!

During the rally, S.F. Central Labor Council head Jack Crowley announced that recent polls indicate a probable vote of 71 percent *in favor* of Proposition L. Thus once again relying on capitalist politicians turns out to be the ticket for *defeat*.

And, in fact, this may be precisely what the labor fakers want. Many union officials would actually prefer to have wages determined by law, thereby taking the heat off them to negotiate decent contracts.

To the members of the "smart" left groups and caucuses who fell in behind Crowley's "Alioto strategy," and to the ranks of Bay Area labor who have been once again betrayed by their leadership we say: Break with the class enemy! Only by struggling for the independence of the working class, against the sellout misleaders of labor, can victory be won. ■

Continued from page 3

Samarakkody Interview...

class. In the present situation we have once again indicated to the working class that we were not just shouting, that this was the coming reality, that the left and the working-class forces are in real danger, that a Chilean situation is not too far. And we have called upon the working class once again to speedily break from coalition politics.

As to what further action we could take in this situation, it depends upon the days ahead. There is no question that it will be vital for the working-class organizations and parties to get ready, unitedly, to face the offensive from the right. In what way and what form this will have to take place is difficult to say because there has not been yet any response on the part of the trade unions and these other groups. That is roughly the situation in Ceylon today.

WV: How do you see the struggle for the rebirth of the Fourth International?

Samarakkody: It is a fact that for quite some time, as far as the RWP was concerned, we have been convinced that there is no Fourth International today. This organization that was begun by Trotsky in 1938 and had for several years developed in the perspective of a revolutionary international, is no longer a reality. Over the years this organization has degenerated. Starting in the 1950's under the leadership of Michel Pabio the organization moved along the opportunist road, and it inevitably has come to a situation when it is possible to say that there is no such organization called the Fourth International.

The recent split in the United Secretariat is a manifestation of this reality. The United Secretariat in point of fact does not exist. It has been split into various groups after what is called the Tenth World Congress. By agreement, they have decided to remain together without raising any of the issues. Opportunistically, the United Secretariat is posing as the Fourth International. But this lie has to be exposed.

The task of all those who claim to be Trotskyists is not merely to expose the fraud of the United Secretariat and all other groups who seek to pose as the Fourth International, especially the International Committee led by Gerry Healy. It is the task of all those who claim to be Trotskyists to begin right now the task of assisting in the rebirth of the Fourth International. The RWP has for some time been basing its activities on this perspective. While we are building our party in Ceylon, we have sought to work toward the development of an international revolutionary tendency.

In this regard and for some time now we have developed fraternal relations with the Spartacist League of the United States, and it is our hope that in the coming period it will be possible for our organizations to work toward this perspective. No doubt there are many problems in this regard, but these problems will have to be faced. Also, it is necessary for those who are really interested in the rebirth of the Fourth International to understand that with the objective conditions the world over, especially in the context of the worsening crisis of world capitalism and the possibilities that are opening up for the development of revolutionary struggles, the forging of the revolutionary leadership is more urgent than ever before. It is with this perspective that the Revolutionary Workers Party of Ceylon is functioning today. ■

Continued from page 12

...Government Out of the Unions

for an industry-wide strike against layoffs which was opposed by Stanley and Brody. The motion was aimed against a proposal for preferential layoffs—under which women would have retained their jobs over males with higher seniority—which was being proposed by the backers of the present suit.

As that motion stated, "such schemes [preferential layoffs] accept the companies' employment cycle and result in unfair treatment of one section of the work force. This pits worker against worker, instead of all workers against the company.... Layoffs and speedup must be fought with solid union action: an industry-wide strike, linked up internationally, for shorter hours with full cost-of-living paid, to make jobs for all." The motion was passed at the February Local meeting, but foot-dragging by officials and the Brotherhood's kowtowing before the International have prevented a serious effort to publicize and organize for this program within the UAW.

On paper the OL and RU have "self-criticized" their opportunist errors in supporting the Brotherhood bureaucrats. But they carefully leave the door open for a repeat performance, and current practice belies their fine words about principle.

Thus the January *Call* criticizes the union bureaucrats' "half-heartedly" struggling for equal employment "exclusively through the courts and the legal complex." The OL then turns around and backs a court suit which is a thinly disguised attack on the union and male workers!

At decisive points the opportunist appetites and tailist methods of the OL/RU fakers repeatedly lead them to support militant-talking bureaucrats in the unions, whether it is the "people power" rhetoric of the Brotherhood, the pacifism of Cesar Chavez or the "democracy" of Arnold Miller. It is necessary to break with all wings of the labor bureaucracy! Militants in the auto union must look instead to a class-struggle program such as that put forward by the CMUAW as the only real alternative to the Woodcock machine and its "left" hangers-on. ■

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1974 Elections...

Democratic Party, reported of course in the inimitable *Challenge* style.

The Workers League, which has been having internal difficulties of late, has made a modest left turn and is now running two candidates for Congress in Brooklyn on a platform of opposition to the labor bureaucracy and advocacy of a labor party. Anyone who happens to live in the appropriate areas of Brooklyn might as well cast a vote for these candidates, but we warn that these political bandits will climb back on Woodcock's lap at the first hint of some imagined "leftward" motion by any section of the bureaucracy.

Finally there are the candidates of the National Caucus of Labor Committees, running under the label of the U.S. Labor Party. This bizarre cult reminiscent of a fusion between scientologists and followers of Henry George, is an essentially extra-political phenomenon. It deserves no support from socialists if only because among its chief campaign activities have been its petitioning of the bourgeois courts to have the SWP and CP removed from the ballot.

For a Workers Party

The current situation poses in the starkest manner the need for a complete break with the Democratic and Republican parties and for the formation of a workers party based upon the trade unions, to fight to replace the rule of the capitalists with a workers government. This cannot be accomplished except through the most bitter struggle against the current trade-union leadership, which is consciously pro-capitalist and resolutely opposed to any expression of class-struggle politics.

The formation of such a workers party will not come about due to the "automatic" pressure of the masses or through a "cold" process. The achievement of political class consciousness by the American working class, the world's largest and most powerful but politically backward working class, will come about only through the conscious intervention of revolutionary Marxists in the course of tumultuous class struggles. It will be through such struggles that a mass Leninist combat party will be constructed. It is to the realization of this historic task that the Spartacist League directs its efforts.

- For labor action to force new presidential elections! Not Ford/Rockefeller, but a workers government!
- Oust the bureaucrats, for a workers party based on the unions!

The Shah of Iran dines at Versailles Palace, June 1974.

L'EXPRESS

Continued from page 7

Oil Politics...

the Faisal/Sadat axis seemed to be working. The Saudi government publicly declared that it favored lower oil prices. In private discussions with U.S. officials Sheik Yamani no doubt promised to take a hard line against high prices in OPEC.

American "game-planners" also figured that market forces were on their side. The combination of economizing due to higher prices and the world economic contraction cut back oil consumption so that by early summer 1974 there was an oil "surplus" estimated at 3-4 million barrels a day. Like any well-behaved cartel, OPEC simply cut back production. However a "surplus" of about 1.5 million barrels a day remains (*Economist*, 21 September; *International Herald Tribune*, 5-6 October).

The trimphal day of U.S. oil diplomacy was to have been the September 12 OPEC meeting in Vienna. But much to the shock of Ford and Kissinger, OPEC decided to *raise* taxes and royalties by 3.5 percent. It also threatened to raise the posted price (the official price on which taxes and royalties are calculated) in line with world inflation rates. (The Anglo-American oil majors, of course, promptly declared their profits were inadequate to absorb the increased taxes and the selling price of oil had to rise.)

Sheik Yamani, the avowed champion of lower prices, was evidently something less than an implacable obstacle in these decisions. Adding insult to injury, the Saudis then *raised* their own "buy-back" price (charged to the companies on the share of the oil alloted to the government). Undoubtedly, suspicion that Faisal had double-crossed them accounted for the extreme belligerence of Ford's and Kissinger's attacks on the oil exporters at the UN.

The Options of U.S. Imperialism

Even in the unikely event that the U.S. could organize the other imperialist powers into a disciplined consumer front, there is no way that the price of oil can be brought down by market forces alone. Simon's idea of cutting world oil consumption by 15 percent, in order to present the producing states with an intolerable surplus, is a harebrained scheme that might have been inspired by reading *Alice in Wonderland*. As Yamani astutely observed when hearing of Simon's brainstorm, it is far easier to cut oil production than oil consumption.

No, it is by political, not economic means that U.S. imperialism has to deal with the oil cartel. Kissinger's main strategy has been (and to a lessened extent remains) the Israel/Palestine settlement. The Saudis continue to insist that given a "favorable" solution to the Palestine question, all will be sweetness and light in the oil market.

The decisive question is whether the U.S. can pressure Israel into a settlement that Faisal/Sadat would consider favorable. The answer is, probably not. The present U.S. government cannot simply abandon its alliance with Israel. Knowing this, the Rabin government in Tel Aviv is unlikely to give up much at the bargaining table that it could hold on the battlefield.

And if the U.S. cannot offer up the capitulation of Israel to Arab demands, there is only one other way to bring down oil prices—by force. Despite attempts to cover over the ominous sabre-rattling at the UN, military intervention is certainly being considered in the imperialist high councils. A banker who attended the recent Washington IMF meeting reportedly told the press:

> "'An alternative approach,' he added, 'is to bring down the price of oil by force.' He said that although no one wants to get caught publicly advocating this, it was a view often expressed in private conversation during the Washington conference."
>
> —*International Herald Tribune*, 7 October

The resistance by the European imperialist powers to Washington's new "get-tough" diplomacy is not primarily caused by a fear of confrontation with the Arabs. Rather, much as the European powers are being hurt by the OPEC price offensive, they do not want the Persian Gulf firmly in the hands of Rockefeller again. Yet their economies are increasingly shaky and the world oil/financial situation is intolerable. Japan, too, has been notably conciliatory in bargaining so far. As yet it is not a major military factor beyond its immediate perimeter. But with economists now predicting certain depression in Japan by 1975, the leading imperialist power in Asia will be heard from. Something must give!

L'EXPRESS

Saudi oil minister Sheik Yamani

Last year we wrote:

> "Within the framework of the imperialist system, there are only two ways out of the present stalemate. The U.S. will line up the Europeans behind it to smash the Arabs and ensure the oil supply. Or the Europeans will be drawn into a full-fledged alliance with the Arabs leading to direct conflict with the U.S. Without a revolutionary proletarian solution to the Near East conflicts, there can only be one or another kind of imperialist war."
>
> —*WV* No. 34, 7 December 1973

This statement retains its full validity today as the U.S. moves toward realizing the first "solution." ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

S.F. Labor Tops Sabotage Protest Rally

For A General Strike Against Proposition "L"!

SAN FRANCISCO, October 19—Union leaders here today cynically sabotaged what could have been a massive labor protest against the vicious wage-cutting "Proposition L." Instead, the City Hall demonstration was transformed into a rally for the Democratic Party.

Fearing that a massive turnout of Bay Area labor could prove explosive, the bureaucracy put out only limited publicity for the event. Attendance was consequently small, consisting of union hacks, their Democratic "friends of labor," television cameramen plus a few rank-and-filers (a total of about 200 people).

While the original handbill was signed by a "United Labor Committee" of several dozen top union officials, the crowd at the rally was liberally supplied with "L No!" placards bearing the signature of "Citizens United Against Proposition L." This "citizens" committee is a Democratic Party front headed by Mayor Alioto and Sheriff Hongisto. The speakers' platform was similarly sprinkled with Democratic bigwigs.

If passed in the November elections, Proposition L—also known as the Feinstein Amendment to the S.F. city charter—would tie city workers' pay to the levels prevailing in lower-wage open-shop areas of California, preventing any possibility of collective bargaining. What is needed to fight this union-busting, Chamber of Commerce-backed attack is independent labor action. But that is not the program of the pro-capitalist labor bureaucracy.

The Spartacist League together with its youth section, the Spartacus Youth League, has been the only left tendency to openly campaign against the class-collaborationist strategy of relying on big-business politicians. The SL/SYL called instead for a general strike to stop Proposition L and for a workers party based on the unions, to fight for a workers government.

For today's demonstration, the Spartacist League initiated a General Strike Contingent open to all organizations and militants who supported the perspective of fighting the union-busting charter amendment through mass labor action. Most of the left, however, preferred the bureaucrats' Democratic Party swamp. Besides the SL/SYL the only other groups to take up the call for a general strike were

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WV PHOTO

Demonstrators at October 19 San Francisco rally against Proposition "L."

October League Splits with Brotherhood Caucus at Fremont GM

Workers Demand Government Out of the Unions

OAKLAND, October 21—As the economy continues to slump, competition for jobs intensifies. The situation is particularly acute for auto workers, with sales in the industry down 21 percent from last year and more than 51,000 union members on indefinite layoff.

Not surprisingly, demands are increasingly being voiced for "solutions" which pit one section of the working class against another. These include economic protectionism ("Buy American"), reverse seniority layoffs and preferential hiring. Moreover, such schemes frequently involve using the capitalist state against the unions.

Precisely this reactionary formula is raised in a court suit by eight women workers at the General Motors assembly plant in Fremont, California. The plaintiffs demand immediate reinstatement of women to bring their proportions up to the level existing prior to massive layoffs last spring. (At that time women were about 10 percent of the plant workforce.)

In addition, the suit demands "...permanent population parity for female employees at GMAD Fremont by a time not later than four years from the date of the filing of this complaint, that is, population parity without regard to workforce size at any time."

The court action, which is backed by the Maoist October League (OL), calls for no men to be laid off. But demanding "population parity" (presumably 51 percent women) in four years, "*without regard to workforce size at any time*," can only mean laying off thousands of men with high seniority to make way for women new hires!

The fine words about not laying off men are simply a hypocritical cover to a call for government assault on hard-won seniority rights and the union contract. The suit, in fact, names seniority and the contract as vehicles of the company's "illegal, deliberate, and invidious practices of discrimination against women."

It is perfectly true that the company discriminates against women, and seniority is involved. Since GM did not hire women at Fremont until 1968, this year's "energy crisis" layoffs eliminated every woman production worker in the plant. But the solution to company discrimination is not to set women against men and call on the bosses' state to overturn the contract.

Opposing this divisive (and ineffective) suit, several militant women workers in United Auto Workers Local 1364 have drawn up a petition demanding the court action be dropped. Calling on the union to fight all forms of discrimination and all layoffs, their petition has won wide support. According to a press release of the Committee for a Militant UAW (CMUAW), issued yesterday, more than 500 Local members have already signed it.

Point 11 of the petition states that "This suit will open the door to government interference, inviting the courts to re-write our contract and break the seniority system." Recent judicial decisions indicate that this is precisely what would happen.

In a ruling cited in a CMUAW leaflet accompanying its petition, a Louisiana federal judge declared that strict seniority violates the Civil Rights Act. Another ruling, from a federal court in Richmond, Virginia, for the first time explicitly requires the employer to *replace* some presently employed workers with blacks and women, if necessary to reach a prescribed sexual/racial balance (*San Francisco Chronicle*, 28 September).

Court cases such as this one at Fremont generally lead to the union's becoming a defendant along with the company. One of the suit's backers, Local executive board member Liz Stanley, has reportedly stated willingness to take the International to court if necessary. This anti-union court case is a threat to the entire UAW membership and the working class as a whole. In this court action only the bosses will win.

Until recently a number of the "preferential hiring" suit's supporters in the plant, including Stanley and Community Action Program member Alice Brody, had supported the Brotherhood Caucus, currently in power in Local 1364. (Brotherhood leaders are reportedly opposed to the court action, although they have not yet taken a position publicly.)

Now in the October issue of the October League's newspaper, the *Call*, an article entitled "Lessons Drawn From Building U.A.W. Caucus" admits that the Brotherhood leaders have been opportunist careerists all along. Yet the October League has supported these fakers, both during Local elections in 1973 and subsequently, for nearly two years!

What is more, the article promises the OL would do it all over again, under the guise of building a "united front." It criticizes the Revolutionary Union, another right-Maoist group, for having broken earlier with the Brotherhood leaders. But the supposedly "purist" RU also supported the fake-militant Brotherhood in the 1973 elections and once in power!

As opposed to the opportunist politics of the increasingly discredited Maoists, militants grouped together in the Committee for a Militant UAW have put forward a program of united class struggle. In addition to authoring the petition against the Maoist-backed court suit, CMUAW members last February put forward a resolution calling

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WORKERS VANGUARD 25¢

No. 56 8 November 1974

5.5 Million Unemployed—Most Since '48

Mass Layoffs Hit Auto

DETROIT, November 2—Despite earlier confident predictions that the auto industry would "bounce back" after its downturn during the 1974 model year, sales and profits have plummeted sharply in the last two months. This has led the "Big Three" (Ford, Chrysler and General Motors) to undertake major new permanent layoffs, production cutbacks and threatened plant closures.

The gloomy announcements last week followed disastrous sales reports for the third quarter, which were brought on in part by drastic price increases. The cost of an average car has gone up by $1,000 during the past year and additional $250 increases are already contemplated.

Mid-October sales, which would normally be a peak period with the introduction of new models, were down by more than 29 percent while profits dipped as much as 94 percent (at GM) during the quarter. Indications are that sales will stay low, as "consumer confidence" sags and the economy continues in a sharp decline.

Already some 51,000 auto workers were on indefinite layoffs stemming from last year's "energy crisis" cutbacks. Then on October 17 and 18 Ford and Chrysler announced plans to lay off white collar employees. GM followed suit a few days later.

Production workers were the next to receive the bad news. On October 25, Ford announced plans to cut almost 1,000 skilled tool-and-die workers and GM posted indefinite layoff notices for 6,000 workers around the country. Second shifts were cancelled entirely at Leeds, Missouri; Tarrytown, New York; and Van Nuys, California. At Tarrytown the layoffs will eliminate everyone hired since 1963.

Meanwhile, temporary layoffs spread through the industry as plants are put on every-other-week schedules, extended Thanksgiving and Christmas shutdowns and short time. Chrysler announced a "feasibility study" on closing the Jefferson Avenue assembly plant, its second largest, in east Detroit.

Initially many workers reacted to rumors of down time with a sigh of relief. Bolstered by unemployment compensation and SUB (supplemental unemployment benefits) pay, some welcomed the break from 54- to 60-hour weeks common in the industry. But as the panic spread through corporate headquarters and permanent layoffs were announced, today's temporary layoff began to look more like tomorrow's lost job.

The SUB fund was designed to protect workers against temporary seasonal layoffs and cannot withstand massive, prolonged drainage. Already the GM fund is seriously depleted. In addition, thousands of laid-off workers with less than one year's seniority do not qualify for SUB benefits at all. And workers who were sacked last winter now face a prolonged period with no benefits and little prospect of getting another job.

The situation in auto is only the foretaste of what is in store for workers in other industries as well. Unemployment has climbed steadily in recent weeks, reaching 6 percent last month. This means an official total of 5.5 million unemployed (ignoring those partially employed and many who have simply given up looking for a job), the highest figure since 1948. This figure may reach 7 percent in a matter of a few months.

Lacking any program to fight the economic crisis and threatening massive layoffs, the union leaders are reduced to begging the companies for crumbs and now electing a "veto-proof" Congress. The irony is that, in the wake of Watergate, they may get it, but it will not aid working people. In the past Democrats, like the Republicans, have only brought wage controls, anti-labor laws, chauvinist protectionism and imperialist wars.

UAW SOLIDARITY

Unemployed line up in Detroit last winter during "energy crisis" layoffs.

The urgent need is to bring forward a program to fight economic crisis with the power and militancy of the labor movement instead of relying on the capitalist politicians. With Detroit and the rest of auto on the brink of mammoth layoffs in the nation's key industry, a campaign to fight unemployment through independent labor action is on the agenda.

Auto workers must take up the demands for a shorter workweek with no loss in pay, to provide employment for all available workers, and nationalization of the auto industry without compensation. As long as labor accepts "the powers that be," the burden of capitalist economic crisis will fall on the workers.

The key is a class-struggle program for the workers movement. Gimmicks like the Communist Party's call for "People's Summits," to counter Ford's meetings with the "labor statesmen" and captains of industry, are merely a cover for electoral policies of pressuring the bourgeois politicians.

The struggle must be explicitly directed against capitalist property relations. Reformists like Progressive Labor and various out-bureaucrats in the unions have taken up the demand for "30 hours' work for 40 hours' pay" as if it were a sure-fire "solution" to unemployment. There is no answer to

continued on page 2

Chrysler Threatens to Close Jefferson Assembly

DETROIT, November 2—As rumors mount of large-scale layoffs among the several hundred thousand auto workers in the motor capital of the world, attention focused last week on the threatened closing of Chrysler's Jefferson Avenue Assembly Plant. Employing 5,000, already down sharply from 8,000 two years ago, the sprawling plant was the second largest of the Chrysler empire, producing 10 percent of the company's total output last year.

The current difficulties stem from poor sales of the Chryslers and Imperials which are built at Jefferson Assembly. But the plant is also dilapidated (it dates from 1907), with antiquated machinery and the lowest productivity rate of any Chrysler plant. Moreover, the area around the plant is extremely dilapidated and impoverished, with many boarded-up stores, closed bars and one of the worst crime rates in the city.

In late October, Chrysler head Lynn Townsend warned that if any plant goes under it will be Jefferson. At first speaking vaguely of "feasibility studies," management suggested an option for laid-off Jefferson workers of transferring to another Chrysler plant—in Delaware. But the Delaware plant is already experiencing short time and will be down for three weeks in the next two months.

UAW Chrysler Division head Doug Fraser now says that closing of Jefferson is certain and that job guarantees have been refused. This completely exhausts the ability of the UAW tops to act, since the bureaucracy's whole approach was to "persuade" the company to keep the plant open. President Flowers of Local 7 at Jefferson Assembly made the brilliant suggestion of keeping the plant open by cutting back to one shift—i.e., laying off more than 2,000 UAW members!

However, several ostensibly left and revolutionary groups were as helpless as the union bureaucracy in their lack of a program with which to fight the auto layoffs and plant closing threats. The only concrete programmatic demand raised by the Jefferson Assembly Revolutionary Union Movement (JARUM), a group which is uncritically supported in the press of the Communist Labor Party (formerly Communist League), is for forming unemployed committees. JARUM is also sponsoring a petition calling on the Detroit Common Council to demand aid from Washington!

The reformist International Socialists, like Flowers, called in a leaflet for keeping the plant running through partial operation—only its idea was one week on, one week off for everyone. The IS also called for unemployed committees and "mass action and organized resistance." It didn't bother to spell out what the committees were supposed

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WV PHOTO

Jefferson Assembly Plant, Detroit.

What Is the Communist Labor Party?...page 7

Zionist Demonstration...

Labor Fakers Fan Anti-Arab Hysteria

Recent sabre-rattling by the U.S., notably President Ford's threats at the UN in September, are designed to gear up public opinion for possible direct military intervention against the Arab oil exporters. Now this theme has been taken up by important American union leaders, the "labor lieutenants of the capitalist class."

An advertisement signed by various bureaucrats in the 1 November *New York Times* and *Daily News* carried the headline, "American Labor Protests Making the United Nations A Forum for Terror." Among the endorsers were prominent "progressives" (Livingston of the RWDSU, Gotbaum and Wurf of AFSCME), "State Department socialists" (Shanker of the AFT, Finley of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers) and outright reactionaries (Hall of the Seafarers, Van Arsdale of the NYC AFL-CIO council).

The ad endorses a Zionist demonstration at the UN on November 4 protesting the invitation of a delegation from the Palestine Liberation Organization to speak before the General Assembly. The PLO is an umbrella group including various Palestinian trade unions, student federations and the more publicized commando organizations, like Al Fatah.

These "labor statesmen," many of whom have rather unsavory reputations in the U.S. union movement, put on their sanctimonious Sunday-best for the protest against "terror." The PLO will make the UN a "forum for terror"? Where were these gentlemen in 1947 when the United Nations was not only the forum but the *instrument* for dismembering Palestine, subjugating the Arabs' right to self-determination? Did they object when the UN was the instrument for mass terror and imperialist intervention in Korea in 1950, or in the Congo during the 1960's?

Did these chauvinists mobilize labor protest against the U.S. mass terror in *Vietnam*? They did not. What about labor action against the butchers in Chile who have crushed the unions there? Instead they are acting as recruiters and drummers for the next proposed imperialist adventure. The blood of the soldiers, both Arab and American, who would die in a war to ensure the monopolies' control of Near East oil is already on their hands.

The ad rails against the "new oil billionaires" who "use their natural resources and the wealth that flows from it to disrupt world economies and to infiltrate legitimate industry in this country . . ."! But where have these piecards ever protested or demanded the expropriation of the *old* oil billionaires, the Rockefellers for example, who have been disrupting economies and infiltrating the industry of other countries for decades? No, these traitors are the agents of the Rockefellers in the workers movement.

The chauvinist hysteria is linked with a current wave of protectionist ("Buy American") propaganda promoted by these same misleaders. It is also a threat to Arab workers living in this country. The labor movement must demand full citizenship rights for all Arab and other foreign workers in the U.S. While having no confidence in the petty-bourgeois nationalist PLO leaders, we defend their democratic right to enter the U.S. and speak where they please.

SVEN SIMON

Yasir Arafat, head of Palestine Liberation Organization.

The recent anti-Arab furor has set an atmosphere in which the Jewish Defense League, under the name "Jewish Armed Resistance," carried out a vicious, fascist-like attack upon PLO offices in New York on October 29. A class-conscious labor movement would not only protest this thug violence but let the JDL know in no uncertain terms that actions of this kind will not be tolerated.

The individual and often indiscriminate terrorism launched by various Palestinian commando groups is an act of despair, wholly ineffectual in righting the many wrongs which Palestinian Arabs have been made to suffer. But it can in no way be compared in scale or kind to the truly massive terror of the U.S. in Vietnam or even the Israeli attacks on Arab refugee camps. The U.S. killed more innocent civilians in one bombing raid over Hanoi than grenade-throwing Palestinians will kill in an epoch.

Moreover, the U.S. terror serves to maintain a world system of exploitation and oppression while the nationalist commandos are motivated by a desire for the emancipation of their people. We in no way defend mass terror against innocent working people. As communists we point out that the only way to a truly democratic resolution of the Palestinian question is through forging a mass Arab-Hebrew revolutionary workers party in a struggle for the Socialist Federation of the Near East. ■

Continued from page 1

Mass Layoffs...

unemployment so long as capitalism remains.

Trotsky raised the demand of a sliding scale of wages and hours, as a weapon to fight inflation and unemployment, in the Transitional Program written in 1938. U.S. Trotskyists broadly popularized the slogan of "30 for 40" in the 1930's and 1940's. But they did so as part of a broader program of working-class assault on capitalist rule.

As we point out in the accompanying article on Jefferson Assembly, the call for a sliding scale of wages and hours must be coupled with the demands of *occupation, expropriation and workers control of plants which are closed by their capitalist owners.* Since the bosses would undoubtedly claim they are too poor to pay for "30 for 40," it is also necessary to demand that the *companies' books be opened to workers' inspection.*

The Flint sitdown strike of 1937 and the Minneapolis general strike of 1934 make clear that any massive strike upsurge and plant occupations pose the need for *workers' self-defense of the picket lines and occupied factories.* The impossibility of achieving victory in an isolated factory or single industry points to the necessity for *extending workers control throughout the economy and introducing social planning of production.* This is also the condition for a *rational program of massive public works,* the need for which is obvious in the deteriorating urban centers.

Groups which draw their heritage from the Stalinized Communist Party of the 1930's frequently pose the organization of unemployed committees as the means to fight joblessness. But they have no strategy for these committees to win real victory.

Trotskyists counterpose to this the union of the employed and unemployed through *forming unemployed committees as part of or tied to the unions.* Auto workers must demand *full union rights for their laid-off brothers and sisters.* By linking both sections of the working class, competition for scarce jobs can be overcome and the economic power of the employed is added to the militancy of those expelled from the work place.

A sliding scale of wages and hours, factory occupations, workers control, expropriation of industry, opening of the books, workers' self-defense, social planning—all this requires a *political* offensive and the formation of an *independent workers party, based on the unions, to fight for a workers government.* In this way class-struggle forces can generalize their fight against the pro-capitalist bureaucracy, which is the biggest stumbling block standing in the way of a militant struggle against the economic crisis and the capitalist system which produces it. ■

Class-Struggle Program Against Layoffs

- NO LAYOFFS AND NO PLANT CLOSURES—For a Sliding Scale of Wages and Hours! Respond to Closing Jefferson Avenue Plant by an Occupation Supported by the Entire Labor Movement!
- FOR WORKERS CONTROL—Open the Books of the Corporations—Form Factory Committees!
- NATIONALIZE THE AUTO INDUSTRY WITHOUT COMPENSATION—Workers Control at All Levels—Plan Production According to Social Need!
- NO SUPPORT TO THE DEMOCRATS OR REPUBLICANS—Oust the Bureaucrats, For a Workers Party Based on the Trade Unions—Forward to a Workers Government!

Spartacist Local Directory

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BOSTON . . . . . (617) 282-7587
Box 188, M.I.T. Sta., Cambridge, MA 02139
BUFFALO . . . . . (716) 834-7610
c/o SYL, Box 6, Norton Union, SUNYAB, Buffalo, NY 14214
CHICAGO . . . . . (312) 427-0003
Box 6471, Main P.O., Chicago, IL 60680
CLEVELAND . . . . . (216) 687-1413
Box 6765, Cleveland, OH 44101
DETROIT . . . . . (313) 921-4626
Box 663A, General P.O., Detroit, MI 48232
HOUSTON . . . . . (713) 926-9944
Box 9054 Houston, TX 77011
LOS ANGELES . . . . (213) 485-1838
Box 26282, Edendale Sta., Los Angeles, CA 90026
MADISON
c/o SYL, Box 3334, Madison, WI 53704
MILWAUKEE
Box 6061, Milwaukee, WI 53209
NEW ORLEANS . . . . (504) 866-8384
Box 51634, Main P.O., New Orleans, LA 70151
NEW YORK . . . . . (212) 925-2426
Box 1377, G.P.O., New York, NY 10001
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Box 25601, Philadelphia, PA 19144
SAN DIEGO
P.O. Box 2034, Chula Vista, CA 92012
TORONTO
Canadian Committee of the International Spartacist Tendency
Box 6867, Station A, Toronto, Ontario, Canada

ILWU head Harry Bridges

WV PHOTO

S.F. Mayor Joe ("Zebra") Alioto

WV PHOTO

For Independent Labor Action to Smash Proposition "L"!

Open Letter to S.F. City Workers

This leaflet was distributed as a "Bay Area Supplement" to WV, dated 27 October 1974, in preparation for a November 4 rally.

Dear Brothers and Sisters,

"Q: Do you think it [Prop. L] is going to pass?"
"A: Yes, I do. There is no organization to tie us together. Two weeks ago we went to pick up our paychecks and they wanted 20 bucks to fight this thing. Most of the drivers I saw tried to get out of the barn as fast as they could. They and I have no more respect as to how the 20 bucks would be spent by our union leadership than if they gave it to Dianne Feinstein. I think that is the gist of why we are going to get defeated...."

—From an interview of Muni drivers printed in *Common Sense*, October 1974

We have reprinted this quote because it expresses quite accurately the growing sentiment of militants in the Bay Area trade-union movement regarding their present leadership. Prop. L threatens the very foundations of the union movement. The Chamber of Commerce, representing the Bank of America on down, is mobilizing *right now* to smash the public employees unions. So what has the present leadership done to stop Prop. L? The answer is: Worse than nothing.

They have set up a coalition called Citizens United Against Prop. L, headed up by Alioto, Sheriff Hongisto, Moscone and Brown, that has collected money from trade unionists to print bumper stickers, buttons and leaflets with the slogan "'L' NO." It is an outrage that collective bargaining and union contracts be put up to public referendum in the first place, and labor's strike power should be mobilized to get "L" off the ballot.

Still we would support a *union* mobilization to effect a No Vote on November 5th. But the "'L' NO" campaign isn't even that! "Citizens United" is a Democratic Party front *whose main purpose* is to channel support into the Alioto/Brown machine in an election period. "Citizens United" has systematically and consciously prevented a mass mobilization of the rank and file. The October 19th rally, sponsored by TWU Local 250A, but controlled by the "Citizens United" grouping, PROVED that.

Demonstrators at October 19 rally against Proposition L.

WV PHOTO

The union leaders cynically sabotaged what could have been a massive labor protest against Prop. L and transformed it into a rally for the Democratic Party. They were afraid that a massive turnout of workers would prove explosive. Their real strategy for defeating "L," as far as it goes, is a court case, *after the fact*.

But behind all the speechmaking and bluster, is their understanding that Prop. L is to a certain extent useful for the labor bureaucracy. If Prop. L passes, they can give over the job of keeping the ranks in line to their *good friends in City Hall*, claiming it will be "out of their hands." As far as collective bargaining is concerned, the bureaucrats would *prefer* to have it, but if they don't, they can *always* blame poor wages and conditions on the Board of Supervisors *rather than on their own defective leadership.*

That is why the dirtiest word around town these days is STRIKE. Just suggest to your local bureaucrat that the unions should strike to demand Prop. L be dropped from the ballot. Watch him/her turn purple. The strike is the most powerful weapon in the labor movement's arsenal. It also would be *VERY* unpopular with those same honorary chairmen: Alioto, Moscone and Brown.

That's why the "Citizens United" literature includes *no demand* for the *unrestricted* right to strike or an end to *compulsory* arbitration. That's because Gerry Brown, Democratic Party candidate for governor, *endorses compulsory* arbitration. "Citizens United" wouldn't want to upset the apple cart or alienate the likes of "Operation Zebra" Alioto.

One of the more sickening displays of this electoral alliance was the October 19th rally where Brother Martin, president of TWU Local 250A, introduced Alioto as a "friend." This "friend" was responsible for mass round-ups of innocent black men during "Operation Zebra" in a calculated move to demonstrate to the capitalists that his campaign for governor was all the way with "law and order."

Whose law and whose order? Certainly not working people's. Remember, Brother Martin, if Prop. L passes, it will become *LAW* and Alioto, your "friend," will have the ORDER required to enforce it (S.F. Police Department)! The only difference between "L" and the compulsory arbitration proposed by Brown as part of his so-called "right to strike" platform is that "L" limits wage gains *before* workers strike, while compulsory ar-

continued on page 5

Proposition "L" Means:

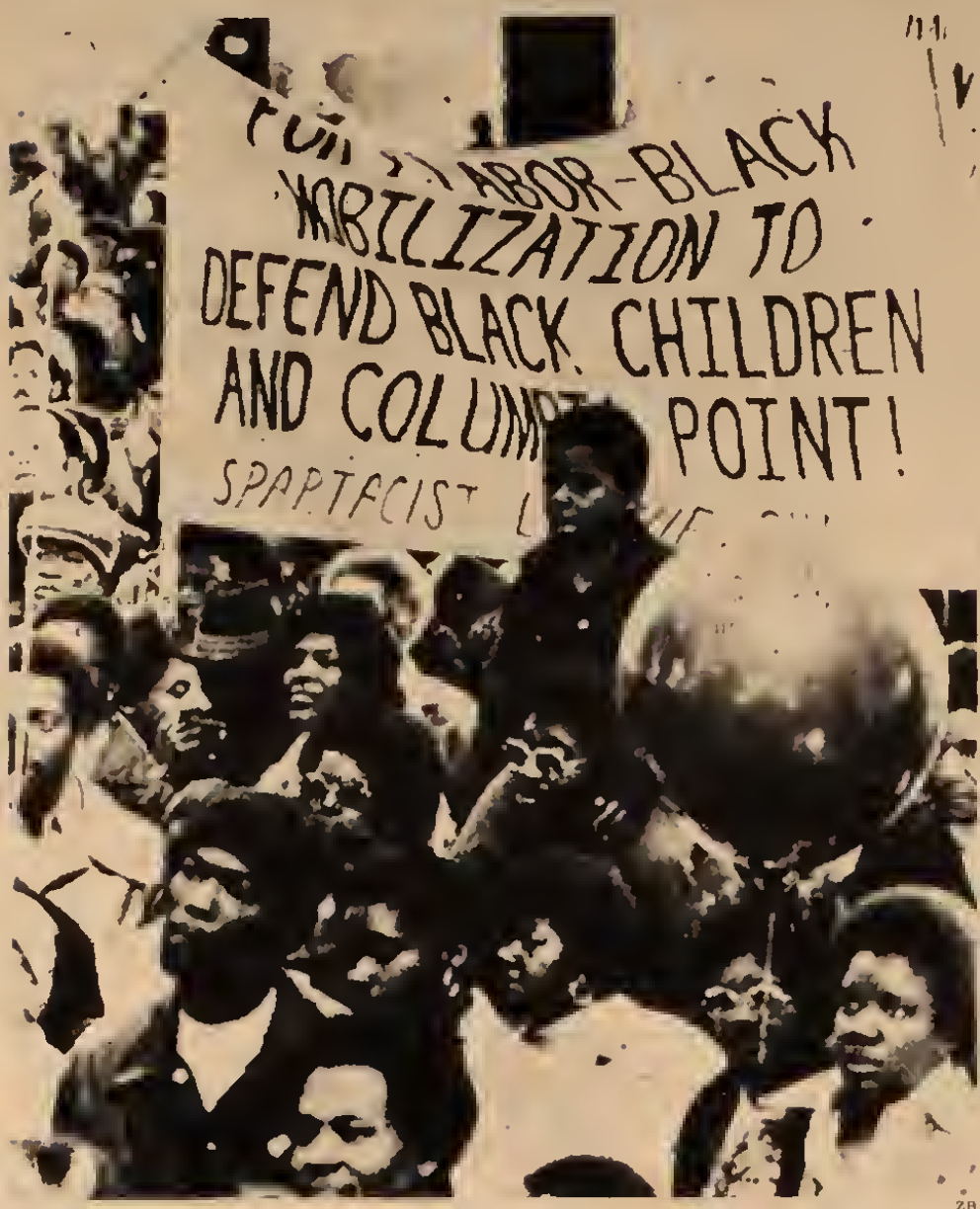
On election day, November 5, the Feinstein Amendment, known as Prop. L, will appear on the ballot. In brief, this amendment to the city charter would:

- Freeze wages for over 65 percent of San Francisco workers;
- Mean an immediate cut of $2,000, on the average, in fringe benefits for Muni drivers;
- Undermine the fight for full collective bargaining rights as well as the right to strike for public employees, effectively repealing the "meet and confer" clause of the Brown Act;
- Direct the most vicious attacks specifically against organized black, women and minority workers. To fuel their union-busting campaign, the Chamber of Commerce has resorted to outright manipulation, distortion and lies regarding workers' salaries and benefits. Thus, for example, the *Chronicle* and other newspapers have reported that street sweepers make $17,000 a year, and that Muni drivers average approximately $21,000. The truth is that *even* street sweepers who are permanent employees (and only one permanent position has been filled in three years) can receive top pay of only $11,400. Muni drivers average approximately $12,000 a year.
- Set wages based on an average of wages in the *previous* year for comparable work in other cities in California with populations of over 500,000. The Board of Supervisors would have the power to raise or lower that figure by 3 percent as a basis for wages in the *coming* year. This will have the effect of lowering wages of S.F. workers to the scale of notorious open-shop towns such as Los Angeles.
- Limit all wage increases to 7.5 percent regardless of rises in the cost of living;
- Require a 3/4 majority of the Board of Supervisors for approval of new fringe benefits, making it virtually impossible for city workers to win any improvements.

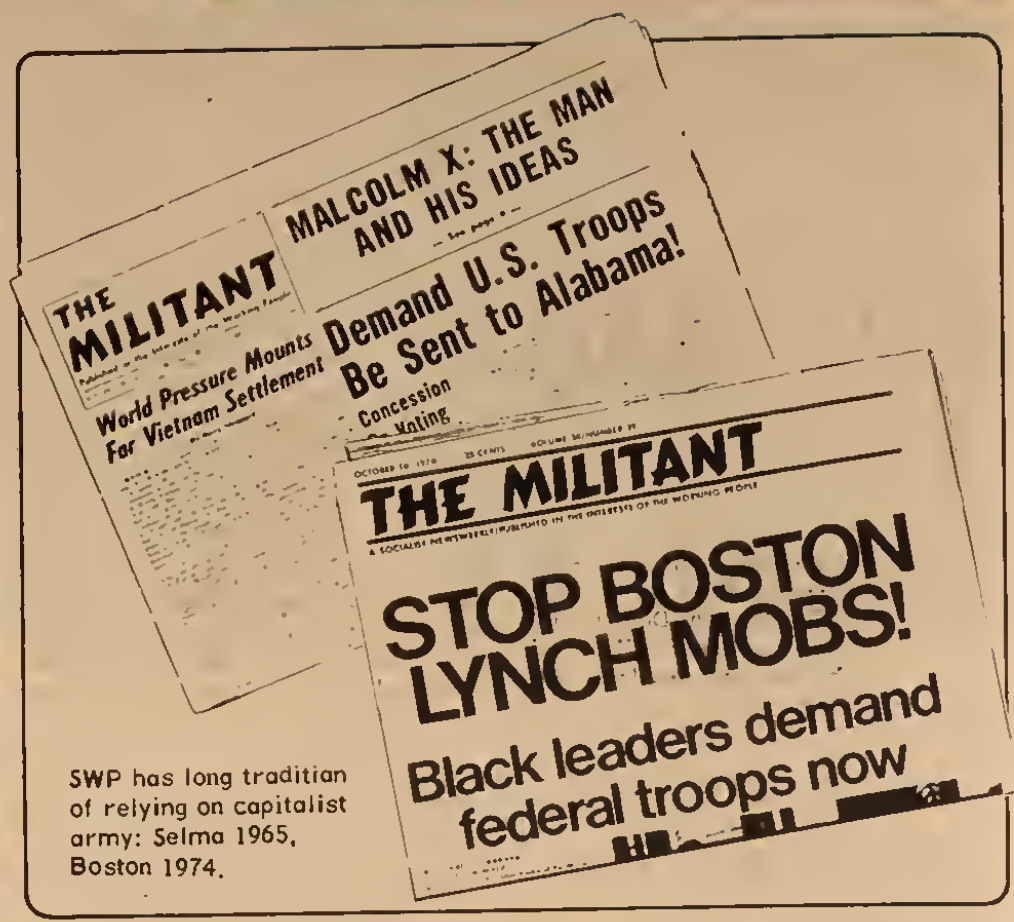
There are only three categories of city employees who will not be affected by Proposition L. They are:

Policemen
Firemen
Board of Supervisors.

Racist Terror in Boston:



Demonstrators at October 13 pro-integration demonstration on Boston Common.



SWP has long tradition of relying on capitalist army: Selma 1965, Boston 1974.

Trotskyists Demand Labor/Black Defense But...

SWP Says "Bring in Bosses' Troops"

The past six weeks have witnessed a reactionary mobilization against racial integration of Boston schools the likes of which has not been seen in the North since the Detroit riots of 1943. The city has teetered on the brink of race war for days. Only the fact that, remarkably, there have been no deaths so far has kept the tense situation from blowing sky-high.

The crying need in Boston is for revolutionary working-class leadership. Black students and their parents, supporters of racial integration, trade unionists who have experienced the reactionary mob violence, even those whose only concern is to prevent attacks on the children—all these could be rallied by a militant campaign of independent labor/black mobilization against the racists.

But to date *leaders of black organizations and the unions have not made a single serious attempt to organize mass opposition to the anti-busing offensive.* Rely on the federal government—this is their program. IT IS A STRATEGY FOR DEFEAT!

It is only to be expected that these fakers would depend on the class enemy—this is the essence of their treacherous role, to tie the hands of the masses and deliver them like sheep for the slaughter. Equally significant have been the despicable actions of ostensibly socialist organizations including in particular the alleged Trotskyists of the Socialist Workers Party, which systematically tailed after the "leaders of the black community" in an effort to win cheap popularity. They, too, bear responsibility for the fact that today the black masses and labor militants stand unarmed before the racist onslaught.

The most pathetic example is without doubt the spineless Maoist Revolutionary Union. In its efforts to "serve the people," the RU lines up with racist Boston politicians like Louise Day Hicks and the Ku Klux Klan. "The People Must Unite to Smash Boston Busing Plan," announces the front-page headline of the October issue of *Revolution*. That is what Hicks is all about: "community control" (another of the Maoists' favorite demands) *for the whites*. Yet if the RU tried to sell this disgusting trash in South Boston its salesmen would be run out or beaten up by the same forces it is trying to capitulate to today. The racists hate communists as much as they hate blacks.

Vanguard or Rearguard?

The Socialist Workers Party has developed its opportunism to a fine art. The SWP contends that "The question of how to achieve quality education for Black children is one that must be decided on by the Black community...." Some "Trotskyists" these are! Community control, busing, federal troops—first they must take an opinion poll to find out what the "leaders of the black community" support, then they advocate the same to working people. Of course, the "leaders of the black community" turn out to be the black Democrats and Republicans.

In contrast the Spartacist League has a consistent record of supporting racial integration and independent working-class action. The SL has opposed community control of the schools, pointing out that this nationalist trap would only lead to demands for *white* control of white schools and lynch mobs. We were right.

The Spartacist League has opposed community control of the police, explaining that the working masses must destroy the armed forces of the capitalist state—not seek to take them over. The SWP, in contrast, supports community control of the police, preferential hiring of black cops and even runs candidates for sheriff when possible.

The SWP's latest betrayal has been a call for federal troops to Boston. This is done in its typical weaselly fashion: "We completely support the demands made by leaders of the Black community that federal troops be sent to Boston..." declared SWP candidates for Massachusetts state offices on October 9. Actually, the SWP has for years called on the armed forces of the capitalist state to come to the aid of embattled blacks.

Relying on the Capitalist State

For the SWP there are the "bad" cops and National Guard vs. the "good" U.S. Army. That is why during the mid-1960's it called for bringing the troops home from Vietnam to send them to Selma! Somehow the armed forces of imperialism are an instrument of oppression in Asia but not in Alabama?

In contrast to the class-collaborationist illusions spewed out by these professional tailists the Spartacist League warned:

> "Federal marshals and troops do not serve the interests of oppressed minorities or the working class any more than the TPF (Tactical Police Force), state troopers or National Guard! They are the armed fist of the bourgeois class. At best the presence of federal troops in Boston might mean the maintenance of 'social peace' based on continued segregation of the black minority in inferior ghetto schools. As everyone from the liberal White to the conservative Ford has made clear, they will not enforce school integration.
>
> "But, in fact, given the rightward-moving political climate in recent months, particularly with regard to the rights of black people, it is likely that any large deployment of troops or police would be concentrated in the black areas and could result in small-scale genocide."

We pointed out what the consequences of relying on the bosses' state were recently at Columbia Point housing project near South Boston: when the residents demanded police protection against night riders, racists in uniform occupied the project, arresting and brutalizing blacks and vandalizing the community center. We also noted the interesting fact that not until black youths began to react to the racist mob violence, weeks after the anti-busing offensive began, was there serious talk of bringing in federal troops!

The alternative proposed by the SL was for a massive labor and black mobilization of all those opposed to racist attacks on the black school children. On September 27, the Spartacist League sent a letter to Boston labor, socialist and black organizations proposing such a mass demonstration. The SWP, which had not yet discovered what "the leaders of the black community" supported, did not respond and boycotted the planning meeting. Toni Atkins, head of the NAACP, said that a representative would be sent to a planning meeting, but none ever arrived. Later it turned out that the NAACP "strategy" was to take Mayor White to court.

"Everybody That Supports the Black Community, Raise Your Hands"

During the weeks that followed the SWP reformists consistently sabotaged the struggle for independent labor/black defense. At an October 11 meeting called by the YSA and black, Latin and Asian student groups at the University of Massachusetts (Boston) to discuss the busing issue a speaker from the SL proposed building a demonstration against the reactionary anti-busing campaign. Peter Camejo of the SWP countered with... a teach-in!

Out of the student meeting came an Ad-Hoc Committee to Defend Human Rights. At a meeting of this Ad-Hoc Committee later the same day, the SL pointed out that most people in Boston knew exactly what was going on and that what was needed was independent mass action. To this Camejo replied that a teach-in and mass mobilization are not counterposed (his favorite argument lately, as we shall see). The YSA chairman of the meeting soon announced there was "mass sentiment" for a teach-in. But when an SL member objected and proposed instead a letter calling for a mass demonstration, to be drafted by a committee, this proposal

was accepted. SWP/YSAers were on the letter committee.

The next week a leaflet mysteriously appeared, obviously produced by the SWP/YSA but bearing the name of the Ad-Hoc Committee and calling for a meeting on October 16 to plan a teach-in. No such teach-in had been decided upon at the earlier meeting! Moreover, the leaflet was "signed" by Ujimaa and the Puerto Rican Student Union, neither of which knew anything about the teach-in and protested the use of their names.

At the October 16 meeting, an SL spokesman presented a motion that all groups participating in the Ad-Hoc Committee be given equal speaking rights, with an open mike for independents, at any teach-in. Tony Thomas of the SWP opposed this on the grounds that "the people" wanted to hear from the "leaders of the black community," not the radicals.

The SL pointed out that these so-called leaders were calling for federal troops. Since the viewpoint of the SWP was being represented by the NAACP and the Black Caucus of the Democratic Party, we supported the SWP's right not to speak. But different points of view should be permitted since everyone did not agree with the troops slogan. The SL motion again passed.

Later in the meeting the SL moved that the committee-drafted letter be accepted. Tony Thomas presented an amendment "in the spirit of the letter," adding the phrase "and support the demands of the Black community." SLers pointed out that this was a veiled call for federal troops and sabotage of building a mobilization to defend the black school children.

At this point Peter Camejo demagogically announced that "Spartacist doesn't support the Black community. Everybody that supports the Black community raise your hands." Using such unprincipled sleight-of-hand, the SWP "amendment" was passed.

What Is A "Meaningful Solution"?

The 1 November issue of the *Militant* reprints excerpts from a speech by Camejo in which he "justifies" the slogan of federal troops to Boston. In the first place this "reply" to criticism is ostensibly aimed at the Workers League, although the WL has not taken its opposition to federal troops any farther than the pages of the *Bulletin*. The only group in Boston which in mass leaflets, public meetings, demonstrations, etc., has consistently put forward the perspective of labor/black defense and opposed relying on the capitalist armed forces is the Spartacist League.

The heart of Camejo's "argument" is that:

> "The call for trade-union defense guards isn't realistic right now. There are no trade unions that even have defense guards, much less any that have offered them to defend the Black students....
>
> "You sectarians live in a make-believe world of sloganeering. In your world, trade-union defense guards are counterposed to federal troops. But in the real world, they're not counterposed, because the trade-union defense guards do not exist. The Black community lives in the real world, and it demands real, meaningful solutions, not unrealistic slogans."

It is true that there are no trade-union defense guards today. There is also no mass mobilization to defend the black school children, only a half-hearted demonstration on October 13. But part of the reason for this is that at every point the SWP has fought *against* any perspective of independent black and labor mobilization.

The demand for a labor/black defense is a world of make-believe? Nonsense! There are integrated unions in Boston, many of whose members are directly affected by the racist anti-busing mobilizations. Members of the Meatcutters and Butcher Workmen have had their cars damaged by the reactionary mobs. The Columbia Point residents have already had their fill of the bourgeoisie's cops and troops. *What is needed is revolutionary leadership*, to put the heat on the leaders of the mass organizations of workers and the oppressed racial minorities, to organize independently on a program which represents the interests of the working masses.

And if Camejo thinks workers' defense guards and federal troops are not counterposed, then let him try to organize a labor/black defense when the 82nd Airborne Division is occupying Roxbury!

The SWP believes that the U.S. government is unwilling to send troops to Boston to enforce desegregation, so demanding that they come will presumably "expose" the real nature of the government. It is quite true that they will not enforce racial integration, as we have pointed out. But the bourgeoisie may very well send in troops—to *prevent* any organized defense by blacks! By calling for troops, the SWP does not *expose* the class character of the government and its hired guns, but helps *conceal* the fact that these are the enemies of the exploited and oppressed.

Members of the SWP, you may feel that the call for labor/black defense of the bused school children and Columbia Point is not a "realistic" demand. But we warn you that your call for federal troops is a very "meaningful solution," to use Peter Camejo's words. What it can mean is the imposition of martial law, massive arrests and shootings of black youth and working-class militants. Even you admit that the troops will not enforce desegregation!

If, because of the betrayals of the union leaders, black Democrats and fake socialists, federal troops are called in to patrol the ghettos and housing projects, conscious black and labor militants in Boston will hold those traitors responsible for the consequences of their misleadership. By calling for troops the SWP shows itself to be a nest of anti-Marxist renegades!■

Federal troops not the answer to fascists.

Resolution unanimously passed by second shift meeting of Industrial Union of Marine and Shipbuilding Workers of America, Local 33 (Baltimore)

Whereas, the present racial violence now going on in Boston and Baltimore around the school busing issue is of concern to all trade-unionists and workers, and

Whereas, the anti-busing forces' claim that they are only trying to preserve "quality" education in the predominantly white schools has proved only a front for racist violence against black workers and school children, and

Whereas, the right-wing forces in Boston, led by Louise Day Hicks, the Ku Klux Klan, and the Nazis are attempting to channel rising anger of workers—not against big business and its government, which is responsible for unequal and discriminatory education, inflation and unemployment—but against racial minorities, and

Whereas, Local 33 and the national office of IUMSWA must support busing to achieve equality in education, for *all* children, through integrated schools, preventing degenerating standards for blacks, Latins, and other minorities, and

Whereas, the calling in of cops, the National Guard, and federal troops—strikebreakers for big business—will not defend racial minorities but will, in fact, disrupt that defense, and

Whereas, the recent case in Detroit of the United Auto Workers (UAW) providing competent defense and protection for a black family, living in a hostile white community, after the local "authorities" proved uninterested and incapable of such action, shows the way labor defense succeeds,

Therefore be it resolved, that Local 33 of IUMSWA demand:

1) That the national office work with Local 5 officials in Quincy [Massachusetts] and coordinate a mass rally, calling on other trade unions and black groups to join in a united effort to defeat the Ku Klux Klan and the Nazis who are stirring racial hatred and attempting to divide the working class, and

2) That the national office and IUMSWA officials in Boston help initiate the mobilization of squads of IUMSWA members with other labor and black organizations to protect the children being bused—both black and white.

Continued from page 3

...S.F. City Workers

bitration takes them away *after* a strike is already on.

Why Strike Now?

That is why all those who argue that we should all be good little citizens during this election period, and consider a strike ONLY IF Prop. L passes, are way off in the wrong ball park. One of the important features of Prop. L which the labor bureaucrats in particular wish to forget is the clause which EXEMPTS the Charter Amendment from any change *even* if the Mayor declares a state of emergency—like during a general strike! This clause is specifically intended to prevent labor from using its strike weapon to knock down Prop. L if it passes.

Most importantly, workers must realize that the labor bureaucrats are not going to want to call a specifically illegal strike. It was hard enough to get them to go out last March. They are responsible, remember, for the results of the March strike: settling for 7 percent when the week before the strike broke out *even crummy George Meany* said nobody should settle for under 10 percent. And then there's the question: what happened to those raises?

Brothers and sisters! If Prop. L passes, it will represent a *defeat* for the entire labor movement. The time for action is RIGHT NOW. The Chamber of Commerce and all their supporters should be given a taste of what the labor movement of San Francisco will do if this union-busting proposition stays on the ballot and is passed—a show of strength *before* Nov. 5!

That is why the Spartacist League, in conjunction with trade-union militants throughout the Bay Area, has been fighting for the last weeks that the major focus of labor's fight be a massive MOBILIZATION OF THE RANK AND FILE THROUGH DEMONSTRATIONS AND STRIKES TO BUILD FOR A GENERAL STRIKE to sweep Prop. L off the ballot. That means independent labor action.

The first step in that direction should be a decisive break with the "Citizens United" strategy, a clean break with the Democratic Party. Labor has no interest in subordinating its struggles to defend itself to further the careers of the Democratic Party "honorary co-chairmen." The union movement should break with these capitalist representatives and set up its own united-front committee to stop Prop. L.

Of course, if all this fails, on November 5th we call for a *massive* and *overwhelming* NO VOTE. The San Francisco workers movement must make it clear that it will not allow such vicious anti-labor laws to pass in San Francisco—*or anywhere else!*

Break with the Democrats—Build a Workers Party!

For those unionists who have not previously understood the relationship between politics and economics, the labor bureaucrats' abortive campaign against Prop. L is a bitter lesson to be learned. The question of the strike, wages and fringe benefits, collective bargaining, binding arbitration and how to fight are all tied to the question of the present labor bureaucrats' alliance with the Democratic Party.

The struggle against Prop. L poses the need for labor to form its *own political party*—a workers party based on class-struggle politics that will fight for a workers government. Alioto, Brown, Feinstein or Ford, they are all essentially the same—PRO-CAPITALIST AND ANTI-LABOR.

A "people-to-people" approach, as advocated by the Revolutionary Union-supported Concerned Muni Drivers caucus, as the way to defeat Prop. L is in practice simply an electoral approach. The historic task is to break labor from the likes of Alioto and Brown. "Class against class," the workers vs. the capitalists is what is called for to smash Prop. L.

But beyond Prop. L it is clear that for labor to go forward a resolute struggle must be started to get rid of the present labor leadership by the formation of class-struggle oppositional caucuses in every union. These caucuses must have a program that links up the day-to-day grievances, racism, sexism, speed-up, inflation and layoffs to the objective need for workers to take control of the society and shape it to their needs: *FOR A WORKERS GOVERNMENT*.

Fraternally,
BAY AREA SPARTACIST LEAGUE

Puerto Rican Independence Rally at Madison Square Garden

NEW YORK, October 30—Approximately 15,000 people attended a rally for Puerto Rican independence Sunday at Madison Square Garden. Scheduled to coincide with today's anniversary of the 1950 Nationalist uprising on the island, the event was dedicated to five Puerto Rican political prisoners (Rafael Cancel Miranda, Oscar Collazo, Andrés Figueroa, Irving Flores and Lolita Lebrón) who have languished in U.S. jails for more than 20 years.

The day before the rally, five banks in New York City were bombed, reportedly by a group calling itself the Armed Forces of National Liberation (FALN). A note left in a telephone booth demanded freedom for the Nationalist prisoners and immediate independence for Puerto Rico.

At the Garden the accent was on unity of all "progressives." The English slogan for the event was an appeal to liberal American nationalists: "For a Bi-Centennial without Colonies." (In Spanish there was a different theme: posters for the rally urged, "Boricua, defiende lo tuyo"—"Puerto Rican, defend what's yours"!)

The slant toward liberals was symbolized by the presence of two huge flags, U.S. and Puerto Rican, hanging from the ceiling. Red flags and the flag of the 1869 Lares revolt, traditional at *independentista* gatherings, were noticeably scarce.

The speakers were selected to emphasize this note of "broad support." Most were uninspiring. Angela Davis noted that Cuba, too, was a small island while Jane Fonda appealed to the "great" traditions of the U.S. The problem, according to the entertainer, was the "policy of empire" which was "trying to create a consumer society in Vietnam."

PSP leader Juan Mari Bras WV PHOTO

Angela Davis WV PHOTO

Jane Fonda WV PHOTO

The longest speaking time was allotted to Juan Mari Bras, general secretary of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party (PSP), the organization which launched the Garden rally. His speech was appropriately toned down for the occasion, never even mentioning the U.S. working class or socialism in Puerto Rico! Questioned at a news conference about what kind of government he foresaw after independence, the PSP leader replied, "a republic."

A note of discord was struck by a Maoist speaker from the Asian Study Group who condemned "Soviet social-imperialism." This set off a loud chorus of boos, led by Stalinists and the PSP section of the audience, which drowned out the rest of his speech.

But the overall tone of the event was set by the long list of entertainers who paraded across an enormous red rug in the center of a hockey rink. Among them were Lucecita Benítez, Ray Barreto and Danny Rivera singing popular Puerto Rican songs. The Grupo Taoné from the island and El Grupo from New York added a note of protest, as did Holly Near who sang a number with the theme, "No, no, no—No more genocide." Pete Seeger gave a rendition of "Guantanamera."

The rally sponsors were so desperate to represent "all shades of opinion" that they invited N.Y. television commentator Geraldo Rivera who is detested by many *independentistas* and universally considered an opportunist. Sporting an expensive white suit and a T-shirt with the Puerto Rican flag, Rivera was booed both when he said he used to oppose independence *and* when he announced his conversion.

Proletarian Revolution or Liberal Protest

Trotskyists are the most consistent opponents of colonialism, defending the right of all oppressed nations to self-determination. We demand immediate, unconditional independence of Puerto Rico from the U.S. Communists are firm opponents of imperialism and struggle to unite workers of all countries. This can only be done by opposing all national oppression, the breeding ground for the bourgeois ideology of nationalism.

But it is the obligation of Marxists to warn that the feeble bourgeois independence forces will not achieve national liberation. It is necessary to mobilize the Puerto Rican and U.S. workers in struggle for their own class interests. The goal of such a seething social conflict cannot be limited to mere formal independence—postage stamps, a flag and a native army to repress the masses.

Rather, the only program which can inspire the oppressed to heroic sacrifices is the promise of an end to their exploitation and misery. This requires the elimination of imperialist domination which can only come about through proletarian revolution, establishing a soviet Puerto Rico as part of a socialist federation of the Caribbean.

The PSP organizers of the October 27 rally were, in fact, quite careful to avoid the subject of socialist revolution (as were all the CP, Maoist, black nationalist and liberal speakers). In a pamphlet distributed at the Garden ("Puerto Ricans and Proletarian Internationalism," October 1974) El Comité, a New York Puerto Rican leftist group, reprinted its exchange of letters with the Puerto Rican Solidarity Day Committee.

El Comité had criticized the lack of any reference to socialism in rally propaganda as well as the "revisionist-liberal perspective" indicated by the speakers list. It suggested adding a pro-independence Puerto Rican socialist legislator, but the rally Committee turned this down.

The show-business spectacular quality of the event was widely criticized. One pamphlet distributed outside the hall ("El Martillo" which announces itself as the "clandestine publication" of the COR—Revolutionary Workers Committees) noted: "Compañero, anyone in our community will tell you that Lucecita Benítez, Danny Rivera, Ray Barreto, Jane Fonda and the other entertainers would fill the garden without calling it a day of solidarity. They have a following, a great following which is apolitical."

The respectable, festival atmosphere was not accidental. The PSP could have spent months building for a massive demonstration but chose not to. These reformists see the question not as one of organizing proletarian revolution but rather as a moral protest, which must "reach out" to liberals, on the model of the Vietnam peace crawls. Hence Geraldo Rivera; hence no mention of socialism or the U.S. working class.

This reformism is tied to Mari Bras' refusal to criticize the bank bombings, when questioned at the news conference. Undoubtedly, his response is partly due to the PSP's nationalist conception of "unity" of all pro-independence forces.

Marxists *do*, however, criticize individual terrorism, pointing out that it is no strategy for victory, that these are impotent acts of despair on the part of those who see no real possibility of united working-class struggle. (We also make clear that we defend leftist/nationalist terrorists against the imperialist state when their target is the class enemy and not random individuals.)

For the reformist/nationalist PSP, in contrast, the bombings are just another moral gesture. They are politically no different from the respectable Madison Square Garden spectacular or the PSP's annual pilgrimages to the United Nations.

Revolutionary Marxists know, even if Mari Bras and the PSP do not, that real national liberation can only be the product of victorious proletarian revolution, in which workers of the U.S. and the colony struggle jointly against the comman enemy—capitalism in its period of imperialist decay.■

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What Is the Communist Labor Party?

At a conference held over Labor Day weekend in Detroit, the left-Maoist Communist League (CL) declared itself to be the Communist Labor Party, vanguard party of the American proletariat. While this pretentious declaration doubtless escaped the attention of 99.99 percent of the U.S. working class, it has had a very big impact upon the various self-proclaimed Maoist organizations.

In the months leading up to its Labor Day conference, the CL was the object of lengthy and bitter denunciations by virtually every Maoist tendency in the U.S. The epithets flung at it ranged from the mundane "out and out counter-revolutionary tricky-dicks [?!] and political imposters and swindlers" to the ultimate in Stalinist invective—"Trotskyite!"

Internecine warfare among the Mao cultists is nothing new, of course, and they routinely trade slanders, accusations and brickbats. This is to be expected. After all, while all the myriad Maoist tendencies are scrambling after the Chinese franchise, the "Great Helmsman" sits in Peking, detached and Olympian, apparently uninterested in revealing which of the several interpretations of his thought is correct. Thus the Maoist pot is perpetually simmering.

Still it is unusual for one group to draw such a heavy fire as that directed at the CL (now the CLP). Just what is the CLP? How does it differ from the other ostensibly Maoist groups and why has it been the target of so many vitriolic polemics?

Origins of the Communist Labor Party

The CLP, under the leadership of one Nelson Perry, is the sole surviving heir of the first of several pro-Stalin oppositional groupings to emerge within the U.S. Communist Party (CP) in the wake of Khrushchev's 1956 denunciation of Stalin. Upon quitting the CP in 1958 this tendency formed the Provisional Organizing Committee to Reconstitute the Marxist-Leninist Vanguard Party in the USA (POC). The POC was especially enamored with Stalin's "leftist" Third Period and in particular with the slogan "self-determination for the Negro Nation in the Black Belt."

The POC existed for nearly a decade as a stagnant and isolated cluster of diehard Stalinists, largely black and Puerto Rican, who supported the Chinese CP in the Sino-Soviet dispute. But by 1967 the POC had begun to drift in a direction in some ways parallel to that taken by the Progressive Labor Party (PLP) several years later. According to the CL, the POC at this time

> "...began searching for the roots of revisionism and like the PLP found these roots with Stalin, Dimitrov, the 7th World Congress of the C.I. and took steps to throw Mao in for good measure."
>
> —"Dialectics of the Development of the Communist League"

Unable to embrace this new line, Perry and his West Coast POC group were expelled from the organization shortly after its 1968 convention.

> "The Labor day 1968 POC Conference in New York, spelt the end of a period ....By that time, the POC had completed the turn and now it was thoroughly disgusted with the Anglo-American working class; it held the Trotskyite position on the Soviet Revolution and it was increasingly steeped with hatred for the leadership of the Revolution, especially Mao, whom they labeled as the chief revisionist."
>
> —*Ibid.*

Perry quickly "reconstituted" his followers as the California Communist League (CCL), an organization dedicated to defending Stalin against "Khrushchevite revisionism," singing hymns of praise to Mao Tse-tung and advocating the slogan of immediate independence for the "Negro Nation." While the POC has since disappeared, the CCL has grown from about a dozen members into an organization which boasted that over 500 delegates attended the recent CLP founding conference.

It is the organizational success of the CL/CLP vis-à-vis the other Maoists over the past several years that is doubtless a cause of much of the venom directed toward it by the October League (OL) and the Revolutionary Union (RU). The more left-posturing RU in particular feels threatened by the CLP's recent growth and its own loss of black members. In the past year the RU has seen two of its ex-bedfellows, the Black Workers Congress (BWC) and the Puerto Rican Revolutionary Workers Organization (PRRWO), enter the CL orbit (only to be shortly and unceremoniously ejected—whereupon they have since declared their own little attempts to build a "party").

In the wake of a general lack of results from "mass [i.e., opportunist] work," many independent Maoists and restive RUers are being attracted by the CLP's emphasis on "party-building," its significant industrial implantation and its sizeable core of black and minority cadre, including the more militant elements of Detroit's late League of Revolutionary Black Workers. Playing upon this attraction a CL leader recently bragged that the CL is "about 1/3 Anglo-American, 1/3 Negro national minority, and 1/3 Latin national minority; 60 percent women and 100 percent working class" (*Peoples' Tribune*, May 1974).

The CLP's Stalinism

Unlike its OL and RU rivals, whose leaders first came over to Mao and then to Stalin via petty-bourgeois New Left protest politics, the CL/CLP from the outset looked to Stalin.

> "It was the theoretical and ideological defense of Stalin that built the Communist League. We know and history has fully confirmed the fact that a Party cannot be built in the United States unless it takes full account of the teachings of Lenin *and* Stalin...."
>
> —*Peoples' Tribune*, March 1972

The CLP's route to Mao grew out of solidarity with Mao's defense of Stalin against "Khruschevism."

Hence, as opposed to its ex-New Left competitors, the CLP prefers above all to worship Stalin and tends to relegate Mao to the status of a secondary deity. As the RU correctly points out, "CL claims not only to be the great standard-bearer of Marxism-Leninism, but of Stalin's work in particular." For example, in the introduction to its pamphlet "The Negro National Colonial Question" the CLP asserts that "This statement... is a realfirmation of the position of the Communist International and the position of V. I. Lenin and J. V. Stalin, the greatest of all thinkers on the question of oppressed peoples and nations." ("Note," hisses the RU, "that Mao Tse-tung is not included.")

An index of the CLP's attachment to the "Great Father of the Soviet Peoples" and to *all* Stalinthought can be found in its attitude toward Trotskyism. Castigating the OL for seeking an "anti-imperialist" bloc with the SWP (which the CLP wrongly believes to be Trotskyist), the *Peoples' Tribune* shamelessly lectures:

> "What is the Marxist-Leninist position on Trotskyism? We have always held that the Trotskyites are counterrevolutionary agents whose role is to be the center and rallying point for the enemies of the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat. Trotsky himself was an agent of the German fascists, actively trying to destroy the Socialist Revolution in the USSR. Trotskyism is *not* some incorrect trend within the Communist movement to be bargained with or argued with. Stalin makes clear that: 'Trotskyism is not a political trend in the working class but a gang: without principle, without ideas, of wreckers, diversionists, intelligence service agents, spies, murderers, a gang of sworn enemies of the working class, working in the pay of intelligence services of foreign states.'"
>
> —*Peoples' Tribune*, March 1973

It is truly pitiful that the CLP imagines it can get away with such shamefaced lies. Any serious militant willing to take the time to examine the real history of the October Revolution can quickly convince himself or herself that such tales about Trotskyism were the smokescreen behind which Stalin organized the murder and imprisonment of the best militants of Lenin's Bolshevik Party.

Does the CLP really believe that anyone remotely familiar with the facts of the case will be gullible enough to join it in concluding that the overwhelming majority of Lenin's Central

Joseph Stalin

Committee of 1917, leaders of the Bolshevik Party, the October Revolution and the Communist International, were ultimately to end up "agents of Hitler and the Mikado?" Such fairy tales are an insult to the intelligence of any honest militant. By spreading them, Stalinists like the CLP only help to create cynicism and anti-communism and do not at all succeed in hiding their political bankruptcy.

The Fundamental Contradiction

In fact, the CLP's militant defense of Stalin and his crimes manages to do nothing more than lead it to tie itself up in a unique and fundamental contradiction. The split of the central cadre of the CLP from the CPUSA back in 1958 was to the left and did reflect a genuine revulsion with the CP's gross class collaboration. But at the same time, the splitters looked to Stalin (who, fortunately for them, was no longer alive) and his "theories" as an antidote to the CP's policy of class treason. In this manner the CLP has been led to take a number of positions whose Alice-In-Wonderland qualities would do justice to J. V. Stalin himself.

Thus, with a perfectly straight face the CLP can assure us that:

> "The world wide impact of the 7th World Congress was largely lost on the C.P.U.S.A. Their concepts of the United Front could be summed up as: In the labor movement, a left center coalition with the center in the leadership. Politically, develop an international and national struggle against fascism under the leadership of Roosevelt and the Democratic Party. When Roosevelt took Browder out of jail in 1941 and then invited him to the White House for dinner, the fate of the Communist Party was sealed. To this day the C.P.U.S.A. has not broken the style of work that makes them the tail of the liberal bourgeoisie."
>
> —"Dialectics of the Development of the Communist League"

For hack Maoists like Avakian and Klonsky, everything the CP did in this period that is too gross to cover up was simply Browder's fault. But as good opportunists they hesitate to reject everything the CP did from 1941 on, both from fear of smearing Stalin with some of the responsibility for the CP's betrayals and from a desire to keep their own collaborationist options open.

The CLP leadership has no such qualms. It has also read Stalin—more carefully than the RU and OL. Thus, the CLP points out that while Stalin criticized Lovestone-Pepper for American exceptionalism, he was also careful to note that William Z. Foster was not without faults. The CLP is therefore led to adopt the consistent Stalin position that at bottom the CPUSA was never quite a Leninist party and has always been plagued by white chauvinism, American exceptionalism and criminal factionalism. How could it be otherwise? Stalin, you see, was infallible. Whatever blunders or crimes the various CPs committed could not be *his* fault; they must be laid at the doorsteps of local CP leaderships.

The only problem is that the CLP is not so consistent as Stalin in maintaining this theory. Rather than maintaining that *every* Communist Party in the world, everyone in fact save J. V. Stalin, was guilty of original sin and was some sort of national chauvinist and a criminal factionalist, the CLP imagines the problem of class collaboration stopped at the U.S. borders. It has no criticisms of the Stalinist parties of Spain, France, Chile, Cuba, etc. during the same period. Unfortunately for the "American exceptionalist" CLP,

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CORRECTIONS

The article " 'Left' Cretinism in the NDP" in *WV* No. 53, 27 September, refers to a "convention" of the Ontario New Democratic Party in 1972 when the left-wing Waffle Caucus was ordered to disband. It was actually at the Orillia provincial council of the ONDP, in June 1972, that this occurred. By the ONDP convention in December the Waffle had already left.

In *WV* No. 55, 25 October, the article on "Racist Terror Shakes Boston" refers to a march to the Boston Common on October 12. The correct date of the demonstration was October 13. In the same issue an article on Ireland refers to a "Special Measures Act" which first authorized internment. The law is actually entitled the Special Powers Act. This has been superseded by the Emergency Provisions Act.

SL Goes Forward

Workers League Crumbles

Crisis Comes, Wohlforth Goes

Amidst the desultory fanfare of celebrating "Ten Years of the Bulletin,*" the Workers League slid its former leader of more than a decade, Tim Wohlforth, into oblivion without a word of lamentation, jubilation, or even excuse.*

An apathetic audience of about 180 listened as the WL's October 25 "Tenth Anniversary" public meeting in New York introduced Fred Mazelis as WL National Secretary, confirming the rumors that Wohlforth had been deposed as WL head. (We print below the text of our leaflet distributed at that meeting.)

The ouster of Wohlforth represents a tremendous setback for Healyism internationally. The Workers League is the oldest and largest Healyite colony, and Wohlforth had been its leader, pretentious propagandist and public spokesman from the outset. As befits the WL's razzle-dazzle operation, Wohlforth had at least a certain, albeit tawdry, presence. His replacement by the colorless and slimy Fred Mazelis is apparently a last-ditch attempt to stem the WL's hemorrhaging of its small core of cadre.

For years the WL sought to drive its young supporters to ever greater frenzies of work and self-sacrifice in executing an opportunist line with promises that The Crisis would catapult the WL's Potemkin Village into the big time. With unintentional irony, one young WL supporter told a WV reporter that the bureaucratic and sectarian Wohlforth finally had to go, now that The Crisis has come.

Whether Wohlforth will reappear in the course of some future WL gyration, opposition or palace coup, only time and possibly Healy can tell. But this much is clear: Wohlforth has no future in ostensibly socialist politics outside the Workers League. Even among the most demoralized of the degeneration products of Trotskyism, he is notorious as a demagogue and a fraud.

Only the consummate cynics of the WL would try to disappear their founding leader without one word of denunciation, self-criticism or comment. It might have been wiser, though, to have announced that poor Wohlforth had come down with a bad case of phlebitis.

The pages of *Workers Vanguard*, *Spartacist* and individual leaflets have over the years devoted sufficient attention to Tim Wohlforth and the Workers League. We have exposed the WL's shamefully opportunist and self-contradictory positions (most grotesquely, managing in one issue of the *Bulletin* to simultaneously hail the alleged turn of the corrupt black nationalist Newton wing of the Panthers to "dialectics" and [to support] the striking New York cops). We have exposed the WL's accompanying lies, dishonesty, duplicity and bombastic pretense, centered on the WL's fake-popular "agitational" newspaper. We have exposed the WL's shameless disregard for the principle of workers democracy. The cynics who have made up the core of the WL either ignored or even agreed with these characterizations and shrugged them off with a "so what? that's how we're going to get ahead."

But the WL's attempt to adapt the usual practices of big-time bureaucratic and revisionist parties to the few hundreds in the WL has been a disaster, as indeed such a one-sided sellout must be. The WL is hopelessly cut off from recruiting militants from any part of the existing left, where everyone who cares knows the WL as a dirty word. The

Fred Mazelis — WV PHOTO

only source left for WL recruitment is raw, semi-political youth, whom the WL tries to turn from would-be socialists into corrupted WL cynics. But the real all-sided irrelevance and isolation of the WL from social or political struggles lead to enormous turnover, for the WL can deliver neither social struggle nor even any real payoff for corruption. So these often serious, if naive, youth just go away, embittered and anti-socialist. The internal life of the WL mirrors its publicly expressed fakery and scumminess. So except for the *very* narrow central clique, even the most cynical and degenerate WL cadres can only be the recipients of the same endless stupid abuse and lying which the WL tries to dump on the world at large. The political life of a WL member is indeed nasty, brutal and above all short. The WL's basic method of "short-cuts" in principle and endless demagogy is a *losers'* strategy.

Healy

The WL's creeping crisis of cadre loss appears to have reached Tim Wohlforth himself. The main story going around is that he has been deposed as central leader. For all we know he's still covertly the American boss, or perhaps the disappearance of his name in recent *Bulletins* reflects his expulsion. If the latter is the case this makes Wohlforth a *three*-time loser as central leader: in 1962 the Spartacist tendency took a majority in the then-common faction away from him; in 1964 his then-buddies, the Phillips state capitalist group, broke with him and took a majority with them; now three quarters of his cadre has walked out on him over the last 18 months, and Gerry Healy appears to have dumped him.

While Wohlforth has preened himself as a master theoretician, parading in his "The Struggle for Marxism in the U.S." as the first *real* American Marxist and proud author of the eccentric work "Theory of Structural Assimilation" (an embarassed WL disappeared that one several years ago), his main contribution has been to turn crucial aspects of Marxism—"theory," "method" and "dialectics"—into empty mystifications in order to peddle political garbage.

The WL has always been a satellite of Gerry Healy's British group and is the product of steady pressure to conform to Healy's imaginings of what an American version of the British WRP ought to look like. Remember that the idiot opportunist WL line of a couple of years ago that "the road to the American working class is through the YSA" was admittedly dictated to the WL in Britain. The WL as it has become is, together with the interchangeable Australian and West German Healyite groups (the only other two visible Healyite groups outside Britain), the foreign face of the British Healy/Banda operation.

To blame Wohlforth and not Healy for the present sad state of the WL would be like blaming William Z. Foster and not Stalin for the crimes of the American CP, and in no case could an Earl Browder/Freddie Mazelis set things right.

Trotskyism

Unlike the Healyite shambles, the international Spartacist tendency and its American section, the Spartacist League, have leaped forward, making great gains because of its fidelity to the Trotskyist program and its energetic assault upon crisis-ridden revisionists in a dozen countries. The *Spartacist* is published in four languages, while the SL/U.S. produces a bi-weekly *Workers Vanguard* on the road to becoming a weekly, a monthly *Young Spartacus* and the journal *Women and Revolution*. In the United States a communist cadre is being forged in the labor movement, through hard-hitting trade-union fractions, and elsewhere.

It is the Spartacist League, not the Workers League, which has been able to win revolutionary elements from Maoism, labor reformism, the SWP and its international bloc partners, and the left social democracy. While the WL press makes wild claims to having brought down Nixon and then warns of resulting imminent fascism which only the WL can stop, the SL and Spartacus Youth League have undertaken real campaigns and struggles: in solidarity with the British miners' strike; around the agricultural workers; stopping the loading of ships to Chile; for the jailing of Nixon; for strikes against anti-labor legislation; for mass united front demonstrations to defeat the racist anti-busing forces. This is why the Spartacist League is undergoing all-sided growth—geographically, among workers and into new industries, among black and student youth.

Don't wait for cynicism and burnout, the sure fate of those who stay overlong with the Workers League; like many other fake "revolutionary" organizations, the ranks are better than the counterfeit cause they try loyally to serve. Look to the Spartacist League for Marxist leadership!

To those who cling to the demonstrated bankruptcy of the Workers League's opportunism and deceit, we can only say along with Trotsky: "To face reality squarely; not to seek the line of least resistance; to call things by their right names; to speak the truth to the masses, no matter how bitter it may be; not to fear obstacles; to be true in little things as in big ones; to base one's program on the logic of the class struggle; to be bold when the hour for action arrives—these are the rules of the Fourth International" (Transitional Program, 1938).

Continued from page 1

...Jefferson

to do or what the action and resistance should be, however.

A rally tonight called by Jesse Jackson's PUSH and the NAACP focused on the threatened closure of Jefferson, which is 75 percent black. While the meeting drew 800 there were no speakers from the UAW leadership. (When you have no answers, it's smart to keep your mouth shut!)

Jackson's theme was "be a man," and "don't let them take your masculinity." He then called for all the men to rise, come forward, hold hands and pray!

If Jefferson Assembly is closed workers should take over the factory, backed up by the entire UAW and the rest of the labor movement, demanding the government expropriate the plant. Placing no confidence in the bosses' government to organize industry in the interests of working people (it would certainly run the plant into the ground just as Chrysler has), Jefferson workers cannot limit a factory takeover to a simple sitdown strike, but must impose workers control of production through an elected factory committee.

The occupation of Jefferson would have an appeal far beyond the confines of a single plant, city or industry. Taking over factories and instituting workers control could lead to a situation of *dual power* on a limited scale. Victory cannot be achieved in isolation. Factory occupations must be spread to plants threatened with closure throughout the industry and country.

Lasting gains will not be won simply by turning factories into producer cooperatives, particularly in an industry so tightly controlled by powerful monopolies. Nor would this offer an answer to the broader threat of unemployment facing all auto workers. A factory occupation at Jefferson must be part of a national campaign for a sliding scale of wages and hours, to provide jobs for all available workers, and for the nationalization of the auto industry without compensation.

Because of the key position of auto in the U.S. capitalist economy, such demands necessarily raise the need for a workers government. They also urgently require social planning of production, which, in turn, means extending workers control throughout the entire transport manufacturing industry.

A militant mass factory occupation, well planned and organized, and raising demands which all UAW members and workers throughout the country can recognize as their own, would not be a suicidal adventure such as that spawned by PL/WAM at Mack Avenue in August 1973. But to achieve success it must be part of a broad labor industrial and political offensive, with a capable, dedicated leadership and a clear class-struggle program. The key task in preparing to answer the wave of layoffs and plant closures is to begin forging that leadership, both in the plants and through the struggle to construct a vanguard party of the working class.■

"Labor Party" Farce in San Mateo County

BURLINGAME, California, October 26—A meeting here today, pretentiously billed as the founding conference of the "San Mateo County Labor Party," exposed the futile opportunism and comic stupidity of trying to form a labor party without struggling against the pro-capitalist union bureaucracy.

The core of the organizing committee for this "labor party" was a caucus in AFSCME (government employees' union), the Committee for New Leadership led by one Jerry Warren. Consciously seeking an alliance with the labor fakers in order to build a reformist party, the CNL put forward a truncated "minimum program" consisting of six planks: 100 percent cost-of-living escalator, no layoffs, free full-time childcare, no sexual/racial discrimination in hiring, free public transportation and public works jobs for the unemployed at union wage scales.

The hapless Class Struggle League, which had earlier conjured up a "United Front for a Labor Party" together with the CNL, enthusiastically advertised the conference in the Bay Area radical milieu. However, when militants arrived they discovered that only those who "live or work in San Mateo County" would be allowed to speak or vote! (No "outside agitators" here!) Thus the majority of those present were shunted into an observers' section while the "voting delegates"—a grand total of about 15—hammered out the program for the liberation of San Mateo County.

Partial Program, Total Betrayal

The CNL/CSL "partial program" merely represents one more attempt to tailor a "labor party" to what is acceptable to the present misleaders of labor. Last year an offhand remark by United Mine Workers president Arnold Miller, that workers should "elect a labor president," was enough to send the CSL into ecstasy. *Class Struggle* (November 1973) proclaimed that a "labor party...in which the workers will be better tied to the capitalist parliamentary farce" would be "a step forward for the class." The CSL "neglected" to mention that Miller never breathed a word about a labor party and is a longtime loyal Democrat.

So, too, with the "San Mateo County Labor Party." While its organizers were able to draw endorsements from a few isolated union locals (notably Fire Fighters and AFSCME), the only real power at the meeting was Tom Hunter, business manager of Plumbers and Steamfitters Local 467, in whose hall the SMCLP was "founded." Hunter, originally from Scotland and familiar with the British Labour Party, is also a "practical" business unionist. During the discussion he boasted that he tells his members to vote for Republicans like Houston Flournoy (for California governor) and Dixon Arnett (for state assembly)!

If the CNL/CSL program was partial, their betrayal was complete. Even the reformist six-point platform turned out to be negotiable as the meeting repeatedly capitulated to Hunter's right-wing objections. First he announced that "no layoffs" was simply "pie in the sky" and would "turn people off." Always accommodating, Jerry Warren proposed to amend the point to read "no layoffs where possible"! This was duly passed, with one CSL supporter voting against, for the record.

Next Hunter objected, with perfect reformist logic, that "free public transportation" would mean higher taxes on working people, so that point was tabled. Thus in the space of one afternoon, one third of the original program was dropped or rendered meaningless. Hunter even tried to amend the call for "public works at union wages" to read "...at prevailing wage scales"! But after some horse-trading a compromise ("...at prevailing union wage scales") was reached.

If only to advertise in advance their willingness to retreat to such a sub-reformist program, fully compatible with capitalist rule, the organizers of this farce had earlier made explicit appeals to backward social attitudes among the workers. A leaflet by the CNL/CSL "United Front for a Labor Party" bemoaned the fact that "the bosses make sure our paychecks aren't big enough to support our families so our wives are forced to work." (So women's place is in the home—or is it only wives?) One member of the CNL recently quit in disgust when Jerry Warren adamantly refused to include in the caucus program a point opposing discrimination against homosexuals. After all, it might jeopardize those endorsements from the Fire Fighters.

For a Workers Party to Fight for a Workers Government!

Later in the afternoon session "outside" organizations were permitted to make short statements. Earl Owens of the CSL tried to put a respectable face on the proceedings by denouncing unnamed radicals who want a "perfect labor party." (The CSL certainly proved its willingness to settle for an absurd parody of a labor party.) "The problem," he said, using the traditional argument of all reformists, "is to begin."

For the Spartacist League, Tweet Carter took the floor and pointed out that the struggle for a labor party must explicitly demand an end to support for the two capitalist parties. Our call for a workers party is linked to the perspective of a workers government and "the end of the capitalist system of exploitation," she emphasized. For that reason it is necessary to fight for a full transitional program representing the interests of the working class.

An SL leaflet to the conference listed as among the points necessary for a real class-struggle workers party: jobs for all, full cost-of-living protection, 30-for-40, strikes against layoffs; an end to all forms of racial and sexual discrimination; full union democracy, no government interference in the unions; expropriation of industry under workers control; oust the labor bureaucrats, break from the capitalist Democrats and Republicans; opposition to protectionism and U.S. imperialist war aims.

The problem with the CNL/CSL "minimum program," Carter noted in contrasting the SL's principled struggle, was that it glosses over crucial class questions, for instance, the presence of cops in the labor movement. Any trade union should exclude cops from its ranks: they are the agents of the class enemy. But AFSCME includes many thousand police among its members. Where would the "San Mateo County Labor Party" stand? The CNL and CSL were silent on this point.

Ruth Ryan of the Committee for a Militant UAW stressed the importance of opposing court interference in the unions, citing recent lawsuits against the UAW by reformist fake militants as a negative example. "The union bureaucracy is the obstacle," she noted, but the bureaucracy must be removed by the ranks, not the bosses' state.

When Is A "Labor Party" Not A Labor Party?

Near the end of the conference, the fundamentally anti-communist character of this "labor party" was exposed when an SL supporter pointed to a dangerous clause in the newly adopted constitution of the "SMCLP": "No member may act...to bring the party under the control of some other party or organization."

"If I were reading the AFL-CIO Constitution," the speaker said, "I would take this clause to refer to 'commies,' socialists, subversives, reds...." Suddenly Hunter shouted out from the audience, "Yes, that's what it means!" The embarrassed chairman responded that the clause could also refer to Democrats.

By this point there was no keeping the cat in the bag any longer. A San Francisco taxi driver asked whether a member in the San Mateo County Labor Party who was also a union leader could be expelled if he told his members to vote Republican or Democrat against an SMCLP candidate. Jerry Warren moved to defer the question, but Hunter was, as usual, unabashed: "The answer is NO!"

Hunter's reply made it crystal clear that the "SMCLP" is not a labor party at all, but just one more "independent" local slate that does not counterpose itself to the capitalist parties. Operating in a similar manner but on a much larger scale, the "American Labor Party" during the 1930's ran its own candidates locally while channelling votes to Roosevelt nationally.

Hunter became agitated by the attacks from the left and demanded time to reply. He related how a long time ago he attended a workers' meeting in Scotland which found it necessary to expel the Communists. "The police *are* working people," he asserted, and even "decent people" to boot.

In reaction to Hunter's anti-communist tirade an older worker in the printing trades in San Mateo County rose to say that a lot of Hunter's ideas were "all wet." He went on to say he had been active in the American Labor Party in New York, and it had been an opportunist venture. It was necessary, he declared, to break with the Republicans and Democrats, and he would fight for that. The cops, he said, were scabs and must be thrown out of the unions.

Stunned by this attack on his creation Warren quickly moved to end discussion. By this point even the CSL looked shamed by the crass opportunism of its CNL "allies," but it dutifully voted for the founding of the SMCLP, its miserable consititution and Jerry Warren as executive secretary of this abortion. ■

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The CSL's "International": Fourth, Fifth or Cop?

A hotly debated issue at the meeting to organize a "San Mateo County Labor Party" was the role of police—the hired guns of the capitalist class. The Spartacist League stated forthrightly that cops should be expelled from all working-class organizations, including unions (such as AFSCME) and any labor party. Others, leading union bureaucrats, wanted to include cops. It is now rumored that the "SMCLP" wants to run a candidate for sheriff.

Throughout the discussion the Class Struggle League and the Committee for New Leadership (a caucus in AFSCME) remained silent on this important question. However, their apparent neutrality is only on the surface. At the 1972 national convention of AFSCME CNLer Jerry Warren strongly *opposed* a resolution proposed by a delegate from the Militant Caucus of AFSCME Local 2070 (Los Angeles) demanding that cops and prison guards be expelled from the union.

Earl Owens, leading West Coast member of the tiny CSL, complained at this meeting that the SL had lied about and distorted his position on the cops by asserting in a leaflet that he supports unionization of cops, considers them part of the working class and would welcome them into the CSL provided they accept its program and discipline.

Not only did CSLers at the meeting never call for excluding cops from a labor party; not only is the CSL in a propaganda bloc with Jerry Warren who opposes expelling cops from AFSCME; but we have a handwritten statement from Brother Owens stating just what his "position" is:

> 10/26/74
> "I, the undersigned, Earl [Owens], state that individual members of the police and army, in my opinion, who accept and will fight for the Transitional Program of the IV International and accept the discipline of the revolutionary party, have the right to membership in the revolutionary party. Though such individuals are not by occupation part of the working class, they can be invaluable to the revolutionary party, to the extent they struggle against the organs of bourgeois repression."
>
> /s/ Earl [Owens]

What a stupid travesty of Marxism and the basic principle of working-class independence from the bourgeoisie! During an earlier verbal discussion with SLers following a forum of the Berkeley-based Committee for Working Class Studies, Owens repeatedly refused to state that cops are not part of the working class and asserted that they could join any workers' organization without resigning from the police force.

In another written statement from the October 26 meeting Owens states that "if cops *stop* being cops, i.e. stop breaking strikes" then they could join the unions. As to accepting the program and discipline of the revolutionary party, what police infiltrator doesn't claim that!

The call for non-strike-breaking cops to join the unions is the crassest Kautskyian notion of taking over the state. It is not unknown to Brother Owens that under the Weimar Republic Prussian state police were heavily recruited from among members of the Social Democratic Party. Perhaps the CSL has something similar in mind, as part of its "proletarian military policy."

Members of the Fire Fighters' union, outraged by Sheriff's Department attacks on picket lines, may mistakenly believe that a "labor sheriff" would behave differently. But for Owens, who claims to be a Leninist, to perpetuate such illusions is stupid and criminal. ■

CANADA

Union Bureaucrats Dissolve Bargaining Council

Postal Workers Stranded Before Automation Drive

TORONTO, October 28—As the Canadian government proceeds to implement large-scale "rationalization" of the mails at the expense of postal workers, the leaders of both post office unions have dissolved the joint bargaining council, leaving their members with neither a contract nor union protection!

Postal workers are presently organized into two unions: the 22,000-member Canadian Union of Postal Workers (CUPW), which is mainly composed of clerks, and the Letter Carriers Union of Canada (LCUC) representing 12,000 drivers and letter carriers. Since 1967 the two unions have had a joint bargaining agent, the Council of Postal Unions (CPU).

However, on October 8 the CUPW, with the cooperation of the LCUC, dissolved the CPU. Now both unions must apply separately for recertification, a process which will take at least several months. Thus while the government considers recertification of the unions, the Treasury Department (which administers the postal service) can freely automate with no worries about union "interference."

The rationalization scheme (MAPP) is based on automation of mail sortation, eliminating some of the more skilled classifications of postal clerks. The automation will result in increased workloads and layoffs for most categories of postal workers.

CUPW members have already demonstrated their readiness to fight the MAPP plan by launching a nationwide strike last April against the impending rationalization. The CUPW bureaucrats, led by president Joe Davidson, quickly sold out that struggle, first by limiting the struggle to opposition to wage cuts and then by forcing the ranks back to work without having won even these minimal demands. The LCUC bureaucrats formally advised their members to honour CUPW picket lines but refused to organize active support for the strike.

Now these bureaucrats hope to avoid militant struggle against MAPP by opposing any strike action as "foolhardy" until the union is recertified. The CUPW sellouts expect that their members will have accepted MAPP as a "fait accompli" by the time that the jurisdictional wrangles and red tape are finally resolved.

CUPW Raids LCUC

CUPW leaders had yet another reason for dissolving the CPU at this time. They plan to effect a "merger" on their own terms with the LCUC: CUPW has been raiding the LCUC drivers (Mail Service Couriers) since April. The CUPW tops seem to think that between now and the time of recertification they will be able to sign up enough of the 2,500 MSCs to have that category included in their jurisdiction. Thus the MAPP plan won't affect the bureaucrats—recruitment of drivers will offset the loss of dues from laid-off clerks!

The ranks have not been taken in by Davidson's demagogic "merger" rhetoric. At a September 29 Toronto CUPW local meeting, militants put forward a motion that the local go on record as being opposed to raiding, since raiding only creates further obstacles to merger. The motion passed overwhelmingly. Even the local union brass found it impossible not to affirm this basic principle of labour solidarity.

The response of the national bureaucracy? CUPW leaders threatened to suspend the democratic rights of the union's largest local. In a letter of October 22 addressed to "all members of the Toronto local" Davidson stated:

> "This lack of action [to recruit the Mail Service Couriers] on the part of your Local leaders has caused the Calgary Local to urge all other Locals involved in the Mail Services Carriers campaign to demand that the National Executive Board place the Toronto Local under trusteeship.
> *"For the sake of unity, support your National Union. . . ."*

It is precisely Davidson's raiding tactics which threaten a merger of the two unions into a "strong and united" national union which could effectively deal with the threat of job layoffs.

On the other hand, the response of the LCUC tops to CUPW raiding has been to go to the bourgeois courts to obtain an injunction. This is an act of fundamental class betrayal. The courts intervene in union affairs not as "unbiased" mediators, but to increase the control of the capitalist class over the workers' organizations. Militants in the postal unions must demand *government out of union affairs!*

LCUC bureaucrats have consistently opposed merger with the larger CUPW because they fear a loss of privileges for themselves. Their response to MAPP has been to assure their membership that it is primarily a problem for the CUPW clerks! In reality drivers and letter carriers will also be affected by the rationalization.

PAC-RMG: Militant Economism

In opposition to the existing trade-union leaderships there are several supposedly radical groupings in the post office. But none provide any real alternative; all simply stand for one or another brand of "more militant" pure and simple trade unionism.

The Postal Action Committee (PAC), which is supported by the Canadian Party of Labour (associated with the Progressive Labor Party in the U.S.), specializes in "know-nothing" trade-union militancy. PAC's program for postal workers has two components: democratic rank-and-file control of the union and CPL's special cure-all—"30 for 40."

The slogan of a sliding scale of hours, to provide employment for all by dividing the available work among existing workers at no loss in pay, was first used by Leon Trotsky in the Transitional Program of 1938. It retains its full validity today as part of a revolutionary program to mobilize workers against bourgeois rule. For PAC, however, "30 for 40" is a demand which can "solve the problem of automation." Marxists recognize that the "problems of automation" (speed-up, wage cuts, unemployment) are endemic to capitalist production and cannot be "solved" by anything less than proletarian revolution and socialist planning.

Also active in the post office are supporters of the fake-Trotskyist Revolutionary Marxist Group (RMG), Canadian sympathizing organization of the so-called "United" Secretariat. RMG supporters function as individual militants while awaiting the spontaneous generation of an "organized vanguard layer" of postal workers who will lead their own struggles.

Mail stacked up during April's postal strike in Toronto. GLOBE AND MAIL

The failure of such a layer to come forward led the RMG to regretfully report in the October issue of the *Old Mole* that "no consistent opposition to the bullshit of the bureaucrats has emerged over the past couple of years." It certainly hasn't come from the RMG!

During the national wildcat strike last April the RMG followed the lead of the bureaucrats in focusing entirely on wage demands instead of raising demands which could have made the strike a fight against MAPP. The RMG's only contribution was to attempt to "spice up" its political capitulation by making some tactical suggestions for increasing the militancy of the strike (mass picketing, elected strike committees). The ultimate logic of such economism was clearly demonstrated when RMG supporters blocked with the bureaucrats in advocating a return to work without having resolved any of the major strike issues!

For a Class-Struggle Leadership

The MAPP rationalization cannot be defeated by trade-union bureaucrats who have so willingly acceded to the government at every point. Nor can the attacks against postal workers be defeated by a "new" leadership based on a program of simple shop-floor militancy. Only a leadership based on a full class-struggle program can provide a clear alternative to the sellout policies of the current bureaucracies.

A revolutionary leadership within the post office would call for an immediate merger of the two postal unions. Such a merger must take place as a result of a full and democratic discussion of all the issues involved and must guarantee that no section of the postal workers be required to sacrifice any benefits, gains or democratic rights already won.

A class-struggle leadership would fight for a shorter workweek at no loss in pay ("30 for 40") as part of the struggle to defeat government attempts to introduce massive automation and layoffs; for union control of hiring—a union hiring hall; for full union rights for *all* postal workers (part-timers, term employees and workers who have not yet completed their six months' probation); for union control of working conditions to undercut management harassment on the shop floor; for a sliding scale of wages to be adjusted upwards in direct proportion to the increased cost of living, as determined by a union cost-of-living commission.

The government's attacks on postal workers are part of a general assault on the rights and living standards of the entire working class, as the Canadian bourgeoisie attempts to improve its position relative to the capitalists of other states. A struggle for the real interests of postal workers—and all workers—must inevitably lead to an attack against the capitalist system itself. Thus a class-struggle program in the post office would not merely address the immediate needs of postal workers but would link these needs to the necessity of overthrowing the capitalist government of exploitation and oppression and replacing it with a workers government. ■

End U.S. Economic Blockade of Cuba!

It appears that the U.S. government is now considering proposals to lift its 13-year embargo on trade with Cuba. In April of this year Senators Javits and Pell introduced a Congressional resolution calling for a "review of United States-Cuban relations." Then, earlier this fall, the two Senate leaders travelled to Havana accompanied by a large number of newsmen. They returned to report that Castro was "friendly, frank, and warm" (*New York Times*, 1 October). Pell also walked off with one of Castro's cigars, which he presumably smoked before passing through U.S. Customs.

The first U.S. restrictions on trade with Cuba began in 1959, in response to expropriation of U.S. properties there following the overthrow of Batista. Eisenhower and Kennedy hoped that a boycott, in particular elimination of Cuba's sugar quota, would damage the island's economy and hinder the potential growth of its agricultural production. The U.S. also ordered its Latin American "allies" to close their ports to any ship that docked in Cuba.

The U.S.-imposed embargo made Cuba largely dependent on Russian credits, and for a while also curtailed trade with Europe. But neither the economic blockade nor the CIA's Bay of Pigs invasion succeeded in reimposing imperialist domination. Now, as Britain and Spain have traded regularly with Cuba for years, and with the world price of sugar rising to 40 cents a pound (up from 6.5 cents in 1961), a resumption of trade appears advantageous to Washington.

Trotskyists are the *best defenders* of the social conquests of the Russian, Chinese and Cuban revolutions. From 1959 on we have opposed the imperialist economic blockade of Cuba. Trade with capitalist countries proved to be necessary even in the earliest years of the Russian Revolution, in order to obtain needed raw materials and advanced technology. Against the attempts by U.S. rulers to economically strangle the USSR, American Trotskyists continued to demand diplomatic recognition of the Soviet Union even after Stalin had carried out a political counterrevolution, entrenching bureaucratic rule and purging the Marxists. We take the same attitude toward the Cuban deformed workers state.

Of course, increased relations with the imperialists pose dangers of counterrevolutionary subversion. This is

Fidel Castro. LEE LOCKWOOD/BLACK STAR

particularly true where, as in Cuba and the other deformed and degenerated workers states, there is no real workers democracy and the ruling group is a parasitic petty-bourgeois bureaucratic caste which seeks above all to protect its own privileges.

The only answer to the danger of capitalist restoration is a proletarian internationalist policy of extending the revolution. The Stalinists, who seek to conciliate imperialism, are incapable of carrying out such a Marxist policy, and it is no accident that today Castro has joined the Russians and Chinese in singing the praises of Henry Kissinger and détente.

In a recent television interview the "líder máximo" pointed out that the defeat in Chile was due to the fact that the military was not on the side of the working class (conveniently "forgetting" that he supported Allende before the coup). But Castro contrasts this with the "revolutionary" governments of Peru and Panama, where the colonels allegedly are on the side of the workers! "Peaceful coexistence," popular fronts with the "progressive" bourgeoisie and support for "anti-imperialist" military juntas—this is the logic of Stalinism.

Down with the U.S. economic blockade of Cuba! For unconditional defense of the deformed workers states against imperialist attack! For political revolutions to overthrow the parasitic bureaucracies from Moscow and Peking to Hanoi and Havana! ■

Continued from page 7

Communist Labor Party

an examination of the facts reveals that the CPUSA was simply carrying out a policy of class collaboration no different from that of any other Stalinist party, and further, that this policy originated with Joseph Stalin himself.

The United Front Against Fascism

The policy of the Seventh World Congress of the Comintern, the proposal of a "wide anti-fascist Popular Front" which would also draw in the petty-bourgeois parties "or certain sections of them to the side of the anti-fascist Popular Front, despite their [bourgeois] leadership" advocated by Stalin and Dimitrov, was a panic reaction to the defeat of the German working-class by the Nazis. This defeat was above all prepared by the "ultra-left" Third Period policies of Stalin—when he held that the No. 1 enemy was the "social-fascist" Social Democrats, and let Hitler march to power unhindered.

With the Seventh World Congress Stalin rushed to bloc not only with the Social Democrats, who only yesterday were supposed to be the "left wing of fascism," but also with the "democratic, anti-fascist" wing of the bourgeoisie. When the Communist International shifted its line from the Third Period to the Popular Front, the line of the American party shifted as well.

The CLP would like to blame Browder for a great deal of the CP's opportunism. Yet it is clear that Browder was placed in the leadership of the CP at Stalin's orders. Further, Browder faithfully carried out Stalin's Third Period line. When Stalin/Dimitrov signalled the switch to a policy of Popular Frontism, Browder obediently went along with the change. Does the CLP really believe that Stalin's back was turned when Browder liquidated the CPUSA (following the lead of Stalin who a year earlier had liquidated the Comintern!!) and declared "Communism is 20th century Americanism" [!!] or when Foster called the Roosevelt administration a *de facto* people's front, "a coalition among the worker, middle class elements, and the more liberal sections of the bourgeoisie"?

The CLP tries hard to keep up a left face. It was one of the few Stalinist tendencies to criticize the Allende regime in Chile, for example:

> "This Marxist government not only does nothing to free the working class from bourgeois political control, but actually condones it under the guise of 'unity against reaction'.... Of course, the Communist Party of Chile called for all out support to its policies. Right up to the very end they called upon the 'people' to support the 'patriotic' armed forces."
>
> —*Peoples' Tribune*, September 1973

But *this is precisely the role the CLP would play* if it logically followed through with its theory of the United Front Against Fascism, i.e., Stalin's people's front. In fact, the schizophrenic CLP endorses in the case of Vietnam and the Philippines the self-same tactics that it so strongly condemns in Chile. Thus, in the very issue of *Peoples' Tribune* quoted above the CLP states the need to "first achieve a new type of national democratic revolution, a people's democratic revolution in the concrete semi-colonial and semi-feudal conditions of the Philippines, *before reaching the stage of socialist revolution*" (our emphasis).

Again, this is precisely the role the Spanish Communist Party, under Stalin's direct guidance and with the blood-stained assistance of such "veteran communists" as CLP member Admiral Kilpatrick (whose job, brags the CLP, was "rooting out the hidden agents of the bloc of rights and Trotskyites"), played in crushing the Spanish workers' revolution nearly 40 years ago. Here is what Kilpatrick, the GPU and the Spanish Stalinists fought for, as quoted from the French Communist Party's *L'Humanité* in August 1936:

> "The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Spain requests us to inform the public... that the Spanish people are not striving for the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, but know only one aim: the defense of the republican order while respecting private property."
>
> —Felix Morrow, *Revolution and Counterrevolution in Spain*

Whither the CLP?

The CLP clings to Stalin, yet it cannot reconcile itself to the class collaboration of Stalin's CPUSA. It seeks to wriggle out of this contradiction by covering up the equally wretched records of other Stalinist parties and advancing an American exceptional theory of "revisionism in one country." Paper, as Stalin was fond of saying, will take anything that is written upon it. But insofar as the CLP attempts to construct a political party of the working class and intervene in the class struggle, it will only be able to reproduce the reformism it purports to fight. Indeed, despite its "leftist" impulses and ultra-Stalinism the practice of the CLP does not transcend the sub-reformism of its New Left Maoist competitors.

Of course the CLP arrives at its revolution-by-stages conclusions in its own unique manner. Stating that fascism is on the agenda (except in the Black Belt "Negro Nation" where, we are informed, it already exists), the CLP advocates the classical Stalinist United Front Against Fascism (in which, we are assured, the CLP will be the leading force). Holding the position that the oppression of black people in the U.S. is a national oppression and that the "Negro Nation" (which doesn't exist—see *Young Spartacus*, No. 23, May-June 1974) is a colony of American imperialism, the CLP demands immediate independence for the "Negro Nation" and states:

> "Our political outlook can be summed up—'the state of the United States is very powerful and as a united whole cannot be overthrown. *The overthrowal of this state is possible only if it is first* — or in the process — *dismembered*'." [our emphasis]
>
> —*Peoples' Tribune*, July 1974

The CLP claims to have broken with the "theory" of two-stage revolution only to return to it through the back door. Such is the inevitable fate of all would-be revolutionaries who embrace Stalinism which, as history has demonstrated, is reformist to the core.

The CLP cringes in fear of the "united whole" of the American bourgeoisie. This is the essence of revisionism—a lack of faith in the revolutionary capacity of the working class and its vanguard to defeat the bourgeois state. The reformists seek, therefore, an "easier" path. There is one state power in the U.S. Only a united working class marching behind a single, united, multi-racial Leninist-Trotskyist vanguard party will be able to overturn it and institute a workers government which will liberate all the oppressed. ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

UMW Strike Deadline Nears

Shut Down Coal! Organize the Unorganized!

NOVEMBER 2—Mine workers throughout the country are preparing for November 12, the day when their contract with the Bituminous Coal Operators' Association expires.

The coal industry has been booming ever since the "oil crisis" began last fall, with profits soaring 181 percent in the last year (*United Mine Workers Journal*, 16-31 October). The nation's third-largest producer, Island Creek (a subsidiary of Occidental Petroleum), raked in an incredible 716 percent increase in "earnings."

In contrast, coal miners' take-home pay has gone up only 8 percent. With prices continuing to climb at "double-digit" rates, their real wages are actually declining, down about 4 percent since late 1971.

As the energy conglomerates rush to cash in on their manipulated "shortages" and unusual profit opportunities, they send down the orders for speed-up. In the pits speed-up means death. Already 99 miners have died in the first nine months of 1974, 25 of them since September 3, the date contract negotiations began.

The miners are chafing at the bit in their eagerness to remedy these outrages. However, all signs indicate that the United Mine Workers (UMW) leadership is aiming for a "statesmanlike" settlement and a "managed" strike.

(As we go to press news reports indicate that contract talks have "reached an impasse" over economic issues. However, it is unanimously agreed that the companies refused to present their "final offer" in the belief that a strike was inevitable anyway. Neither the UMW nor the employers have revealed what the demands are.)

In fact the Bargaining Council has failed to specify *any* wage demands, thereby showing its willingness to "deal" on this point. In the case of the UMW-represented "ABC" (construction) workers, who bargain separately, the union bureaucracy did not demand any wage increase at all!

The cost-of-living escalator being sought (the UMW now has none) would cover only about 70 percent of the rise in consumer prices. Under the final contract, this percentage will undoubtedly be even less, leaving miners still vulnerable to the ravages of the current grinding inflation.

Safety and the Right to Strike

Non-economic issues—health and safety, grievance procedures, pensions, etc.—make up the heart of the UMW contract proposals. The frequent wildcats which occur in the coal fields are often triggered by atrocious working and sanitation conditions or arbitrary and dictatorial disciplinary procedures. Wildcats, because they do not have official union support, often result in frustration and defeat.

The union is demanding the right to strike at the local level on all grievances and disputes, something that is prohibited by "no-strike" clauses in most union contracts. However, the proposal raised by the UMW Bargaining Council links this demand to a supposed equal "right" of the company to lock out!

Talk of a "right" of the employers to deprive workers of their jobs is outrageous coming from the mouths of union officials! Once the alleged "right" of the companies to exploit labor, make a profit and organize production is admitted the union becomes superfluous. Miller knows this, of course, so the linking of the right to strike over grievances to a lockout clause is merely a way of dumping what for the membership is a key demand.

If anyone doubted what the attitude of the union leaders is on the right to strike over safety and working conditions, they only have to look at Miller's campaign against wildcats last year.

The UMW bureaucracy is focusing in the negotiations on achieving compliance with federal mine safety standards. Yet, as almost every issue of the *UMW Journal* points out, the current federal mines legislation is biased toward the employer. The new Mine Enforcement and Safety Administration (MESA) is as reluctant to enforce even these standards as was its predecessor, the Bureau of Mines.

Putting in a "friend of labor" to replace the current MESA administrator, James Day, would not significantly alter the function of the government agency. Miller calls for this because it is the essence of his "strategy." Ever since coming into office in a Labor Department-ordered and supervised election, Miller has sought to use the government to his benefit. The capitalist state cannot, however, be cajoled into changing its class character.

Strike to Organize Non-Union Fields

In spite of the victory at Brookside mine in August, organizing efforts in Harlan County, Kentucky, have recently suffered a setback because of the defeat of the UMW in a representation election at the nearby Highsplint mine, which is also owned by Duke Power. The UMW bureaucracy had earlier tried appeals to stockholders, meeting with a "citizens" panel, U.S. senators and the Kentucky governor in an effort to end company-backed violence and the use of state troopers as scab herders at Harlan.

Predictably nothing happened. Despite heroic determination of the Brookside miners, the strike dragged on for months. It was not until the union reluctantly called a five-day national "memorial," mobilizing the economic power of the entire union, that it was possible to force Duke Power to accept the national contract.

The UMW will have to use the same tactics of union solidarity if it is to extend the victory at Brookside to non-union coal fields in eastern Kentucky, the South and important strip-mining operations in the West. The current tight coal supplies of major industrial and power users give the UMW an exceptional possibility to organize the more than 30 percent of the bituminous coal industry which is still non-unionized.

A recent *UMW Journal* (1-15 October), while promising the union will back new organizing drives, states that "... the key factor, at Brookside, will be the miners themselves and their families." These are noble-sounding sentiments, but as the Brookside experience shows, the united power of the entire union is necessary to achieve success against the giant conglomerates.

Miners march at Harlan, Kentucky, during UMW "memorial" in August. WV PHOTO

The signing of an agreement not to strike at Brookside if there is a nationwide walkout on November 12 and the UMW's statement that the key will be local efforts are sure signs that the touted organizing drive will be less than massive. The UMW was built, as was the CIO in the 1930's, by national action and tremendous social struggles. It can be no different today.

Miners should take advantage of the present strong bargaining power of the UMW and demand of their leaders that a national strike be called to organize the non-union fields!

Expropriate the Coal Barons!

Newspaper reports indicate that there is now agreement between the UMW and the companies on non-economic issues, leaving only the "secondary" wage demands to be thrashed out. It seems clear that if a strike occurs, the main cause will be the ranks' will to struggle and the lack of time to complete the ratification procedures before contract deadline.

Miller is obviously aping the tactics of Leonard Woodcock of the United Auto Workers. During the 1973 auto negotiations Woodcock called a two-day strike against Chrysler as a bogus show of militancy and a chance for the membership to "blow off steam."

Although Miller seems ready to talk turkey, the capitalists (which, in the case of coal, happen to be the largest oil and steel monopolies) are taking no chances. The economy is in deep crisis and coal stockpiles are dangerously low, particularly in the key steel industry.

The Federal Energy Administration is now preparing to order utility companies to dump their coal reserves on the market if necessary to break a militant strike. Then, when the power companies run short, public opinion would be mobilized against the "selfish" miners.

Needed: A Class-Struggle Opposition

During the heyday of the "gasoline shortage" last winter the UMW called for nationalization of the energy monopolies. This demand should be resurrected, specifying that there should be no compensation for the coal barons and oil billionaires. With Rockefeller's multi-million dollar gifts and the oil/coal companies' astronomical profits scandalizing the country, this would enable the union to cut across the public discontent during a lengthy coal strike. Of course, Miller and the union leadership, with their eagerness to "compromise," have no intention of raising this demand.

The initial euphoria of Miller's first days in office is wearing off and there are now reports of dissension in the upper councils of the UMW. A wave of wildcats throughout 1973 and the West Virginia strike against "gasoline shortages" this February were signs of restiveness in the ranks. So, too, was the refusal of the December 1973 UMW convention to approve Miller's "improved" grievance procedure, which relies on "neutral" third parties sitting on arbitration boards.

Miller, the champion of union democracy and darling of the liberals and opportunist fake socialists, either broke or abandoned the wildcats. He snuck his unpopular grievance procedure back into the bargaining demands, and has managed to scuttle the demand for a six-hour day which was raised on the floor of the convention.

The tremendous rank-and-file militancy of the last three years is being squandered for the most minimal gains during a period of soaring company profits and tremendous union bargaining power. This must not be allowed to happen! Construction of a class-struggle opposition in the UMW, and in all key sections of the U.S. labor movement, is clearly a crucial task for revolutionaries and militant coal miners. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD 25¢

No. 57 22 November 1974

Anti-Arab Hysteria in the U.S.

War Rumblings in Near East

Yasir Arafat, chairman of Palestine Liberation Organization, at Rabat.

NOVEMBER 17—While the debate on Palestine was going on at the United Nations last week, preparations were proceeding for a new Near East war. Israel mobilized one third of its forces, denouncing heavy deliveries of Russian arms to Syria. At the same time, Rabin boasts of Israeli military superiority and hints at a first strike. Arafat of the Palestine Liberation Organization predicts war within six months.

In addition to the long-standing Arab-Israel conflict there is a new element on this round: threats of direct imperialist intervention to reassert Western control of Near East oil. A 23 October AP dispatch quoted German finance minister Hans Apel as saying "that the main industrial countries could be led to take military reprisals if they do not see any other solution in the face of recent 'catastrophic' rises in the price of the mineral [petroleum]."

In the U.S. the whipping up of war fervor has taken the form of a virulent anti-Arab hysteria campaign orchestrated by the Zionist propaganda machine. With consummate hypocrisy, the bourgeois press denounces "turning the UN into a forum for terror" by inviting the PLO to speak. But did they oppose President Ford's threat there in September that "nations have gone to war over natural advantages"? No.

A pious hue and cry was raised over the fact that Arafat wore a holster while speaking to the General Assembly. Yet only the day beforehand, a leader of the Jewish Defense League announced on television—a .38 pistol lying in full view on the table in front of him—that, "We have trained men who will make sure Arafat and his lieutenants do not leave New York alive." Asked to clarify, he said, "We plan to assassinate him"! Had a leftist made such a public threat, he would have been immediately arrested. But it took almost a day and a formal request from the U.S. mission to the UN for federal action to lock up the JDL leader.

Meanwhile, as Arafat spoke Israeli troops were brutally breaking up pro-PLO demonstrations in West Bank towns. And the next day Israeli guns shelled a Lebanese town, killing six and wounding scores. This information, however, was buried on page 17 of the *New York Times* and escaped the attention of the *Post* and *Daily News* altogether.

Social Peace in Israel?

For years both Zionist and Arab nationalist propaganda has sought to create the impression of complete unanimity between Israeli working people and "their" expansionist generals. However, since Israel's setback in last year's October War, this "harmony" has been far from perfect. Pacifist sen-

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Self-Determination for Palestinian Arabs!

West Bank Mini-State No Solution

The international recognition won by the Palestine Liberation Organization in recent months culminated at the Rabat summit conference of Arab rulers and PLO-chief Yasir Arafat's dramatic visit to the United Nations last week. At Rabat the PLO was recognized by the assembled colonels, kings and sheiks as the "sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people on any liberated Palestinian territory." At the UN Arafat was accorded protocol reserved for heads of state.

This international approval has been granted as a reward for the increasing "moderation" of the PLO, in particular its shift in policy last year on the issue of a Palestinian "mini-state" consisting of the Gaza strip, the West Bank and possibly the small El Hamma area at the southern end of the Golan Heights.

A West Bank state led by the PLO would soon become a "bantustan" in which neighboring states could dump their unwanted Palestinian refugees—900,000 in Jordan, 300,000 in Lebanon, 300,000 in Israel and 200,000 in Syria. It would be only a very partial and deformed expression of the Palestinian Arabs' right to self-determination.

The Spartacist tendency opposes a fifth Arab-Israel war, a war which would not bring liberation to the Palestinian people but only further senseless slaughter in the service of reactionary nationalism. Nevertheless, we defend the Palestinians' right to an independent state and demand unconditional Israeli withdrawal from the occupied territories.

A genuine exercise of Palestinian Arabs' right to self-determination is conceivable only on both banks of the Jordan, including all of what is now Israel and Jordan. Both of these states were carved out at the expense of the Palestinian people. But while the Hebrew nation is today an oppressor nation in relation to the Palestinians, a democratic solution is not one which simply reverses the terms of oppression—i.e., an Arab Palestine in which Hebrews are denied their right to self-determination.

Only within the framework of a binational Palestinian workers republic, created by a united proletarian revolution of Hebrew and Arab workers against the clerical Zionist state and the bloody Hashemite throne, can an equitable solution of the counterposed national claims be reached. ■

Pro-PLO demonstration in New York.

WV PHOTO

WV EXCLUSIVE

SWP-OCI Discussions...5

"Thank you, Mrs. President, Isobel is Perón": Peronist demonstration in Buenos Aires.

SIPA

Death Squadrons Murder Argentine Leftists

General Juan Domingo Perón

AP

NOVEMBER 12—Since the announcement of Perón's death on July 1, some 137 political and labor leaders have been assassinated in Argentina, more than one a day. Contrary to the impression given by capitalist news media, the overwhelming majority of the victims are leftists.

This government-backed crackdown is now reaching the proportions of a veritable political pogrom and threatens to lead to the banning of all socialist and independent labor organizations.

Most notable has been the complete impunity with which the ultra-rightist terror squads carry out their "mopping up" operations. So far responsibility for more than 25 of the deaths has been taken by a previously unknown "Argentine Anti-Communist Alliance." The Triple A, as it has become known, has never released a kidnap victim, never had a member captured by the authorities and never had an operation foiled. None of its leaders are known and it has made no political declarations.

Its remarkable success is no doubt due to the special methods of the AAA—"arrests" made by teams with credentials that "look like" police cards, the victims being taken off in cars that also "look like" those of the secret police. To even the most gullible observer it is evident that the "Triple A" is simply a cover for the police, a sinister "night and fog" operation patterned on the Brazilian "esquadras do morte" (death squadrons) and Nazi activities in Germany during the months before Hitler's takeover.

The King is Dead, Long Live the Queen!

For many among Argentina's workers, General Juan Domingo Perón had symbolized the "fat years" of the late 1940's and early 1950's, when wages were high and the unions strong. Then came the military with their "Liberating Revolution," which drove out the caudillo and cut real wages by one half. Yet although the generals and admirals banned Perón's Justicialista party, annulled votes and "intervened" (took over) the unions, they were unable to crack the masses' faith in their "lider."

Thus when the Supreme Benefactor returned to the fatherland last year, the plebeian Peronist ranks were in for a rude awakening, discovering (too late) that the General had returned only to do the job the military had failed to accomplish—ruthlessly crush the combative workers movement. The bloodbath began even as Perón was arriving from Europe on June 20. Gunmen in the pay of the reactionary union bureaucracy shot down 34 Peronist youth, wounding over 300, in a cold-blooded attack on the thousands who streamed to Ezeiza airport to greet their idol.

In the months that followed wages were frozen; laws were passed permitting the national union bureaucracy to "intervene" rebellious locals and allowing the government to sack any public employee without cause; assassinations of leftists rose sharply and left-Peronist newspapers were outlawed. A crisis came in February of this year with the "police coup" in Córdoba (a key interior industrial center), ousting the local left-Peronist provincial governor and vice governor. Although "Marxist" labor leaders and bourgeois liberals denounced the coup, they did nothing to mobilize the masses.

Nevertheless, the workers did not cease to struggle. Tens of thousands of teachers defied the "Social Pact" by striking for higher wages in June. Thus with the death of the "lider" the whole structure threatened to collapse. If Perón's widow, Maria Estela (commonly referred to as "Isabelita"), stepped into the presidency without incident, it was only because the figure with total authority was replaced by one who had none at all.

Under Isabelita the cabinet soon polarized into a moderate and hard-line rightist wing, the former led by economics minister José Gelbard (a businessman and author of the wage freeze) and the latter by the sinister Rasputin-like José López Rega. Although nominally minister of social welfare, López Rega actually controlled the secret police. It is he who is undoubtedly responsible for the terror squads. With the resignation of Gelbard last month, the rightist ultras appear to have consolidated their position.

Independent Unions Under Attack

Particularly singled out for attack have been leftist unions, which earlier played a key role in bringing down the military dictatorship. The Córdoba CGT (General Confederation of Labor), under the leadership of left-Peronist Atilio López (of the bus drivers) and "Marxist" Agustín Tosco (of the power workers), sparked a three-day near general strike in 1969, the famous *cordobazo*.

Among the most combative workers in Córdoba were those of the Renault and Fiat auto plants. After fighting off thugs from the rightist-led metal workers' union (UOM) for several years, they eventually achieved temporary government recognition for an independent union, the local SMATA (auto workers) led by René Salamanca. Together, the left-Peronist López, the independent militant Salamanca and the Stalinist sympathizer Tosco were the prominent local leaders of the CGT. In March 1973 López was elected vice governor of the province.

Then, less than a year later, in the wake of the Córdoba "police coup" the local union federation was wrested from the leftists and López deposed by Perón. Now López has been killed by the AAA (in September). Both SMATA and the power workers' union have been "intervened" by the government and warrants issued for the arrest of Tosco and Salamanca. The right-wingers' "mopping up" operation appears to be successful.

The masses' will to fight the rightists was never in doubt. Despite numerous threats, beatings, machine-gun attacks and government refusals to recognize their choice, Córdoba auto workers refused to bow to the ganster-ridden UOM. In August a victorious strike brought them a large pay increase But the supposed "class-struggle" leaders refused to fight for any but strictly trade-union issues.

Córdoba during "police coup" in February.

ASI

Supporting the Institutional Order

Chief responsibility for the absence today of *any* significant organized workers movement independent from Peronist control must fall to the Communist Party. With many tens of thousands of militants, it could have ensured a sizeable vote for a workers' candidate to

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...Near East

timent has increased sharply, notably among war veterans, and there has been widespread economic discontent.

Then, when the government of Yitzhak Rabin announced a 42 percent devaluation of the Israeli currency last Sunday demonstrations erupted in several cities. Rioting in Tel Aviv's Hatikva quarter, a slum section, was led by the Israeli Black Panthers, a group of militant Sephardic Jews (from Africa and Asia). It was put down by club-swinging riot police.

The same day about 1,000 workers gathered in front of the headquarters of the Histadrut, Israel's corporatist "labor federation," demanding action against the price increases. When a Histadrut official attempted to defend a policy of passive objections he was followed back inside the building by a group of workers who then assaulted him.

Port workers, traditionally among the most militant, stopped work in Haifa and Ashdod, and on Wednesday an engineers' protest took the state radio off the air for almost an hour. Reporting a meeting by delegates of shop committees in Haifa representing 80,000 workers the *New York Times* (14 November) wrote: "A representative of Haifa municipal employees was pushed off the dais by industrial workers when he opposed anti-government demonstrations. An uproar prevented an official of the Ministry of Communications from continuing his speech after he said there was room in Israel for capitalists, too."

The Washington-Tel Aviv Axis?

If the riots, demonstrations and work stoppages by Jewish workers were hammering at the myth of social peace in Israel, a significant incident involving the chairman of the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff should put into question the supposedly unbreakable unity between Israel and American imperialism.

In an address to students at Duke University on October 10, General George S. Brown remarked: "Now, in answer to the question would we use force in the Middle East. I don't know—I hope not. We have no plans to. It is conceivable, I guess. It would be almost as bad as the seven days in May. You can conjure up a situation where there is another oil embargo, and people in this country are not only inconvenienced and uncomfortable, but suffer."

This is the kind of talk the Zionist propagandists like to hear—"denials" that are in fact threats. But what followed was not so pleasant: "They get tough-minded enough to set down the Jewish influence in this country and break that lobby. It is so strong, you wouldn't believe, now. We have the Israelis coming to us for equipment. We say we can't probably get the Congress to support a program like this. And they say don't worry about the Congress. We will take care of the Congress. This is somebody from another country, but they can do it. They own, you know, the banks in this country, the newspapers. Just look at where the Jewish money is" (*New York Times*, 14 November). The general subsequently "regretted" his remarks, but did not retract them.

JDL leader threatens to kill Arafat.

The military officer caste is largely drawn from the most reactionary elements of the population and is certainly infused with racism, national chauvinism and other forms of bigotry. By his blatant appeal to anti-Jewish sentiments, General Brown demonstrated that these are not the exclusive property of aged Nazis and semi-feudal sheiks. Socialist militants must not allow legitimate revulsion for Zionism to obscure the need for uncompromising struggle against such anti-semitic filth.

Furthermore, it is well known that much of the Pentagon and State Department have never favored the traditional U.S. policy of support for Israel. They are more concerned with securing oil supplies and keeping the Russians out of the Near East. So this speech is nothing new as far as the sentiments it expresses are concerned.

But the fact that it should be stated publicly, not retracted and the general not removed is a sign of the times. U.S. imperialism is not about to let Israel disappear from the map—any more than it will allow another of its client states, Hashemite-ruled Jordan, to crumble if it can prevent it. But, as indicated during the last Arab-Israeli conflict and by Nixon's tour to the Near East in June, Washington is willing to maneuver and (within certain limits) use its role as arms supplier for the Tel Aviv generals in order to extract concessions.

As preparations are being made for a fifth Near East war, the "socialist" cheerleaders of the "Arab Revolution" should be demanding a bigger and better war from Sadat and Faisal. Marxists, on the other hand, seek not to reinforce the nationalist hold over the working masses of Israel and the Arab countries but to undermine this by struggling for proletarian internationalist policies of united class struggle.

In the 1973 conflict, as in 1948 and 1967, we have called for a policy of revolutionary defeatism on both sides in the Arab-Israel wars. At the same time we demand unconditional withdrawal of Israel from the occupied territories and recognize the right of both Palestinian Arabs and Hebrews to self-determination.

Only by creating a bi-national Palestinian workers state—the product of socialist revolution through common struggle of Hebrew and Arab workers—as part of a socialist federation of the Near East can there be a truly democratic solution to the competing national claims in Palestine. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

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Dialectics of Double-Talk

Guardian Defends Protectionist Boycott

The *Guardian's* resident Trotskyologist, Carl Davidson, has once again tried to show that Trotskyism is "'left' in form and right in essence." His 13 November column, "Which Side Are You On?", explains how the Spartacist League's opposition to the United Mine Workers of America (UMW) bureaucracy's national-chauvinist boycott of South African coal proves that the "first duty" of the SL is "to the State Department, to the Southern Co. [target of the boycott] and other 'free trade' coal importers and, finally, to the South African regime."

Given the serious nature of such accusations an honest opponent would feel obligated to provide some evidence to prove his case. He might even begin by simply showing that, contrary to the assertions of the SL, the boycott is not a tool of the Miller bureaucracy to foment sentiments of reactionary protectionism and national chauvinism, but is, in fact, a blow against racism and apartheid—or at least intended to be so. Carl Davidson, however, is not an honest opponent.

Carl Davidson does not directly deny the SL's assertion that UMW president Arnold Miller's boycott campaign is a protectionist scheme not different from the "Be American, Buy American" jingoist campaign pushed by the U.S. textile capitalists and their lieutenants in the labor movement. His objection is that the SL's assertion is one-sided. According to Davidson, the truth lies on another plane: "The coal boycott, of course, like any tactical weapon used for limited aims, contains within it two different class lines. One can move the struggle forward, while the other can hold it back and even turn the fight into its opposite."

Davidson sees two lines contending within the UMW and goes so far as to claim that both lines "are reflected in the *UMW Journal*." One line says that the coal boycott is an act of international labor solidarity and a protest against racism, while the other line echoes the sentiments of the "protectionist" section of the bourgeoisie. Unfortunately for Davidson, these "two lines" amount to nothing more than the Miller bureaucracy speaking out of both sides of its mouth.

If Davidson objects that this is not so, then let him identify by naming those in the UMW who oppose Miller's reactionary boycott line, who are struggling for internationalism and against racism and who have access to the pages of the *UMW Journal*. He is unable to do so because such an organized opposition does not exist. And what is more, because the *Guardian* is tied to Miller's coattails, it and Davidson are—their protests to the contrary—committed to opposing the creation of such a class-struggle opposition. They are simply Miller's front men.

Davidson and the *Guardian* fronted for Miller when he was campaigning for UMW president (with a little help from his friends in the U.S. Departments of Labor and Justice). Davidson is still at it today. The proof? In his polemic against the SL, Davidson obligingly attributes the following reactionary statement to the 16 August issue of the *UMW Journal*: "We have coal operators sitting down here in Alabama who would love to make a nice profit out of selling their available low sulfur coal to the Southern Co." Comrade Davidson, why don't you tell us that these are the words of your "progressive" darling, Arnold Miller?

In fact, if Davidson had pursued the question of the "two lines" more deeply, he would have discovered that the "two lines" in the UMW, "reflected in the *UMW Journal*," come from one and the same person! For Miller is also quoted in the *UMW Journal* of 16 August as saying, "The coal that Southern wants to bring in to replace UMWA coal was produced by slave labor under the threat of jail sentences." It seems that "the two-line struggle within the miners' union" is so omnipresent that it finds its reflection in the very head of Arnold Miller himself!

Clearly Miller is trying to exploit the feelings of those miners who are genuinely anti-racist and repelled by the apartheid regime in South Africa. He seeks to mobilize their outrage in the service of a policy of jingoist solidarity with the American coal barons. Miller's crocodile tears for the slave labor conditions of South African black workers are as phony as three dollar bills.

Those trade unionists who man and respect the union picket lines in support of the boycott (lines that the SL would respect even as it fought the boycott as a policy) out of anti-racist sentiment are being used by the UMW bureaucracy. If the UMW bureaucracy was really concerned about racism and international solidarity it would do many things, not the least of which would be to undertake a fight against racism not only in South Africa, but also in Alabama.

Davidson may really believe that the coal boycott is tactically justified and an objective blow against racism. But why then does he not demand that it be extended to the "racist coal" mined in Alabama, which, according to his school of Maoism, is part of an oppressed "Negro Nation"? Instead, uttering not a single peep of criticism, he falls in line behind Miller, the Alabama coal producers and the State of Alabama, all of whom shout "Don't Buy Racist South African Coal! Buy Good, Democratic Dixieland Coal!"

Davidson's "two-line" theory is only a lot of Maoist gobbledygook to cover up his petty-bourgeois moralizing in the service of social patriotism and bourgeois hypocrisy. ■

CORRECTION

In our last issue, the article "Shut Down Coal! Organize the Unorganized!" contained a formulation which leads to the conclusion that the trade unions, under their present leadership, are of no use at all to the workers. Speaking of UMW president Miller's linking of the demand for a right to strike over grievances to a supposed right of the employers to lock out, we wrote: "Once the alleged 'right' of the companies to exploit labor, make a profit and organize production is admitted the union becomes superfluous."

The reactionary, liberal and even reformist labor bureaucrats *do* recognize the employers' "right" to exploit, make a profit and organize production: yet that does not make unions led by these fakers "superfluous." While the bureaucracy kowtows to bourgeois property rights, it occasionally is compelled to contest their application (wage-gouging, speed-up, etc.) although in, at best, a half-hearted manner. The trade unions, even under reactionary leadership, are nonetheless the principle independent organizations of the working class and it is in this arena that communists must counterpose themselves to the labor lieutenants of the capitalist class.

Only by ousting these treacherous misleaders and replacing them with a class-struggle leadership can the trade unions become a mighty springboard for the fight to liberate the working class and all of the oppressed. ■

French Postal Workers Spark Strike Wave

Mail accumulates in Paris during postal strike. L'EXPRESS

PARIS, November 11—A militant nationwide strike by French postal workers, now in its fourth week, has touched off a major upsurge in the class struggle here. With mail at a virtual standstill throughout the country, additional strikes have caused disruption in train service, television broadcasting, electric power and gas supplies, Paris bus service and newspaper publication. On everybody's mind is the possibility that the determined struggle by postal workers may set off a chain reaction on the scale of the May-June events of 1968.

In recent weeks there has been strike action in numerous branches of the economy, particularly around threatened plant closures or bankruptcies. The most dramatic was the occupation of the luxury liner *France* by its crew following announcement of government plans to mothball the ship. In addition, the Annonay tanneries, three Titan-Coder trailer assembly plants and five printing plants owned by Néogravure, the largest firm in the industry, have been occupied in the face of threatened closings.

The current strikes are concentrated in public services and nationalized industry, thus pitting the workers directly against the government. Common to all are demands for increased hiring in the face of speed-up, opposition to deteriorating job conditions, and wage claims. They are an explicit challenge to President Giscard d'Estaing's "austerity" policy of making the workers pay for capitalist economic crisis.

Postal Wildcat

The postal walkout began as a wildcat action ("grève sauvage") in Paris sorting centers on October 18, winning grudging support from the union federations when it quickly escalated into a national action. It was solidified by the hostile attitude of the government, which offered only a token wage increase. Postal minister Pierre Lelong added fuel to the strikers' anger by describing mail sorters as lazy and their work as "stupid."

With over 90 percent of the mail sorters out nationwide, the strike has been effective as an industrial action. In some places it has been quite militant, involving occupation of the postal facilities: Lille and Saint Etienne strikers had to be forcibly evicted by police. Telephone and telex service have also been affected.

Postal workers' grievances are typical of those in other French "public" services. Despite a mushrooming volume of mail, the government has restricted hiring of new workers in recent years. Instead it has taken on a large number of "auxiliary" workers who are laid off after a short period (these now number one quarter of all postal employees).

Despite the speed-up, French mail sorters receive a completely inadequate salary. With living costs higher than in the U.S., a postal worker in Paris starts at 1,450 francs ($313) per month, rising to only 1,700 francs ($366) after ten years service! Inflation currently exceeds 15 percent annually.

The union bureaucrats have done their best to limit the struggle to purely economic demands, namely a minimum salary of 1,700 francs, the hiring of several thousand new workers, improved working conditions and reclassification of "auxiliary" workers as "functionaries" (giving them job security and increased pay). They have also not called out the entire post office, a clear measure of their sabotage.

Extend the Strike!

The Stalinist and social-democratic union leaders' main concern is to keep the mail strike from spreading to the rest of the government sector and private industry. Thus they call for rotating strikes on a staggered basis to ensure that there is not too much disruption in any one area at one time. On the state railways, for instance, they strike one-day-at-a-time and one-section-at-a-time. A power workers' strike here in Paris cut the current by 30 percent, but was limited to a half day.

The most blatant betrayal by the union tops has been over the miners' strike in the nationalized Lorraine coal fields. The miners' action posed a substantial threat of extending strike action to all nationalized industry. However, it was effectively isolated by the bureaucracy, which refused even to extend it to other coal fields. It was broken after six days, when the Force Ouvrière (FO) and another union federation ordered their members back to work.

Despite its unusual length and the no-win policy of union leaders, the postal walkout has successfully held out against the government. The national labor federations have been forced to call a one-day general strike for November 19 to show that they are "doing something" to support the mail walkout. While they no doubt hope to bring the action under control in this way, such maneuvers can be risky.

With the bringing together of the postal strikers and rail, hospital, newspaper, gas, electric and other workers who have recently undertaken one-day work stoppages, militants could agitate for making the reformists' token protest into a real general strike, raising demands which unite the working class. All working people are hit by skyrocketing inflation and mounting layoffs, for instance, thus urgently posing the need for a sliding scale of wages and hours. Other key demands include expropriation of plants and companies which threaten to close; workers control of industry; workers defense guards; a democratically elected central strike committee and a workers government. This would set the scene for a direct confrontation with the government and pose the question of state power.

Workers at Marseille trailer factory protest plant closing. L'EXPRESS

Absence of Revolutionary Leadership

The current upsurge reveals the bankruptcy of the two main ostensibly Trotskyist organizations in France, the OCI (Internationalist Communist Organization) and FCR (Revolutionary Communist Front).

The OCI's attitude has been marked by pervasive tailism, support for the trade-union bureaucracy (particularly of Force Ouvrière) and parliamentary cretinism. In addition to the FO leaders' despicable role in sabotaging the coal strike, they also renounced the postal strike as soon as some districts began to waver, calling on FO members to return to work. Yet OCI leader Pierre Lambert voted *in favor* of the political report by FO chief Bergeron at the union federation's recent convention.

At the beginning of the strike the OCI focused on parliament, calling for the workers to concentrate on defeating Giscard's budget (although failing to explain how). As the walkout spread, however, the OCI belatedly began to call on the bureaucrats to "take on their responsibilities" and for a strike by all postal workers.

Thus ten days after the national mail strike was a fact, the OCI newspaper *Informations Ouvrières* (30 October-6 November) announced: "...the battle for the general strike in the post office ...has begun." It only bothered to raise this slogan after the sorters' wildcat had *already* effectively crippled the system and received official endorsement. Since that time the task of revolutionists should have been to call for expanding the strike to other sectors of the economy both private and "public." This the OCI did not do.

The FCR's intervention in the postal strike has been characterized by its usual mindless enthusing over workers' militancy. A front-page headline, "The Postal Workers Show the Way!", in *Rouge* (1 November) sums it up; certainly the FCR didn't show the way.

The program offered by the Front is essentially the same economist program of the union bureaucracy, with the addition of a few demands for strike militancy, calling for "plant occupations," "block the automatic telex machines," "general assemblies to control the strike" and the like. Like the OCI the FCR has failed to call for a real general strike to achieve victory for the postal workers and for key demands which could mobilize the entire working class against Giscard's "austerity" plans (no layoffs, sliding scale of wages and hours).

Having discovered in the postal workers its latest "new vanguard"—the purpose of this invention being to relieve the FCR of any responsibility to lead the class struggle forward—the Pabloists seek to simply liquidate into it on the basis of being the best trade-union militants. ■

SYL SOUTHERN TOUR

	November
Durham and Chapel Hill, North Carolina	11-13
Atlanta, Georgia	14-16
Gainesville and Tallahassee, Florida	17-18
New Orleans and Baton Rouge, Louisiana	20-21
Jackson and Tugaloo, Mississippi	22
Houston and Austin, Texas	24-27
Memphis, Tennessee	29-30
	December
Nashville, Tennessee	2-3
Louisville, Kentucky	4-5

To contact the SYL representatives or to arrange an SYL forum on your campus, call: (212) 925-2426 or (504) 866-8384.

SWP-OCI Discussions

The letter which we reproduce below will no doubt be of great interest both to members of the French OCI (Organisation Communiste Internationaliste) and to members of the "United" Secretariat, in particular of the Front Communiste Révolutionnaire (FCR) in France and the American SWP. Written by the member of the OCI Political Bureau chiefly responsible for international work to member groups of the OCI-led "Organizing Committee for the Reconstruction of the Fourth International" (OCRFI), the letter boasts of the "correctness" of their "tactical steps . . . to intervene in the crisis of the USec." These "tactical steps" amount to abandoning twenty years of struggle against Pabloist liquidationism.

Domestically the OCI's capitulation

WV EXCLUSIVE

has found expression in its position in the 1974 French presidential elections of support to the candidate of the class-collaborationist, popular-front Union of the Left. At the time, we characterized the OCI's electoral line with a quote from Trotsky, "Not just a stupidity, but a crime" (*Spartacist*, édition française no. 6, 5 May 1974). Now it appears that the crime has borne fruit.

In letters referred to in the text below, the International Bureau of the OCRFI wrote to the United Secretariat requesting observer status at the USec's "Tenth World Congress." In the letter of 10 October 1973 the OCRFI not only proposed exchanging discussion documents but also, in a passage whose exact application is unclear, to "apply democratic centralism":

> "It goes without saying that, respecting the principles of the Transitional Program of the Fourth International and workers democracy, on the basis of a broad and full international discussion which alone can create the terrain for defining clear political positions and for accomplishing practical tasks in the rebuilt Fourth International, we are prepared to apply democratic centralism."
>
> —*Correspondance Internationale* No. 9, December 1973

In the earlier (May 1973) letter the OCRFI clearly, if not explicitly, renounced the OCI's previous position that, in the words of James P. Cannon, "The essence of Pabloist revisionism is the overthrow of that part of Trotskyism which is today its most vital part. . . . Pabloism is the substitution of a cult and a revelation for a party and a program."

After his initial hesitation in fighting Pablo, Cannon spoke in 1953 of being "at war with this new revisionism," and said that no one in the Party "contemplates any later relations in the same party with the strikebreakers of the Pablo-Cochran gang" (*Speeches to the Party*). Now, however, the OCRFI letter to the USec takes a different view on the destruction of the Fourth International wrought by Pablo in the 1950-53 period:

> "The Fourth International was pushed into a dead end by Pabloism. . . . This bears witness to the need to examine anew the entire field of the international workers movement, to take into account changes which have come up, to correctly evaluate the new groupings and, in this framework, to proceed to examine the differences which arose in the Fourth International in 1950-53 and which have grown considerably since then."
>
> —*Correspondance Internationale* No. 8, July 1973

Despite the *pro forma* reiteration that the OCRFI would of course "not rally to a method, Pabloism, which we still consider foreign to Marxism," the OCRFI in fact now espouses the "family of Trotskyism" view, that there are simply two (or more) "wings" of the Trotskyist movement which only have "differences" between them. If this is the case, then there can be no war against Pabloism, but merely fraternal criticism among slightly estranged members of the family—the door leading toward reunification stands open, and indeed beckons.

The Spartacist tendency, on the other hand, still stands by its position, expressed at the 1966 London Conference of the International Committee, that "the family of Trotskyism does not exist," a view which we shared at the time with the OCI.

Now the OCI, by including the SWP in the "family of Trotskyism," substitutes for the programmatic struggle against Pabloite revisionism a secondary, metaphysical notion of "continuity." Thus, the "reconstruction of the Fourth International" is reduced to holding a big family reunion. This can only lead to the formation of a reformist international grouping with the trappings of Trotskyist "orthodoxy," but whose content could be a latter-day version of Kautskyism.

THE OCI CAPITULATES TO JACK BARNES

The letter reprinted below also stands in sharp contrast to the OCI's former position on the SWP. The letter's author, François Forgue, a leading member of the OCI's PB, not so long ago attacked the SWP, and Barnes in particular, correctly pointing out that for the SWP,

> ". . . the place of the working class in relation to the means of production is not decisive . . . . to this extent the working class . . . is of course no longer the class which leads the socialist revolution in the United States.
>
> "Here we are in the midst of full-blown idealism and this boundless revisionism has broken any link with Marxism . . . . Barnes became an 'authority' in the SWP only when it gave in to Pabloism in 1963: this unbridled revisionism is the product of that capitulation."
>
> —*Correspondance Internationale* No. 1, May 1971

And in his *In Defense of Trotskyism*, the OCI's "official" account of Pabloism, Stéphane Just states:

> "It was the Cuban revolution which revealed that the SWP leadership had given up building a revolutionary party in the United States and that henceforth it fixed its goal as winning the leaders of petty-bourgeois movements to the program of the socialist revolution."

But now the OCI characterizes the SWP, which had "broken any link with Marxism" and "given up building a revolutionary party in the United States" as "Trotskyist"!!

It is clear that not everyone in the OCI is happy at the "tactical" turn to the SWP. At a public meeting in November 1973, Lambert was forced to admit that there were comrades in the OCI who did not think that the SWP was

INTERCONTINENTAL PRESS

SWP's Joseph Hansen

"Trotskyist," but that they were wrong.

And in the summer of 1973, a leading member of the OCI stated that it was obvious that the situation in the SWP was unstable, that it could not last for a protracted period of time, and that if there were not a major faction fight in the SWP within six months or a year, the SWP would become what the Spartacist League said it already was, namely a reformist organization. But the year—and more—has passed, comrades of the OCI, and where are the changes in the SWP? Not only are there no signs of a major faction fight, but the SWP bureaucratically expelled the only opposition which during that time had even attempted in an empirical, piecemeal fashion to make left criticisms of it. The SWP's career as a revolutionary force has long since been over.

The OCI's turn to the SWP and the USec is basically a maneuver caused by the virtually total disintegration of its Organizing Committee for the Reconstruction of the Fourth International: the Varga group (together with the Spanish and Moroccan groups) left in late 1972 when they were on the verge of being expelled, Lora's Bolivian POR appears to now have only tenuous organizational ties with the OCI, and there are serious differences with the other Latin American groups in the OCRFI.

The SWP, for its part, is interested in putting pressure on its factional opponents of the USec European majority by pointing out that it has other options open. Hansen must have enjoyed the spectacle of Rousset (who detests the SWP), chaperoning his tryst with Lambert. And if the maneuver makes Mandel squirm a little, so much the better.

But this meeting and letter should be a cause of great concern to the OCI membership, as they open the door to the possibility of an international OCI-SWP-PST bloc. Such an abomination would presage a still further shift to the right for the OCI, toward mainstream social-democratic reformism, in a bloc which would make the London Bureau of the 1930's seem like a nest of flaming ultra-lefts.

Both the SWP and the OCI originally played a leading role in the struggle against Pabloist revisionism, whatever their weaknesses. The SWP capitulated to Pablo's revision of Trotskyism in the 1963 reunification which produced the United Secretariat. Healy exposed himself as a political bandit in the mid-1960's. The OCI now appears to be in the process of capitulating to the SWP. It is therefore fitting to conclude by quoting Favre-Bleibtreu's 1951 letter to another one-time opponent of Pablo who had capitulated, Ernest Mandel: "Excuse us for not following you in this path, since for us the International is not built by maneuvering, and especially not by your ridiculous maneuvers."

Paris, 20 October 1974

Dear Comrades,

Enclosed we are sending you the minutes of the meeting which took place on October 15 in Paris between a delegation of the United Secretariat led by the SWP, including also two representatives of the FCR (France), and an OCI delegation.

First, the circumstances and composition of this meeting:

It was held *at the request* of the SWP leadership, of which some representatives were in Europe for a meeting of

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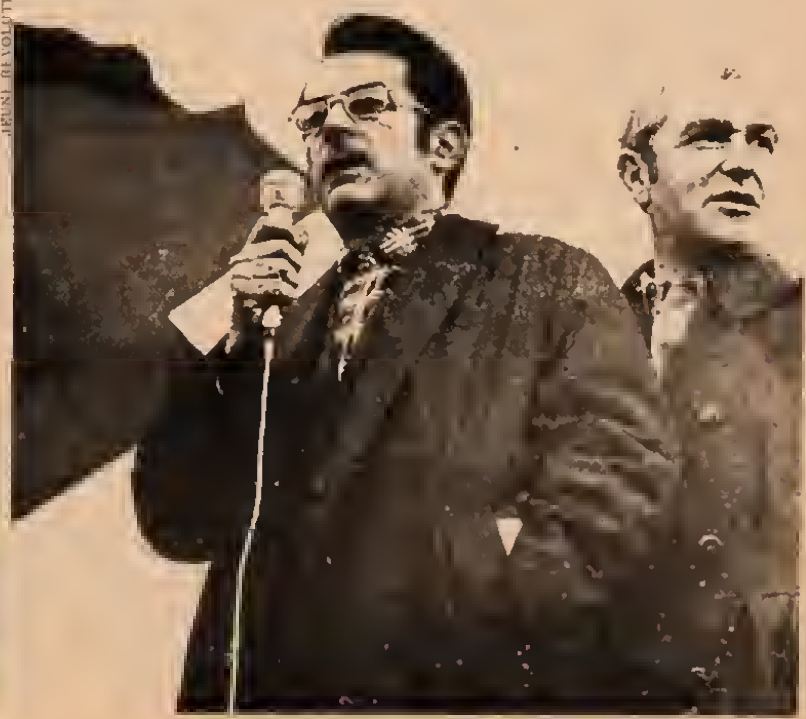

JEUNE REVOLUTIONNAIRE

Left: USec's Ernest Mandel. Below, from left: Pierre Broué, Pierre Lambert of OCI.

Italy Political Crisis an

FROM OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

MILAN, November 4—All the elements in the present world economic crisis, and its impact on capitalist democracy, stand out with exceptional clarity in Italy: hyper-inflation slashing real wages while unemployment mounts ominously; a prolonged parliamentary crisis with pressures both to bring the Communist Party into the government and to keep it out at all costs; an aggressive fascist movement; a large, yet totally ineffectual, New Left of anarcho-Maoist persuasion; and the counterrevolutionary intrigues of U.S. imperialism.

Inflation, Four-Hour Strikes and Squatters

Official figures give Italy an inflation rate of 25 percent, the highest in West europe except for Portugal. Actually, such estimates understate the real price rises since they are based on government-set ceilings for food staples (bread, pasta, cooking oil). For the past year such items have frequently disappeared altogether from retail stores, being available only in the black markets. There have been food riots in Sicily and Naples staged by housewives who were unable to find price-controlled bread and pasta.

Earlier, in the summer, prices were running about 6 percent faster than industrial wages (on an annual basis) and inflation has accelerated during the autumn. In other words, the living standards of the working class are being sharply cut. The cost-of-living escalators now in effect have proven totally inadequate and unions are forced to demand an improved and, especially, more egalitarian system.

However, the means being used to obtain this is the traditional labor ritual of Italian and French Stalinists —the four-hour strike. Such strikes bring no real pressure to bear on the employers but do serve to dull the fighting spirit of the ranks.

With the economic situation of the masses growing ever more desperate and the labor movement doing nothing about it, there has been a wave of direct action by consumers. In Turin, commuters are refusing to pay bus and streetcar fares, while tenants pay electric bills with counterfeit money. In Milan a group of women took over a supermarket and managed to remove thousands of dollars worth of food before riot police broke it up.

The most militant defiance of bourgeois legality by consumers has recently come from squatters' movements. Many Italian cities, notably Rome, have extensive shantytowns while luxury and middle-class apartments are unoccupied because no one can afford the rent or cut through the bureaucratic red tape.

Organized occupations of empty apartments have become frequent, with an estimated 60,000 squatters in the capital alone (*International Herald Tribune*, 11 September). In September Roman police attempted to evict one such group and in the process shot to death a young leftist militant; several cops were injured by rock-throwing tenants.

Deeply committed to the sanctity of private property, the reformist Communist and Socialist parties and the trade unions under their leadership have denounced food rioters and squatters, even condoning police action against them. While direct action "at the point of consumption" can make only a marginal, at best secondary, contribution to the struggle for workers power, such actions are important symbolic attacks on the capitalist order. The entire labor movement must defend occupations of empty apartments by the poor, refusal by commuters to pay transit fares and similar actions.

Austerity and Unemployment

In July the U.S. and West German governments dictated an "austerity" budget to Italy. Their program involved increased taxes for the purpose of cutting real consumption by 5 percent. Christian Democrats and Socialists attempted to sell this to the workers by promising to use state credit to prevent bankruptcies and mass layoffs. At the time we predicted:

> "Even if the CP maneuvers the workers into accepting their side of the bargain, the Rumor/Saragat government *cannot* stave off widespread bankruptcies.... By fall, Italy will be in a severe industrial slump with ever-mounting unemployment."
>
> —"World Economic Crisis," *WV* No. 51, 16 August

Italy now has one million unemployed and another half million working short time out of a labor force of 14 million (*Italian Trends*, October 1974). Fiat, Italy's largest private manufacturer, has placed 70,000 workers from its Turin plants on an indefinite three-day week. And the auto giant Fiat occupies an even more strategic role in the Italian economy than Detroit does in the U.S.

Moreover, unemployment is not being generated only by Italy's own collapsing industry. For the past decade, Italian "full employment" has been maintained by exporting 2.3 million workers (14 percent of the domestic labor force) to Northern Europe. Now, every day thousands of Italian workers board trains in Munich, Essen or Zurich to return jobless to their native land.

International Credit and International Counterrevolution

Italy will run a balance-of-trade deficit this year on the order of $9 billion. Yet as of August government holdings of gold and foreign exchange amounted to only $5.4 billion (*Economist*, 26 October). In other words, at the present rate Italy will be literally bankrupt in seven months!

The effect of the July "austerity" measures on the balance of payments has been negligible. International pressure for still higher taxes or stiffer wage controls could produce an immediate mass explosion. Moreover, by slapping higher tariffs on all manufactures (directly violating the Common Market treaty) Italian deflation is hurting North European exports.

Consequently the West German regime has softened slightly toward its southern debtor since the spring. A short-term Common Market loan for $2 billion has been extended, and in August Germany lent Italy an additional $2 billion. This loan has real teeth in it: at near-market-level interest rates, it uses Italy's gold reserves as collateral. (This is the first time since World War II that inter-government loans involved a claim on the debtor's gold reserves.) The Italians have bought time, at high interest, and not much time at that.

In reality it is not West Germany but the U.S. that is Italy's ultimate creditor. And whereas German loans are generally governed by short-term financial considerations, American credit is disbursed as part of a global counterrevolutionary strategy.

When Italian President Giovanni Leone recently visited Washington to discuss loans and possible Communist Party participation in the government, Ford stressed his commitment to "a stable, free and democratic Italy," i.e., the CP stays out (*International Herald Tribune*, 6 October). It is obvious that every dollar in U.S. credit to Italy is tied to demands for a strong bourgeois government. But can such a government be established within the existing framework of parliamentary democracy?

Christian Democrat/Socialist Coalition on the Rocks?

Despite all the jokes about "musical chair" governments, Italy has been quite stable in the post-war period, much more so than France, for instance. Since 1948, when Truman threatened to invade Italy if the Communist Party/Socialist Party(CP/SP) coalition won the election, the Christian Democracy (CD) has always governed Italy.

A dozen CD bosses have held the top ministerial posts throughout the past quarter century. The only significant change occurred in 1962 with the "opening to the left," when the main social-democratic party, the SP, entered the coalition. (A small right-wing party, Giuseppi Saragat's Social Democrats, split from the SP in 1948 in order to break from the post-war SP/CP alliance. It has always been a virulently anti-communist sect whose main social base is the U.S. State Department.)

In the past few years the Christian Democracy has become increasingly disorganized. Corruption, cliquism and factional strife dominate party life. Key to maintaining the CD electoral base and organizational unity is a patronage system which has become a major source of inflation. Every year the bloated state bureaucracy gets bigger while Italy's social services steadily deteriorate. The sheer parasitism of the governmental machine has caused Giovanni Agnelli, head of Fiat and of Confindustria (the industrialists' pressure group), to attack the CD for "unconscious socialism."

The most concerted recent attempt to arrest the progressive deterioration of CD authority came from right-wing party boss Amintore Fanfani last spring. Attempting to rekindle militant Catholicism as an ideological torch in the service of clerical bonapartism, Fanfani backed a referendum in May to repeal Italy's first—and quite restrictive—divorce law (see "Papal/Fascist Anti-Divorce Drive Defeated in Italy," *WV* No. 45, 24 May).

With aggressive support from the Vatican hierarchy and the fascist MSI, and only reluctant opposition from the CP and SP, the referendum was nevertheless defeated, by an unexpectedly large majority.

Coming after its victory over Fanfani, it was the SP's turn to try to strengthen its place in the ruling coalition. In June it played games about making the "austerity" program somewhat less austere, but in the end capitulated to the CD. Come autumn the Socialists began talking about the need for more "consultation" with the trade unions, code language for bringing the CP into the government or at least negotiating to obtain parlimentary backing from the Stalinists.

In the past the SP has opposed the "historic compromise" of a CP/CD coalition since this would make the Socialists a redundant factor in Italian politics. However, now that it is clear that nothing the government can do will prevent mass unemployment, the SP is anxious not to take the rap alone.

Socialist leaders recognize that if they have governmental responsibility during an economic depression while the Stalinists take an oppositional posture, the none-too-stable SP electoral and trade-union base will melt away. Therefore they have given the Christian Democrats an ultimatum: either the CP comes into the government, or the SP goes out.

The coalition came apart on 3 October at the initiative of the Social Democrats who, having received their instructions from Washington, refused

Brescia: Fascist bombs kill 8 in May.

Rome: Airport workers demonstrate against layoffs in October.

nd Economic Disaster

PANORAMA

to go along with any talk of CP participation. Since then various premier-designates have been unable to put it together again. For the CD to drop the Socialists and try an "opening to the right" by bringing in the reactionary "free enterprise" Liberals would almost certainly provoke a mass explosion and wouldn't even provide a formal parliamentary majority.

There is, in fact, no parliamentary solution except new elections no later than next spring (another of the Social Democrats' demands). And that election will be dominated by the question of a "historic compromise" between the mass party of the working class and the leading bourgeois party.

The "Historic Compromise" With NATO

The Communist Party has had a strategic perspective of coalition with the Christian Democracy for years. In the view of the cowardly, ultra-reformist Italian CP, the lesson of Chile is that a "popular front" of Stalinists, social democrats and a minority section of the liberal or nationalist bourgeoisie (e.g., the Chilean Popular Unity or the French Union of the Left) is *too radical*. For Berlinguer what is needed is a coalition with the main bourgeois party, in which the latter is dominant!

With the economic crisis the CP has stepped up its campaign for coalition and has therefore drawn closer to the government. The Stalinist-led main trade-union federation, the CGIL, went along with the July "austerity" measures, scarcely even raising token protests. At the parliamentary level as well there is, in effect, a "corridor coalition" between the Communist Party and the government. "There has been informal cooperation between the CP and the government for some time," declared the party's number two, Giorgio Amendola (*Newsweek*, 21 October).

If Italian governments were selected purely on the basis of national political dynamics, it is likely that the Stalinists would already have entered the coalition. However, the final say on the composition of the Italian government is made in Washington as well as Rome.

The CP fully recognizes this. Having spent most of the past decade wooing Fanfani and Pope Paul, Berlinguer/Amendola and Co. are now turning their charms on Dr. Kissinger and his CIA operatives. In a major statement the CP explicitly committed itself to keeping Italy in NATO. Senator Arnando Cossutta declared that the Communists will "act within the framework of specific international, geographic and political reality" (*International Herald Tribune*, 3 September).

But the Stalinists' stated commitment to military defense of the West has so far failed to soften the heart of American imperialism. Washington's refusal to allow Communist Party participation in the government is prolonging the parliamentary crisis and sharpens the class struggle in the streets and factories.

The Return of Italian Fascism

During the past few months, the Italian public has been regaled with exposés of abortive fascist/military coups. Reportedly the most serious (though not the most recent) of these was the conspiracy organized in 1970 by Prince Valerio Borghese ("the black prince"), whom the press always refers to as a "fascist war hero"—a rare breed indeed. Prince Borghese's 1970 coup had its comic aspects (as did the Hitler/Ludendorff 1923 Munich "beer hall" putsch), being called off in part on account of rain.

What is quite unfunny about these plots is that well-placed military figures are implicated in them. Among those now being investigated for their role in the Borghese affair are General Fanali, then air force chief of staff, and General Miceli, head of military intelligence until this August.

The plottings of the generals reveal an important, usually overlooked aspect of Italian politics. Because they changed sides in the middle of World War II, Italian fascists were able to maintain an effective "old boys network" in the government, unlike their die-hard German counterparts.

Meanwhile the younger, more plebeian fascists are engaging in mass terror. Early this year a bomb was thrown into an anti-fascist rally in Brescia, killing eight. Then in August the Brenner Express, an international train used particularly by vacationers, was bombed by Ordine Nero ("Black Order"), killing 12 random individuals. The purpose of such indiscriminate terror is to demonstrate the fascists' capacity to defy the government and, equally important, their covert support within the state apparatus.

The electoral instrument of Italian fascism is the MSI (Italian Social Movement), which has parliamentary representation roughly equal to the Socialists'. Its social base is among the petty bourgeoisie and the lumpen population, particularly in the cities and villages of the Mezzogiorno, Italy's depressed rural South.

To date the MSI's constituency has consisted of the traditional far right, including many monarchists and voters who broke with the CD because of the 1962 "opening to the left." With the present economic conjuncture, the situation is quite favorable to the growth of fascism as the petty bourgeoisie is driven to desperation by accelerating inflation and unemployment, particularly among youth having no established loyalty to the working class.

No less favorable to the growth of fascism than the present economic situation are the policies of the Italian left. The CP and SP are seen (accurately) as the defenders of an increasingly intolerable status quo. The anarcho-Maoist "far left," in turn, has no strategy beyond permanent disruption of the economy through wildcat strikes, squatters' actions, etc. The stage is set for a tragic replay of the victory of fascism in the 1920's.

Dangers of "Workers Control Fetishism"

Of all the advanced capitalist countries, Italy's "far left" is both the largest numerically and has the greatest influence within the working class. In the last elections, the centrist parties PSUP and Il Manifesto received about 3/4 million votes although they failed to obtain parliamentary representation.

The Italian "far left" is exemplified by Lotta Continua, a loose anarcho-Maoist organization given to "third-worldist" enthusing abroad and syndicalism/spontaneism at home. Yet although for the past five years Italy has had the highest level of strikes and other mass struggles in West Europe, the "extra-parliamentary left" has failed to build an authoritative proletarian party.

One would think that this period would have been exceptionally favorable to the construction of a Trotskyist vanguard. However, under the inspired leadership of Livio Maitan, the Italian section of the self-styled "United Secretariat of the Fourth International," the Gruppi Comunisti Rivoluzionari (GCR), is as weak if not weaker than USec sections in several smaller, relatively stable countries (Sweden, for example).

In 1968, while theorizing about Nasserite Egypt's being a deformed workers state (created by a "cold" revolution) and the guerrilla road to power in Bolivia, Livio hit upon the brilliant tactic of entering the Communist Party in Italy. At a time when tens of thousands of left militants were breaking from the CP in the direction of Maoism and syndicalism, Livio took the Italian USec group into a party already hated by virtually every single militant who could possibly have been won to Trotskyism in the past five years.

Having thrown away an exceptionally favorable period to build a Trotskyist vanguard by entering the most right-wing Stalinist party in West Europe, now, during the most acute conjunctural economic and political crisis in 25 years, Maitan's GCR decides to adapt to syndicalism! Its Italian perspectives document for the coming period ("For a General Anticapitalist Mobilization!" *Inprecor* No. 8, 19 September) has a central "workers control" fetish.

Workers control is presented as a stage which, in a direct, linear and pacific way, leads to a workers government (which the USec conceives of as a "reform" government of the bourgeois state). In reality, workers control can only be a constant struggle (dual power at the point of production) against bourgeois authority, whose interests are represented by private armed guards, the fascists, the police and army.

Proof of the fundamentally syndicalist character of the GCR is its lack of any concrete policies toward discrediting the CP (and splitting away its working-class base), suppressing the fascists or confronting the bourgeois state power. The off-hand dismissal of a fascist danger is worthy of the most stupid, philistine syndicalist: "The greater success the workers are able to achieve in the coming struggles, the more unfavorable conditions will become for any fascist or protofascist initiatives."

In actual fact, under conditions of rampant inflation and mass unemployment, victorious economic struggles by the organized labor movement do not weaken fascism but give it fuel. The bourgeoisie sees the need for extreme measures to reimpose "law and order." And the desperate petty bourgeoisie, lumpen and unemployed are receptive to demagogic fascist attacks on the labor movement as the cause of economic collapse and inflation.

Fascism triumphs in a period when the working class is disrupting the normal functioning of a capitalist society, but is not moving to overthrow it. Workers control of production, if it is unrelated to a strategy for taking state power in order to institute socialist economic planning, creates optimum conditions for the growth of fascism.

A Revolutionary Program for Italy

A General Strike for a Sliding Scale of Wages--Repeal the July "Austerity" Measures!

The trade unions' ritualistic four-hour general strikes are totally ineffectual in securing the gains demanded, blunt the combativity of the workers and exasperate non-proletarian sectors of the population. The trade unions must call a real general strike (not limited in time) to secure full, immediate and uniform compensation for inflation to all workers—the sliding scale of wages. Such a strike must also demand repeal of the tax increase imposed on the

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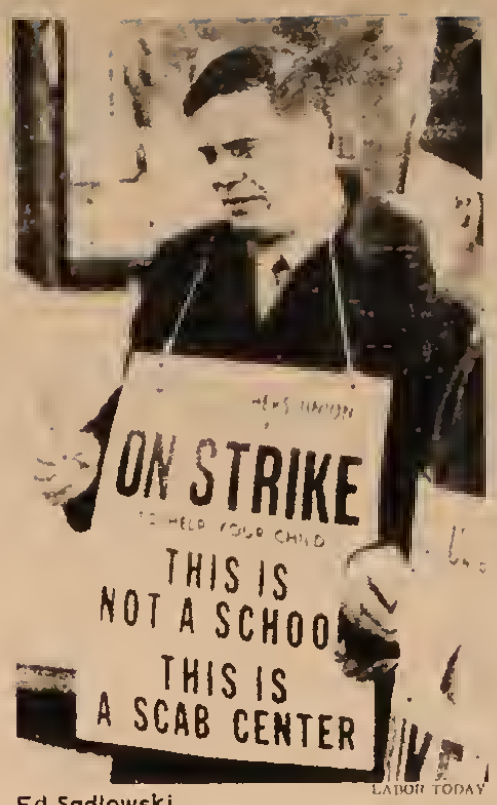
L'EXPRESS

L'EXPRESS

Turin: Fiat workers protest compulsory short time last month.

Elections in Chicago-Gary Steel District

Ed Sadlowski: Out-Bureaucrat on the Make



Ed Sadlowski

CHICAGO, November 13—Labor Department-ordered voting now in progress in the Chicago-Gary region in the United Steelworkers will select the next director of the USW's District 31. The incumbent darling of the Abel bureaucracy, Sam Evett, is being challenged by a staff man and former Local 65 official who broke ranks, Ed Sadlowski.

Sadlowski called in the U.S. government after a previous election was stolen from him through massive ballot-box stuffing and fraud. He is free with liberal, populist rhetoric but hard to pin down on specifics. Although Evett is clearly "Abel's man," his campaign being financed by "contributions" from International appointees, Sadlowski offers nothing of the class-struggle program needed to bring fundamental change to the steel union.

The Sadlowski story has been played out many times before: an "honest" union official breaks with the incumbent team, leading a "rank-and-file revolt" to "clean up the union." Once elected the "maverick" is miraculously tamed, and things go on much as before.

I. W. Abel was himself elected USW president in 1965 on just such a program, promising to throw out McDonald's "tuxedo unionism" and to "return the union to the rank and file." Since then Abel has repeated every betrayal ever committed by his predecessor, even going one better by giving up the strike weapon.

> **18 NOVEMBER — The Labor Department has announced Sadlowski the victor over Evett in the USWA District 31 election by a 2-1 margin.**

No Opposition to the Abel Machine

Evett's slogan—"tough and independent"—is a joke. Never having worked a day in a steel plant, Evett was until 1973 the office boy of Joe Germano. Joe, in turn, was installed as District 31 director by McDonald in a rigged 1942 convention election. Evett is merely a tool of the International.

Sadlowski also poses as an independent. His lawyer, Joseph Rauh (legal eagle of the Yablonski/Miller appeal to the government against Tony Boyle's corrupt UMW regime), likens him to the "greats" such as Walter Reuther and A. Philip Randolph. According to Rauh, the latter distinguished themselves by keeping their fingers out of the till.

Various supposed socialist groups are also pandering to the Sadlowski myth of honest trade unionism. A special issue of *Labor Today*, paper of the Communist Party-backed Trade Unionists for Action and Democracy, features a long interview with the challenger, expressing only the mildest hesitation about his lack of program. The October League's *Call* supports the District 31 Right to Strike Committee, which supports Sadlowski. The International Socialists express the common view of all these fake lefts, saying, "A Sadlowski victory will be a clear defeat for Abel" (*Workers Power*, 31 October-13 November).

One person who does not see it that way is... Ed Sadlowski. Nowhere has he made serious criticisms of the International bureaucracy and its policies. On the question of the "Experimental Negotiating Agreement" Sadlowski's program is silent. Yet by negotiating secretly with the companies and then forcing the ENA down the throats of the membership (USW members cannot vote on it, nor do they have the right to vote on contracts), Abel has given away the right to strike until 1980!

Sadlowski's program also steers clear of any mention of the so-called "consent decree," the Abel/company plan to piece off black workers and other victims of decades of discrimination with token cash payments and a very limited opening-up of rigid departmental seniority (accomplished, moreover, by allowing the courts to overturn the contract). Even on the unpopular contract, Sadlowski blames Evett and not Abel!

It is the old story of an out-of-office bureaucrat with a lot of "militant" rhetoric and no real program beyond the perennial "honesty" and "union democracy." His election, promises Sadlowski, will uproot corruption forever: "Erased for all time will be vote stealing, intimidation of voters... and the misuse of union funds.... No longer will you be ashamed by the acts of your leaders."

The "Taming" of the Militant

If elected, Sadlowski will find Abel's support to Evett no barrier to "reconciliation." Abel set the precedent when, following his victory over McDonald (who was strongly supported by Meany), he quickly became the right-hand man of the AFL-CIO chief. Like Abel, Meany, Woodcock and Miller, Sadlowski accepts the "reality" of the capitalist system, only asking for a little "more" of the pie. Wages should be adjusted, he says, to "what that industry is capable of producing and the profit they're making on what they're producing.

"Left" rhetoric is best for fooling the "left," most of which is more than willing to fall for it. Sadlowski's *Labor Today* interview is filled with folksy populist verbiage ("Jerry Ford's a bad-news guy for the working class") and is the only place where he criticizes the ENA in writing. But Ed is willing to unite with anyone who supports him. (Even *Labor Today* says the only reason he ran on a slate with blacks and Latins in the Local 65 election was, "He counted the votes.")

One of Sadlowski's key supporters is another staff man, Ray O'Malley, who was once appointed by Germano to be spokesman for a "Steelworkers Against Communists" committee. Later he was appointed to a "reaffiliation" committee to screen unions which had been expelled from the Chicago CIO for "communism." O'Malley still disagrees with Sadlowski's opposition to the Vietnam war, but both agree that this is essentially irrelevant in union affairs.

Government Control of the Unions

Government intervention is really the core of Sadlowski's "union democracy" program. He rails against the corruption of the regime (in his district), but does not call for the regular election of all staff officials, immediate recall provisions for all officeholders, workers' wages for union leaders, mandatory roll call votes on all major issues at conventions, access to the union periodicals for all union tendencies and other specific provisions which would guarantee real workers democracy.

Many reformists resort to bringing the bosses' courts into union affairs because, they argue, it is the "only way" open to fight the vote-rigging, blatantly dictatorial bureaucrats. These fake militants have no faith in the power of the rank-and-file workers to impose their will. The aftermath of the 1973 election between Evett and Sadlowski shows what a phony argument this is.

Following Evett's "victory," a union trial was held in Local 1066 in which seven officers, including the Local president, were convicted of forging at least 680 ballots for Evett, barred from holding union office and fined a total of $14,000. On appeal, the International Executive Board drastically reduced the punishments, although it did not dare to overturn the convictions. But rather than mobilizing the membership to make the Local decision stick, Sadlowski turned to the Labor Department.

The government of the ruling class does not need to steal elections in order to subordinate the labor movement. The liberals, like Sadlowski and Miller, can be just as effective an instrument. It is often these "reformers" who do the most to extend direct government control over union affairs. A class-struggle opposition would demand complete independence of the unions from the capitalist state and would refuse to cross the class line by suing the unions in the courts.

Fighting for workers democracy, for an end to discriminatory hiring and seniority practices, for the right to strike, against wage controls and union participation on government boards, militants must rely on the ranks of labor—not the class enemy—to achieve victory against the current misleaders. Steel workers must organize a caucus with such a class-struggle program, to oppose the Abels, Evetts and Sadlowskis, and break with the twin capitalist parties (along with their lieutenants, the labor bureaucracy) by fighting for a workers party and a workers government. ■

"Down With the Butcher Dayan!"

CHICAGO, November 5—The mass murderer and Israeli general Moshe Dayan was met by about 50 militant anti-Zionist picketers when he came to speak at Northwestern University in Evanston, Illinois, this evening. The demonstrators demanded "Israel Out of the Occupied Territories" and "U.S. Hands Off the Middle East." Countering the current wave of anti-Arab hysteria, the picketers made a noticeable impact on the audience with their spirited chanting and signs.

The militants who responded to a call by the Spartacist League for a Chicago-wide united-front demonstration against Dayan included several Arab students and a contingent from the Labor Struggle Caucus of UAW Local 6. Among the slogans raised were "Down with Zionism, Fight for Socialism," "Not Jew Against Arab, But Class Against Class" and others. Upon the appearance of a half dozen jackbooted Nazis foaming that "communism is Jewish," the picketers responded with vigorous chants of "Smash the Fascist Scum" and "Smash Fascism Through Workers Revolution."

WV PHOTO

Not one of the other left tendencies in Chicago deemed it important to protest the visit by this butcher of Arabs and Jews. As the Zionist propaganda machine and U.S. government are preparing public opinion for a new, fifth, Near East war, these armchair "revolutionaries" prefer to stay at home rather than confront the reactionaries.

The reformist SWP was too busy celebrating its election-day "victories" to even notice, while its erstwhile comrades of the Internationalist Tendency stayed away in fear for their safety since the SL, so they claimed, could not adequately defend its picket line. Though it was the only group to so much as attend the planning meeting, the RSL (with its usual degree of seriousness) declared the demonstration unsupportable since "Israel Out of the Occupied Territories" was a "Zionist demand"! Cowardice and criminal passivity are more likely reasons for these fake lefts' abstention. ■

Continued from page 5

SWP-OCI Discussions

the United Secretariat or the Executive Committee. The SWP leadership presented it as a response to the fact that on several occasions (in particular during comrade P. Broué's trips) the OCI made it known that it was agreeable to an exchange of views between the leaderships of the two organizations. Explicitly, they defined it as a reply to our International Bureau's letters of May and July 1973, as the minutes note. During a preliminary meeting, the SWP representatives indicated to us that the United Secretariat had agreed to a first informational discussion on the condition that the discussion would not be strictly bilateral, but that the USec would be represented as such, specifically by representatives of its French section, the FCR.

Hence a delegation which was in fact a delegation of the "International Leninist-Trotskyist Faction" under the "supervision" of two leading members of the FCR. The meeting consisted of: Hansen, Barnes, M.A. Waters (SWP); Ridell (LSA-Canada); Pierre Rousset and Olivier (FCR). The OCI was represented by Comrades Lamhert, Just, Raoul, François and Vespa. Rousset's presence is significant, as he belongs to the most extreme tendency in the USec majority and he is the one the SWP polemicized with harshly over Vietnam.

Only the initials are contained in the minutes, which are distributed more widely than this letter, addressed only to the leaderships of the organizations affiliated with the Organizing Committee.

The course of the meeting is quite clear from reading the minutes, which saves us superfluous commentary.

We merely want to add here *some conclusions* and make *a proposal*.

The conclusions which follow from this meeting are:

1) By its very existence the meeting is a verification of the correct character of the tactical steps taken by the International Bureau to intervene in the crisis of the USec. More basically, it is a confirmation of the correctness of the "open conference" method.

2) It is another expression of the intolerable degree differences within the USec have reached.

It is, so to speak, the "objective" development of the crisis which today leads the organizations affiliated to the United Secretariat to agree to a meeting (whose limits must be recognized) in which their fundamental disagreements are expressed.

3) As you will see, one of the characteristics of this meeting is that it took place based on our interlocutors' acceptance of the framework defined by the proposals made in our letters.

We were the only ones to speak in the name of an international mandate: we were intervening in the framework of the mandate established by the decisions of the International Bureau [of the OCRFI] in favor of international discussion. Facing us were delegations from different organizations without any common mandate except to listen to us.

4) Hansen's remarks on the need to preserve an area of political exchanges and common actions, independently of decisions with regard to a substantive discussion, correspond to the fact that:

—on the one hand, by mentioning the possibility of "common actions" in particular with the FCR in France, independent of the political differences and prior to the discussion of these differences, the SWP, as it stated, intends to preserve a link with the USec;

—on the other hand, by insisting on an organization-to-organization exchange of internal bulletins, on activities such as those concerning [...], the SWP reserves for itself the right to pursue discussions whatever the decisions of the USec majority may be.

5) There can be no question of indulging in risky speculations on possible outcomes of this meeting. What is sure is that the dislocation process within the USec can be slowed but it cannot be stopped. What is sure is that maneuvers will multiply on all sides to stop the principled discussion.

For example, in Argentina, where it appears that Moreno is being obliged to take up this discussion, he is trying to short-circuit it by proposing to Política Obrera a 1963-style unification without discussion. But in the conditions which exist today, for us, for the comrades of PO, this maneuver is a springboard from which to act even more forcefully to impose a discussion of principles on the national and international scale.

Thus this event reinforces the importance of our own political intervention: the European Conference, the preparation for a Latin-American Conference become even more important.

It is within this framework that we make the following proposal:

The International Bureau as such must now invite our interlocutor at this meeting, the SWP (and through it the organizations of the USec and the USec itself, if it wishes), to attend our *European Conference* (not the meeting of the International Bureau, of course) as *observers*.

Such an initiative will stress that our desire to carry out—without prior organizational measures and in whatever form may be arrived at—the discussion that intersects the questions of principle lying at the origin of the crisis of the Fourth International corresponds not to a maneuver, but to a specific orientation toward rebuilding the Fourth International.

The USec refused to involve us in the discussions preparatory to the Tenth World Congress; for our part we are not afraid to involve it in our discussions.

We request that you take a position on this proposal so that we can extend an invitation quite soon and make it an element of the political struggle.

Since the French post office is currently on strike, do not hesitate to give us a short message by telephone.

Fraternal greetings,
François

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Proposition "L" Defeated

SAN FRANCISCO, November 6—The viciously anti-labor Proposition L (also known as the Feinstein Amendment to the city charter) went down in defeat at the polls today. If passed the measure would have frozen the wages of almost two thirds of S.F. city workers by tying them to levels prevalent in open-shop areas of the state. This would have set an important precedent, leading, among other things, to moves for government wage controls elsewhere in the country.

The final vote was relatively close: Yes—90,425; No—102,285. This was due to the fact that the local union bureaucracy relied exclusively on electoral means to defeat Prop. L. Banking everything on their Democratic Party "friends of labor" in the "Citizens United to Stop Proposition L" (headed by racist Mayor Alioto and Sheriff Hongisto), S.F. labor leaders did everything in their power to prevent militant labor action against the amendment. And not only did the anti-labor measure come close to passing, but another member of the city's Board of Supervisors—Barbagelata—is already at work on another wage-freezing "proposition" for next year's ballot!

The defeat of Proposition L came in the context of a Democratic Party sweep, both locally and nationally. While Meany and his cronies may rejoice at their near-"veto proof" Congress, it is no aid to working people. In California Democratic governor-elect Brown and State Senator Moscone have an equally threatening alternative to Prop. L: compulsory arbitration of all government workers' contract disputes.

The Spartacist League campaigned relentlessly during the last three months to mobilize Bay Area workers, particularly city workers in San Francisco, for independent strike action against the Feinstein Amendment. On October 7 and again the day before the election the SL/SYL initiated united-front demonstrations around demands for the unrestricted right to strike, full collective bargaining rights and opposition to compulsory arbitration for city workers. At an October 19 rally called by top labor bureaucrats, signs calling for a "General Strike to Stop Proposition L" were carried by at least a quarter of the crowd of 200. The general strike contingent was organized by the SL-initiated Labor Action Committee to Stop Proposition L (LAC).

Proposition L was defeated *despite* the efforts of the union leaderships. Had they undertaken vigorous mass mobilization and strike action against the measure it would have been possible to *decisively* defeat the wage-cutting proposal. Such militant action could have convinced the bourgeoisie it was better off not putting Prop. L on the ballot in the first place. But, as the city workers' near-general strike last March demonstrated—not to mention the entire history of the labor movement in recent decades—the role of the pro-capitalist labor bureaucracy was to hold back, not lead, the ranks.

Not only did prominent local union tops like ILWU president Harry Bridges and S.F. Labor Council head Jack Crowley oppose strike action, they failed to build even their own rally. Several union locals which gave endorsements to the LAC demonstration on November 4 also failed to build for that demonstration. This, of course, is to be expected.

What the whole episode demonstrates clearly is the need for a class-struggle alternative in the unions which can challenge the existing sellout misleaders. The various supposedly socialist groups which tailed after the bureaucracy and its Democratic Party friends over Proposition L (a list which includes the CP, SWP, IS and RU) and union caucuses such as the Concerned Muni Drivers and United Trade Unionists, which adopted the same policy, have demonstrated their inability to lead the struggle forward to victory.

In contrast, in addition to the SL/SYL, the Committee for a Militant UAW, Militant Action Caucus of the CWA and several militants from the Amalgamated Transit Union, ILWU and CWA worked to build the demonstrations and general strike contingent sponsored by the LAC. The Class Struggle League also participated in the LAC.

Although the Chamber of Commerce-backed Proposition L was defeated, attacks on city workers are far from over. Even the pay raise won by the strike in March is still being held up by a court suit. There is talk now among militant rank and filers of a new offensive by San Francisco labor next spring. A new explosion of labor anger is indeed possible at any time, but the key to success is the question of leadership. It is indispensable to build the kind of class-struggle leadership which can counter the inevitable sellouts by the Bridges-Crowley labor fakers and put forward a program for victory. ■

Continued from page 12

Chrysler...

of its workforce.) The resolution also called for opening the companies' books to show their real profits, no forced overtime, an immediate wage increase and full cost-of-living protection. A committee against layoffs was proposed to implement the resolution.

Although submitted by 10 union members in DAP, this program was never brought to a vote, according to workers interviewed by *Workers Vanguard* after the meeting. Unit president Hank Wilson reportedly favored another, reformist proposal supporting Woodcock in his efforts to get more jobs (!) and calling for spreading the work around. In a leaflet for the meeting, Wilson had called for freezing wages (!), prices and profits by forcing Congress to meet the workers' demands.

It is important that auto workers understand that they cannot rely on the bosses' government to solve the capitalist economic crisis. It will not and *cannot*.

Militants must put forward a program hitting at the heart of the problem, capitalist property, and mobilize the ranks in militant struggle for their class interests. In the face of massive layoffs it is both urgent and necessary to take over the plants, demanding they be expropriated without compensation by the government, and to organize workers control of production.

These demands must be raised in the context of a national campaign for a shorter workweek with no loss in pay and for *union* unemployed committees. They must be part of a full transitional program ranging from immediate economic demands to the need for a political alternative—an independent workers party based on the unions, to fight for a workers government—to counter the defeatist "program" of the pro-capitalist bureaucracy.

In times of economic crisis it is starkly demonstrated that all the reformist gimmicks amount to one and the same thing: betrayal and defeat for the working class. ■

Fitzsimmons Sabotages New York UPS Strike

NOVEMBER 18—On Thursday striking drivers for United Parcel Service in New York held a mass rally, attended by more than 600 Teamsters from the New York-New Jersey area, outside UPS corporate headquarters on 43rd Street. Their demand: job security.

The 4,300 members of IBT Local 804 have been out since August 28 in a determined struggle against the company campaign to replace inside full-time workers with part-timers. Now UPS threatens to shut down its operations in the metropolitan area altogether if the union does not accept its "final contract offer" by November 20!

The company "proposal" involves the construction of new package-sorting and exchange centers employing part-time workers. Current full-timers would be phased out over a period of ten years. The new scheme would be more "efficient" primarily because part-time workers receive no medical or pension benefits and are paid $2/hour less under the terms of the contract.

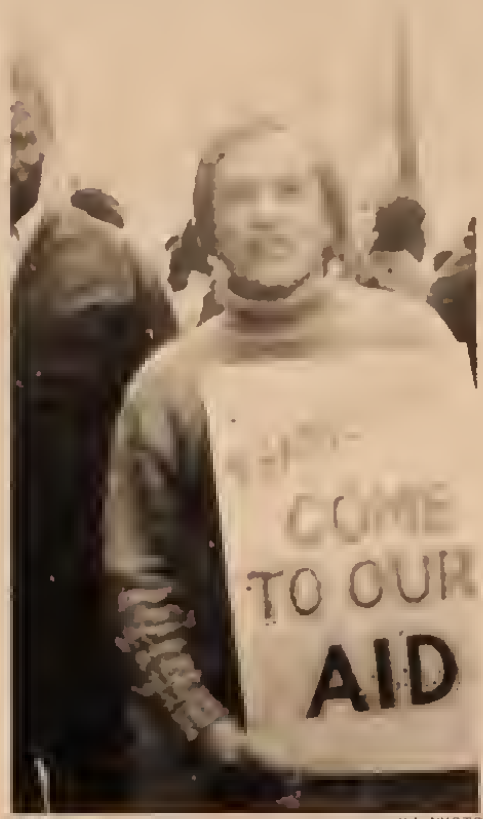
UPS management has been crying over an alleged $8 million loss in the New York area during the year ending August 31. (Nationwide, however, it reported a $57 million profit for 1973.) Local 804 president Ronald Carey requested that financial data be supplied to back up the company's claims, but reportedly accepted the UPS offer that the data be checked by an outside accounting firm in conjunction with the company's own auditors. These firms will never reveal the real secrets of the capitalists' financial dealings. What is needed is a democratically elected workers' committee to inspect the UPS books!

Carey also said that Local 804 would "reassess its position" if UPS could actually substantiate the $8 million loss (*Wall Street Journal*, 14 November). What does this mean? The workers must not sacrifice for the mismanagement of the companies and the endemic failures of capitalism. If UPS cannot pay union-scale wages then it should be expropriated—without a cent of compensation to the owners.

Local 804 has a history of standing up to the International bureaucracy. In return, IBT president Fitzsimmons has typically refused to support the New York strike, hoping to weaken and isolate the Local. Not until the fifth week of the strike did the International call for an embargo at New Jersey and Connecticut facilities where New York freight was being diverted.

Fitzsimmons has willingly gone along with similar agreements for the use of part-timers between UPS and other Teamster locals across the country. According to Carey, the International tried to turn him around by pointing out that the Local would be getting more initiation fee money from the turnover of part-time workers than from steady full-timers. Carey quoted one International official as asking, "What's the big deal, Ron? You'd be getting double money, double dues..." (*Daily World*, 13 November)!

Carey, who has a militant reputation in his own local, has done nothing to push for a nationwide strike. This would break the isolation of Local 804 and instantly bring the company, presently so arrogant, to its knees. Moreover, at today's union meeting Carey said he had



Picketer at UPS in New York. WV PHOTO

not put up pickets in New Jersey because he was afraid other locals would cross the lines and because violence might result, giving Fitzsimmons an excuse to put the Local into receivership.

To run away from a fight to oust the pro-company Teamster bureaucracy means defeat. And putting in another, tougher-talking bureaucrat to replace Fitzsimmons will not make a qualitative change. Hoffa certainly sold out plenty of local struggles in his time. What is needed is not a new clique but a leadership committed to a policy of militant class struggle.

While a nationwide UPS strike could have brought a settlement in New York weeks ago, it is doubly crucial now in the face of the company's threatened lockout.

—Open UPS books to workers' inspection!

—For a nationwide UPS strike in support of Local 804!

—For a class-struggle leadership of the IBT! ■

Teamsters Local 804 strikers have been abandoned by Fitzsimmons. DAILY WORLD

Unemployment Benefits Denied

U. S. Steel Lays Off Workers Over Coal Strike

Last week United States Steel announced layoffs totalling 13,700 workers as a result of the coal strike. Company spokesmen added that several furnaces would be closed down since it was a convenient time for making needed maintenance repairs.

What U.S. Steel did not tell the press was that it is denying SUB (Supplemental Unemployment Benefits) payments and apprentices' retention benefits to its laid-off employees. The contract, says the company, does not require payments in case of a labor dispute.

Despite a contract clause requiring management-union agreement in order to suspend SUB payments, the USW has so far done nothing about this.

Even more ominous are reports from steel union officials in both Ohio and Indiana that state unemployment benefits may be denied, under laws which rule out payments in the case of strikes.

The denial of unemployment benefits by the companies and state governments would leave these workers without any form of income whatever! This atrocity must be vigorously protested in the course of activities in support of the miners' strike.

Steelworkers, in particular, must:

1) strike all operations of companies refusing to pay benefits to laid-off workers as a result of the strike;

2) support the mine strike by refusing to shift coal from plant to plant or to handle any scab coal brought in during the strike; and

3) demand strike action by the entire labor movement against decisions by state governments to deny unemployment benefits to laid-off workers.

Continued from page 12

... UMW Contract

the power of a nationwide coal strike could not be used to organize the unorganized sections of the industry.

The demand for expropriation of the energy conglomerates, raised by the UMW during the "gasoline crisis" earlier this year, would help undercut opposition to the strike from consumers and other workers who may suffer hardship because of it. This is particularly true given the current spectacular profits of these "robber barons." Three of the nation's largest coal producers—Pittston, Consolidation and Island Creek (subsidiaries of Kennecott Copper, Continental Oil and Occidental Petroleum respectively)—had total profits of $78.6 million in the third quarter of 1974 compared to $2.4 million in the same period of 1973, a gain of 3,275 percent (*New York Times*, 12 November)!

The tentative agreement has so many obvious loopholes and inadequacies that even Miller's popularity with the ranks may be unable to save it. One union aide commented after the deal was announced, "I'm scared to death that we are vulnerable to misconceptions, because this is a tough contract to explain" (*New York Times*, 15 November).

If the contract proposal is rejected by the bargaining council, the prospect of a strike of three weeks or longer (ratification by the membership would take about 10 days) may well bring federal intervention. President Ford has been "hinting" that he will use the Taft-Hartley Act to force miners back to work in that case.

The UMW has a long no-contract-no-work tradition. Miners should stick to this principle and not let themselves be intimidated by Ford's sabre-rattling. The slogan of the 1944 coal strike against government wage controls is still valid: "You can't mine coal with bayonets!"

In the case of an extended strike, the bourgeois media will certainly seek to mobilize public opinion against the union. As this would be a key test case in the struggle over who will bear the costs of the current capitalist economic crisis, it is crucial that the miners receive energetic support from the rest of the labor movement. This means refusing to move any coal during the strike, whether a matter of unloading foreign coal in ports, transporting it by rail or barge, or even shifting coal between steel plants. In the event of government intervention it will be urgent for the unions and labor/socialist organizations to build mass mobilizations against federal strikebreaking. No to the sellout Miller deal! Victory to the miners' strike! ■

The Berlin Committee of supporters of the Declaration for Common Work in Germany by the Spartacist League/U.S. and the Austrian Bolshevik-Leninists has changed its name and constituted itself as the Trotskyist League of Germany. Beginning in January 1974, the Berlin Committee began publishing *Kommunistische Korrespondenz* on the basis of essential programmatic agreement between the German comrades and the comrades of the SL/U.S. and the SL/ANZ. At the European Summer Camp, the Berlin Committee subscribed to the Declaration for the Organizing of an International Trotskyist Tendency and became a sympathizing group of the international Spartacist tendency.

The formation of the Trotskyist League of Germany marks both the development of the Berlin Committee into an organization which will be active in West Germany on a national scale as well as its integration into the international Spartacist tendency.

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Continued from page 2

Death Squadrons Murder Argentinian Leftists

oppose Perón in the September 1973 elections. Instead the Stalinists supported the "anti-imperialist" general. Although its offices have been repeatedly attacked by the authorities and right-wing gangsters, the CP continues to affirm its adherence to the bonapartist regime.

Not without a share in this guilt are the supposed Trotskyists of the PST (Socialist Workers Party) led by Nahuel Moreno and Juan Carlos Coral. Having offered in late 1972 to vote for Peronist candidates if the Justicialista ticket were made up of at least 80 percent workers (instead of the actual 25 percent), the Moreno group announced in May 1973 that it would support all government acts in the interests of the workers and offered its "proletarian solidarity" to Cámpora (*Avanzada Socialista*, 30 May-6 June 1973).

The fact that it did run its own candidate in both 1973 elections has not stopped the PST from seeking out every opportunity to declare solidarity with the Peronist regime. The most scandalous instance was a joint declaration with the CP and six other bourgeois parties on March 21 supporting "in all instances the institutional process" and condemning "those who in one way or another seek to change it" (see "PST Caught Red-Handed," *WV* No. 49, 19 July 1974).

This document, openly betraying Marxism by declaring the PST's support for bourgeois "law and order," was a considerable embarrassment to its U.S. allies, the reformist Socialist Workers Party, and gave the SWP's factional opponents in the so-called "United Secretariat" (USec) an easy club with which to beat them. (The PST is the Argentine sympathizing section of the USec.) Moreno and Co. subsequently sought to sweep the scandal under the rug by claiming the PST never actually signed the document (despite the fact that *Avanzada Socialista* reported the signing and failed to correct its "editorial error" for three months!).

Yet only three days after the "correction" appeared in *AS*, the PST signed a *second* "Declaration of the 8"! The text declared that, "consistent with our attitude of support for the process of institutionalization in the country" the signers reaffirmed the need for "legal mechanisms of constitutional continuity" (*Política Obrera*, 10 July 1974).

The second declaration was interesting for what it revealed of the PST's real motivations. It was issued after Perón's illness became known and the question of succession arose. Yet none of the rightists ever opposed "constitutional continuity" (i.e., the accession to the presidency of Maria Estela de Perón)! The PST, CP and bourgeois liberals were afraid that they might later be accused of fomenting disruption at the time of the "great national tragedy." In other words, it was a declaration of cringing cowardice and political support for "Peronism without Perón."

But this is not all! If twice, then why not thrice? Following the passage of an "anti-subversive law" at the end of September, a new "multi-sectoral" conference of the "opposition" parties with the Argentine president was held on October 8. The meeting was universally interpreted as a show of support for the regime, and at the meeting Coral of the PST did not denounce the new "security law" which outlaws strikes. He did, however, denounce ("categorically") the "terrorist and guerrillaist forms of violence." He also declared that the PST "will fight for the continuity of this government, because it was elected by the majority of the Argentine workers and because it permits the exercise of some democratic liberties..." (*Avanzada Socialista*, 15 October).

In the past, Política Obrera, which is a member of the "Organizing Committee for the Reconstruction of the Fourth International" led by the French OCI, has denounced the betrayal of the PST in signing the joint statements. But this time, PO not only failed to denounce the PST opportunism directly but did not even mention that the Moreno group took part in the meeting! Why this sudden change? Because the PST and Política Obrera are conducting formal political discussions. Part of the deal, implicit or explicit, seems to be that there will be no public criticism of each other.

Such arrangements would be appropriate when two groups had determined fundamental bases for political unity and were conducting joint action in preparation for a fusion. But the PST has during the past two years repeatedly betrayed Argentine workers by its de facto "critical" support for the Peronist regime at a time when the latter is outlawing strikes, unions, newspapers, organizations—in short, extirpating every expression of working-class independence. PO has correctly denounced this in the past; now it seeks "discussions" and stops all public criticism.

Elsewhere in this issue we report the initiation of formal discussions between the OCI and the American SWP. PO's capitulation to the social-democratic PST in Argentina shows what betrayals will result from these moves toward fusion with the Pabloists. ■

Continued from page 7

Italy . . .

Italian people by German and American finance capital.

Expropriate Fiat and All Closed-Down Plants—No Layoffs—For Workers Control!

Four-hour protest strikes at Fiat to restore the full workweek are not only ineffectual, but probably benefit management, which wants to reduce output. The trade unions must organize the occupation of plants imposing mass layoffs or short time. If such firms are privately owned, as is Fiat, they should be expropriated without compensation.

To transfer private industry into the hands of the reactionary government bureaucracy would have limited benefit for the workers. The unions must organize workers control at the shop floor, particularly to prevent layoffs or short time. Workers control must not be seen as a reform granted by the government or, in the syndicalist manner, as an isolated action at the point of production. It is an unstable condition indissolubly linked to the struggle for state power.

Down With the Christian Democrats—For a CP/SP Goverment!

In the main the Italian working class still looks toward a parliamentary solution to its problems and felt needs. It is essential to destroy workers' illusions in the CP in the context of a concrete struggle against class collaborationism. Revolutionaries must constantly agitate against CP entry into the CD-led coalition and for the CP to take power together with the other main workers party, the SP, and the trade unions.

Italian CP head Enrico Berlinguer.

Smash the Fascists—For Workers Militias—Toward a Workers Government!

After the bloody experience of Chile and the exposure of fascist-military activity in Italy, millions of workers realize that a CP/SP government, elected to office in opposition to the Christian Democracy, would face imminent counterrevolutionary violence. The defense of the labor movement against reaction must be prepared now by establishing workers militias based on the unions. The immediate task of such militias is the suppression of fascist terrorism.

Given the collapsing Italian economy, the struggle against fascism cannot be pursued by purely military means (although that is indispensable). To win over the non-proletarian exploited masses, the struggle for workers power must be associated with a program of socialist economic planning and the liberation of the Italian people from clerical obscurantist rule of the Italian bourgeoisie. ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Miller Sells Out Right to Strike Over Grievances

Opposition Mounts to UMW Contract Deal

NOVEMBER 17—United Mine Workers' officials reached agreement with the Bituminous Coal Operators Association last Thursday, a mere three days after the strike began. Both sides had feigned toughness in the negotiations—the operators calling for a seven-day week, the UMW bargainers threatening to pack up and go home. In reality, both have been concerned mainly with "selling" the results to the union rank and file.

Coal miners, angered by the grinding down of their living standards and continuing needless deaths in the pits (39 since negotiations began on September 1), looked forward eagerly to a strike. They hoped to make use of their currently strong bargaining position (stockpiles are low and demand high) to wrest major gains from the profit-rich energy conglomerates.

UMW tops are now concerned that their settlement may have been "too early" to allow the workers to "blow off steam." By "giving" the ranks a token two-week strike, they hoped to obtain uncontested ratification of whatever deal was negotiated. But news reports indicate that the bargaining council will not approve the settlement in its present form, raising the possibility of a strike of three weeks or more and of direct government intervention.

The "package" produced by UMW president Arnold Miller is an insult to every working miner. Although union officials claim it represents a 49.7 percent overall increase in benefits, wages would only go up 15 percent during the next three years, *plus a maximum of 6 percent from the phony cost-of-living escalator.*

Miller's big "achievement," a first-ever c-o-l clause, covers only *half* the losses to inflation—up to a ceiling of *6 points* per year on the government consumer price index. With a total wage increase of 21 percent (all gimmicks included) over three years, miners will actually be losing money if inflation is more than 7 percent yearly. (The current rate is *double* that figure!)

The fringes negotiated in most cases merely bring mine workers benefits

78 dead at 1968 mine explosion. UMWA

which are standard in unionized industry. For the first time they would get paid sick days, although only five per year. The pension will rise to $250 a month by 1977 (it is $150 at present), a figure which is still sub-poverty level without Social Security.

Pennsylvania UMW strikers block entrance to power plant. UPI

In return, Miller dropped the demand for the right to strike over grievances and health/safety issues. District 29 (southern West Virginia), the largest and most militant region in the UMW, has indicated it will not accept a contract without this key provision.

While groups like the International Socialists were engaged in largely uncritical cheerleading for Miller (only logical, since they earlier supported him for union president), the Spartacist League warned that the darling of liberals and fake radicals would "sacrifice" the right to strike over safety conditions (see *WV* No. 56, 8 November). As shown by Miller's campaign against wildcat strikes last year, he does not want this right at all, since it only puts the leadership on the spot.

The UMW tops' betrayal on the bread-and-butter issues, while important, is dwarfed by their failure to use this excellent opportunity to make really significant gains. For instance, more than 30 percent of bituminous coal still comes from non-union fields. As demonstrated by the five-day "memorial" last summer in support of the strikers in Harlan County, there is no reason why

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SUB Fund Endangered

Chrysler Threatens National Shutdown

DETROIT, November 16—The Chrysler Corporation announced yesterday it is contemplating a move unprecedented in the history of the auto industry: it may close all but one of its U.S. assembly plants for the entire month of December. This would directly affect up to 30,000 employees, in addition to the 14,000 Chrysler production workers already on indefinite layoff. Industry sources estimate that a national shutdown would idle another 50,000 in supplier plants.

Last month the company's suggestion that its Jefferson Avenue Assembly plant would be permanently closed sent shock waves through Detroit. Unemployment locally is already above 10 percent and Chrysler, with several major auto assembly plants and other manufacturing units in the area, is the largest private employer here.

In October management held out the possibility that laid-off Jefferson workers could transfer to an assembly plant in Newark, Delaware. Soon afterwards, however, half of that unit's workforce was placed on temporary layoff. Today Chrysler announced that its entire Newark operation will be closed "until further notice."

Corporation officials also said that the second shift at Jefferson will be permanently cancelled beginning Monday. This is aimed at stretching out the shutdown, thereby lessening the likelihood of an explosive response from the workers. A final decision on Jefferson's future awaits the return of Chrysler president Lynn Townsend from vacation in Hawaii (!), however.

Behind the snowballing layoffs and plant closures in auto stands a worldwide crisis of the capitalist economy. Massive inflation has cut sharply into purchasing power and profits. To the traditional boom-bust cycle of capitalism has been added the impact of shortages in primary products, manipulated by cartel action. With profits plummeting, companies simply curtail production and sack the workers.

The conjunctural crisis is striking most sharply in auto. During the first ten days of November, car sales fell by 38 percent (compared to last year), the worst drop since 1959 (*Wall Street Journal*, 14 November). Chrysler claims to have lost $8 million last quarter and to now have a 112-day supply of 1975 models on hand.

Production cutbacks are traditional in auto during winter. Usually plants are closed between Christmas and New Year's—a paid holiday under the union contract. But by laying off for the entire month, the company will save $20 million in vacation pay alone.

Moreover, *this enforced "holiday" could sink the Supplemental Unemployment Benefits fund altogether.* Created to cover seasonal layoffs, it cannot cover sustained, large-scale shutdowns. The *Detroit Free Press* today reports that the Chrysler fund had already shrunk from $102 million in September to $80 million in October. By January 1 it may no longer exist.

The "liberal" Woodcock bureaucracy of the United Auto Workers has no answer to layoffs. When rumors of closing Jefferson were first "floated," UAW Chrysler division head Doug Fraser could only promise to "do everything possible to persuade [i.e., beg] the company not to close the plant" (UAW press release, 18 October).

Even lower-level bureaucrats with a more "radical" image have nothing to offer. At a recent press conference, Jordan Sims, president of Local 961 (Eldon Gear and Axle) and leader of the United National Caucus, called for a one-day strike, a demonstration at Chrysler headquarters and a special UAW convention on layoffs (*Detroit Free Press*, 15 November). But his "solution" was a time-worn "share-the-work" (i.e., "share-the-layoffs") scheme, eliminating overtime, working one week on, one week off, a shorter work week (what about pay?), etc.

Indicative of the great interest in fighting layoffs was a meeting on November 10 called by the Jefferson Avenue Revolutionary Union Movement, a group supported by the Communist Labor Party, to protest the threatened plant closure. But JARUM had no answers except vague appeals to "cast away illusions" and "prepare for struggle." Unemployed committees, it suggested, could fight housing evictions, as during the 1930's.

At a union meeting today for the Dearborn Assembly Plant of Ford's River Rouge complex (Local 600), however, a resolution was put forward by militants calling for an end to all layoffs by fighting for a shorter workweek with no loss in pay (30-for-40). (DAP has been hit by a layoff of 18 percent

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WORKERS VANGUARD 25¢

No. 58 6 December 1974

300,000 Auto Layoffs in December

U.S. Economy Crumbling

DECEMBER 1—Auto's Big Four, giant industrial-financial monopolies at the heart of the American economy, will lay off close to 300,000 workers this month. Production schedules are now being drastically cut in light of dismal profit reports and continued declining sales. Although the current layoffs are supposedly for December only it is obvious that long-term "adjustments" are in order. Ford Motor Company is already projecting permanent job losses affecting at least 31,000 workers. Since a layoff in auto means about one and one half layoffs in related sectors (rubber, safety glass, etc.) Ford's latest cutbacks will ultimately put about 78,000 workers on the streets.

Reduced sales and layoffs are now spreading to other areas of the economy including appliances, textiles and television manufacturing. Municipal and state governments are also feeling the pinch. New York City, for instance, is planning to lay off over 1,500 municipal workers, the largest cutback in the city's history including during the dog days of the depression. The press is printing stories of workers who decided to work for the government in order to get (they thought) permanent civil service job security but are on the street without money and ineligible for unemployment insurance. Economic "experts" who had earlier hoped that unemployment would remain below 7 percent nationally are now predicting that joblessness will peak at somewhere between 8 and 10 percent, the highest since the 1930's depression.

The recent 600 percent rise in the price of sugar has highlighted a tremendous rise in the retail prices of basic commodities (utilities, food, gasoline) generally. This has cut real wages by over 5 percent in the past year. Profits in capital goods industries such as steel, the most viable sector of the economy outside of energy industries, have been artificially exaggerated both by inflation and recent hoarding in anticipation of the coal strike. In reality orders have flattened out this year, and cutbacks will soon be required in these areas as well.

Since President Ford suddenly "discovered" the recession last month his economic advisors are now admitting that it has been in process already for ten (!) months. In announcing his discovery of an economic slump, Secretary of the Treasury Simons said that it would be "V-shaped," with a sharp upswing in mid-1975. Last week, however, "some administration officials" were quoted as saying that something had happened to the second leg of the "V" (*New York Times*, 24 November). It's apparently looking more and more like an "L" these days, even when viewed through Ford's rose-colored glasses.

If things are bad here they are, if anything, worse in the other advanced industrial countries except Germany. Yashica, one of Japan's leading camera companies, has recently been forced to get rid of 41 percent of its workforce. In the past, layoffs of permanent workers had been unheard of in Japanese industries, where a worker belongs to a company for life. The world crisis is cracking the foundations of this paternalistic labor system.

The diminishing opportunities for "profitable" investment and shrinking international markets have led to in-

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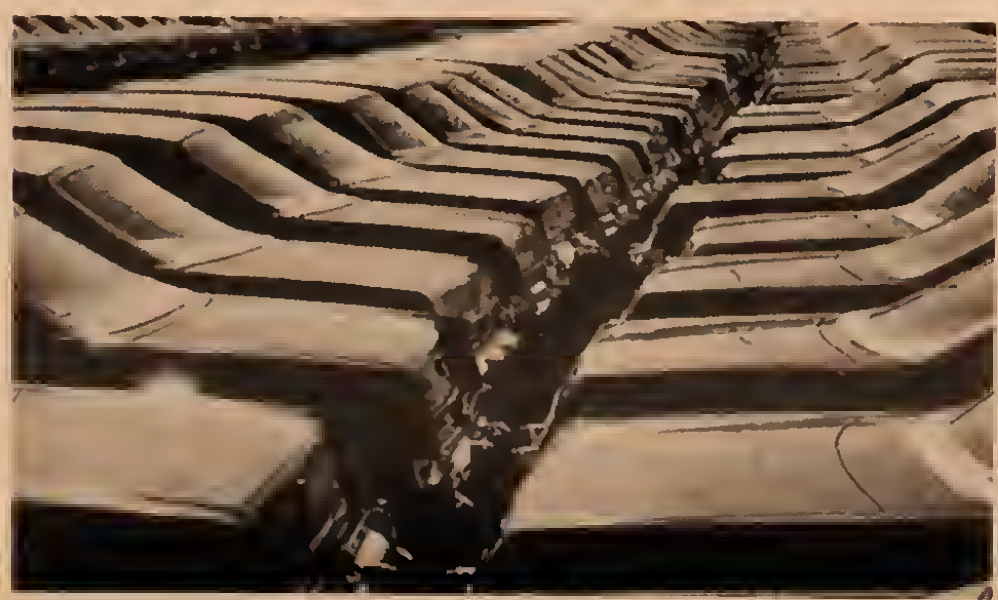
Demonstrators protest layoffs at Jefferson Assembly plant. WV PHOTO



Detroit: Unsold Chryslers. JOE CLARK

Government Threats in Coal Talks

UMW Ranks Resist Miller Sellout

Arnold Miller talks with Harlan County miners. ED STREEKY—CAMERA 5

DECEMBER 2—The fight between the top leadership of the United Mine Workers and its ranks over a new contract is continuing to heat up and may boil over at any moment. The next few days will determine whether or not Arnold Miller, in close collaboration with the government and management, will succeed in ramming through his sellout pact.

On November 26 Miller finally got his contract past the union's bargaining council, which for 11 days had refused to put its stamp of approval on the blatantly pro-company deal. This time the UMW president was ready for his reluctant district directors.

After the initial package was turned down overwhelmingly (by a vote of 37 to 1) on November 18, the re-opened negotiations were conducted in an atmosphere of secrecy and melodrama. Treasury Secretary William Simons played the hard cop, openly identified with the interests of the coal operators, while W.J. Usery (director of the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service) played the role of soft cop "friend of the workers."

The council again decisively rejected Miller's "new" deal, by a 22-to-11 margin at a mid-afternoon session on November 26. Yet only a few hours later the same body accepted the same rotten pact. Its members were turned around not by new information, but by the threatening presence of a top government official in union headquarters during the deliberations. Ostensibly there to help explain the terms of the contract, "soft cop" Usery's real purpose was to "explain" the terms of *not* accepting the contract, namely government strikebreaking.

Following the collapse of opposition in the bargaining council a phone conversation was arranged between the UMW chief and President Ford, in which Miller promised to "do everything I can to get the coal flowing again for America." Informed about the phone call, and

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EYEWITNESS REPORT

The Coal Strike in West Virginia—

Miners Up in Arms Over Contract

BECKLEY, W. Va., December 2—The heaviest snowfall in years has delayed voting by UMW miners, but it has done nothing to dampen the widespread dissatisfaction over the proposed contract negotiated by Mine Workers' president Arnold Miller. On Saturday a horn-honking car caravan here calling for a "no" vote highlighted the rank-and-file disgust. Simultaneously Miller was being hooted down by local delegates at a district-wide meeting.

Opposition to the proposed pact centers around its failure to include a clause guaranteeing the right to strike over local grievances, notably health and safety issues. The Right to Strike Committee, a regional grouping in the UMW, organized the car caravan after a meeting last Wednesday of over 100 miners passed a resolution calling: "...on all miners to resist efforts, by union and company officials to sell us a bad bill of goods...."

A young roof-bolter at one of the seven local mines owned by the huge Consolidation Coal Company expressed similar sentiments. As he told *Workers Vanguard* in an interview yesterday, "My father got killed in an accident when I was five.... Management don't care about a man's life—they only care about the coal."

He added, "They're trying to break

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SL Exchange with *Truth*

Oak Park, Illinois
8 September 1974

Political Bureau
Spartacist League

Dear Comrades:

We have received from Comrade Green, your local organizer, a proposal for formal political discussions. We accept this proposal. We should make clear to you that we believe that serious political differences exist between ourselves and your organization which would make fusion very unlikely. However, we feel that a serious and principled discussion of political differences would aid in the development of both groups.

Comrade Green has also informed us of your decision to publicize materials relating to our expulsion from the RSL. We are pleased by the decision to expose this bureaucratic and cynical purge. To this end we will supply you with all available written materials necessary to clarify the facts and to fight the RSL's cowardly cover-up.

Enclosed, you will also find a copy of the first issue of our newspaper, TRUTH, which we would like to exchange on a regular basis with your publication.

Comradely yours,
Jon Myers
Central Executive Committee
TRUTH

•

New York
20 September 1974

Jon Myers
Central Executive Committee
TRUTH

Dear Comrade Myers,

Thank you for your letter of September 8 as well as for the substantial amount of documentation which you have kindly supplied us in connection with your struggle in the RSL. Two points appear quite clear to us: the unabashed, explicit bureaucratism of the RSL and the fundamental principled character of your struggle around the Russian question. Therefore we must treat your tendency with the seriousness and respect so indicated.

Manifestly there are many differences between our two tendencies. We do not wish to prejudge these, and approach the question of discussion with you comrades with an open mind. As you undoubtedly know we have had a great deal of experience in approaching other groups in these conditions. We have probably learned more, and certainly have ourselves been more tested, by those experiences which demonstrated a fundamental lack of compatibility between tendencies than by those which led to harmonious fusion. We published the results of our persistent overtures to the then-American Committee for the Fourth International as our Marxist Bulletin No. 3 Part IV, "Conversations With Wohlforth." This is already available to you.

The Leninist Faction of Passen and Gregorich, after having already essentially turned away from a perspective toward the Spartacist League, held two formal sessions with an SL delegation in order to place upon us the burden of breaking off unity negotiations. We cheerfully accepted this responsibility. We are sending you under separate cover the rough, uncorrected transcripts of these discussions.

The tone of your letter to us suggests that you are concerned that we might be precipitous in seeking an illusory, unfounded, unprincipled unification with you comrades. These materials referred to we hope will reassure you that we do not approach you in either a naively hasty or a maneuverist fashion. We have before us in the CSL a living model of one ad hoc unification effort on top of another seeking to compact the most egregiously incompatible positions. The worst result is not the acquiring of two splits for each new "unification" but that at each point the resulting organization cannot undertake Leninist struggle because it does not contain within it the program for the road to power (hard enough to carry out in practice), but only programmatic ambiguity breeding new splits as the class struggle unfolds.

In any case, it is good for tendencies in the socialist movement to discuss and clarify their views rather than subordinate real programmatic difference or agreement to mindless organizational competitiveness, the latter posture already being a departure from Marxism-Leninism.

So with these cautionary injunctions which you already evidently share we are quite happy to undertake discussions between our two organizations. It remains only to work out the arrangements. Probably it would be easiest for a delegation from our Central Committee to meet with your representatives in the Midwest. Please let us know your wishes. If you do wish to proceed with these discussions it would be desirable if we also supplied you with the discussion material from our last National Conference.

Fraternally,
James Robertson
for the Spartacist League/U.S.
cc: Steve Green

•

28 October 1974

Political Bureau
Spartacist League

Dear Comrades:

This is to inform you of our decision not to pursue any further negotiations on discussions with your group.

We have followed a principled course in these negotiations, hoping to sustain whatever faint chance there was of a discussion which could serve to illuminate the political significance of the differences that we mentioned in our first letter.

On the other hand, it is evident that the SL does not want *political* discussions at all. For instance, despite the fact that the SL approached us first, despite our letter of acceptance and despite correspondence since then, the SL has not proposed even a single item for discussion—hardly a sign of wanting to talk politics. It has become quite clear, both from the Robertson letter and from the LF transcripts, what the SL does want. Its sole purpose in seeking to "discuss" with us is to engage in a crude attack on our tendency for not recognizing the SL, now and in the past, as the font of all wisdom and to convey to us the hopelessness of independent existence. We are far too busy to waste our time on such a farcical "discussion" which cannot be in any way useful or helpful.

Your real attitude is also evident in the fact that you have let stand as your position an imputation of cliquism on our part, put forward by you in agnostic fashion in *Workers Vanguard* #52. This is despite the Robertson letter, which speaks of "the unabashed explicit bureaucratism of the RSL and the fundamental principled character of your struggle around the Russian Question." Nor did you take the opportunity, in your article on the RSL in *WV* #55, to disavow any charge of cliquism against us. We can hardly be expected to believe in the good intentions of the SL when its slanders are public and its praise only private. A public correction is the least to be expected of those with even an elementary honesty and, since you are so demonstrably lacking in this quality, negotiations are impossible on any realistic basis.

Trotsky taught us "to be true in little things as in big ones." The basic political content of the SL finds its expression, not only in its attitude towards negotiations with us, but also in the vile backroom slander that Harold Robins "got Trotsky killed." We demand the immediate retraction of this charge, the cynicism of which serves only to illustrate on another point the corruption of the SL.

Fraternally,
Kevin Tracey
CEC

•

New York
29 November 1974

Kevin Tracey
Central Executive Committee
TRUTH

Dear Comrade Tracey,

In reply to yours of 28 October, it is of course unfortunate that your tendency has come once again to the conclusion that you have nothing to gain by discussions now with the Spartacist League. We do, however, thank you for your overt rejection of such talks, rather than maneuvering and dragging the matter out so as to place the "burden" for the failure of such talks on us (in the fashion of the late Leninist Faction right wing, now in the Class Struggle League).

However, we believe your decision is unfortunate. Certainly your new paper, TRUTH, expresses a number of serious differences with the SL as has your tendency in its earlier incarnations (i.e., as the Communist Tendency in the SWP, as the independent Committee for a Workers' Government, then as entrist currents in the International Socialists and later the Revolutionary Socialist League). But your present treatment of the nature of the Russian Question and your assertion of its crucial importance for revolutionary Marxists indicate certain major points of agreement with the SL as well.

Therefore we were led to believe that discussions with you might be of value. In particular we would have been interested in hearing your evaluation of the earlier fervent ex-CT declaration on the worth of the IS: "We see the IS as the only group seriously trying to implement a proletarian orientation, a question which is *fundamental* for us" (*Workers' Power* No. 60, July 1972). This contrasts with your later dismissal in the first issue of TRUTH, 15 September 1974, of the IS as having always been "Shachtmanite," as "having reached its peak in the period of middle class protest," as "now await[ing] only the opportunity to openly dissolve into reformism" and your assertion of "the open capitulation of the IS to the labor bureaucracy."

Without a critical attitude toward the history and evolution of one's own political tendency, one's present-day words are all too cheap, especially when numerical weakness and lack of opportunity do not permit the test of deeds.

You appear to take particular exception to our "agnostic" refusal to certify your lack of cliquism in your struggle in the RSL. And you go on to insist that without "a public correction" by the SL, "negotiations" to talk with you are impossible.

Upon what objective basis could we make such a determination, accept your ultimatum, and duly publish our "correction"—the tone and characterizations in your letter to us?

To the extent that cliquist currents do warp one's practice, to that extent one's formal program is undermined. And if cliquism predominates in a group then it becomes programmatically rudderless, i.e., at the mercy of passing social pressures, as refracted through personalist and subjective considerations. Certainly your expressed subjectivity toward the SL is not a good omen, but hardly definitive.

Perhaps you believe that the correct political issue you raised in the RSL and the RSL Majority's organizational abuse of you are a sufficient guarantee? It is an elementary mistake in political life to conclude that because one side in a dispute is clearly wrong, the other must somehow be much more than just correct on the issues posed. To do so would be to ignore the central features, totality and motion of the latter side. This is why we sought discussion with your group following your exclusion from the RSL.

Your reference to Harold Robins perplexes us. We by all means and for the record state that to our knowledge Harold Robins was not an accomplice to the Trotsky assassination. Perhaps you have twisted our opinion, which is well known to you, that a bodyguard who fails should later show a certain modesty and not spend the next 30 years loudly trading on the presumed political authority of a simple guard's role, then drift into the social-democratic milieu while still invoking the murdered communist, Trotsky, to justify such a capitulation.

It is our belief that a proliferation of ill-defined, ostensibly Trotskyist grouplets is not a good thing. We remain willing to meet with your group, as with others, in discussion or debate whenever there is even a small hope of unity or even of that mutual clarification which can be a step toward unity.

In its first years the Spartacist tendency was very small, generally well under a hundred supporters, but from our inception we fought for and had programmatic firmness. And it is no contradiction that the bulk of the SL's present cadres have come together over the years upon the basis of principled fusions.

Fraternally,
James Robertson,
for the Political Bureau of the SL/U.S.

Notice

The next issue of *Workers Vanguard*, No. 59, will be dated 3 January 1975.

WORKERS VANGUARD

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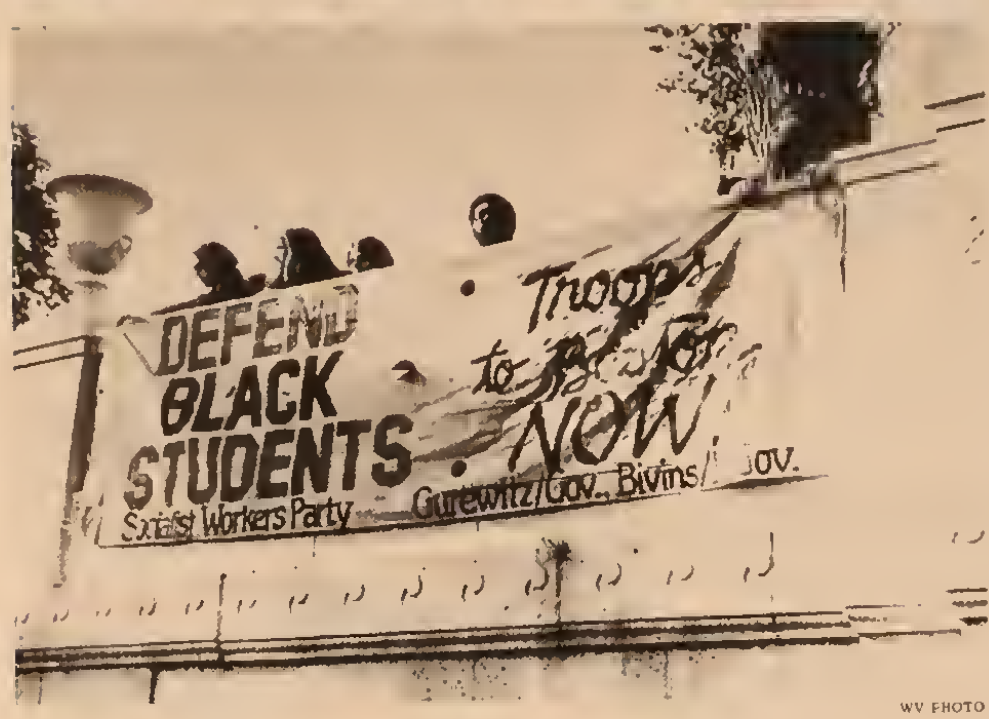
SWP Calls for U.S. Army

No Troops to Boston, For Labor/Black Defense!

WV PHOTO



WV PHOTO

The current busing crisis in Boston has posed the issue of racial equality more sharply than at any time since the demise of the civil rights movement in the mid-1960's. A victory for the racists here will set back the struggle against discrimination throughout the country.

So far things have been going poorly for the integrationists in Boston. There have been weekly anti-busing motorcades of hundreds of cars and segregationist rallies have drawn several thousand participants. Boston's liberal Mayor White soon capitulated to the reactionary Hicks-Kerrigan elements of the School Committee and now even the judge who ordered the busing is talking of a compromise exempting certain schools.

With the abandonment of racial minorities by the liberals and the discrediting of black Democrats (some of the worst cop atrocities have occurred in cities with black mayors) as well as both "pork-chop" and "revolutionary" nationalists, a tremendous opportunity has opened up for communists to win black militants to a program of united class struggle. But this will not be done simply by chanting "black and white, unite and fight." It is necessary to provide correct leadership to the masses in their concrete struggles against oppression.

Community Control and Busing

In Boston there have been very sharp differences in the programs offered by ostensibly revolutionary groups during the busing crisis. Take the question of busing: some support it, some don't. Why?

For the Spartacist League the question is straightforward. We are for the maximum political, economic and social equality among different sectors of the working people. Discrimination divides the working class and thus makes it more difficult to unite against the common enemy—capitalism. We support integration of the schools as part of the struggle for equality, and therefore we support busing as a means of achieving a modicum of integration, although by distorted and rather artificial means.

For many opportunist groups, however, the issue is awkward. Their method is to tail after petty-bourgeois public opinion, supporting whatever is popular at the moment. This way they will get more recruits—they hope. Today many black politicians support busing, but not so long ago the dominant mood among black militants influenced by nationalist currents was for community control of the schools. So many of these fake socialists supported community control.

The Spartacist League opposes black nationalism and community control because they further divide working people instead of helping to unite them, increasing segregation instead of fighting it. Whatever the immediate rake-off for a handful of minority "professionals" who get good-paying jobs as a result of community control schemes, in the long run these will work against the oppressed black minority. Among other things, such schemes inevitably lead to the demand for community control of schools *by whites*.

If you support community control for blacks in Roxbury, then shouldn't you support community control for poor whites in South Boston? If you support community control, then shouldn't you oppose busing (which obviously makes community control impossible)?

For the reformists of the Socialist Workers Party there is no contradiction in advocating two counterposed lines on the same issue. For them this is dialectics. In an article entitled "Busing: What Are the Issues?" (*International Socialist Review*, December 1974), SWP leader Peter Camejo notes that community control of the schools by whites is simply a cover for racist reaction. True enough. But he goes on to add

continued on page 8

"Emergency Committee": A Liberal Sham

For A Class-Struggle Contingent on December 14

A "Freedom March for Human Dignity" has been announced for Boston and other major cities around the country on December 14. Organized by the Emergency Committee for a National Mobilization Against Racism, the Boston rally has a long list of several hundred sponsors, including trade-union bureaucrats, black organizations, left groups and prominent liberals. The three slogans on the leaflet for the national march are "No to Institutionalized Racism; No to Racist Mob Violence and No to Racism in Education."

The absence of a broad mobilization of left, labor and black organizations has undoubtedly emboldened the racist mobs who are protesting school integration through court-ordered busing. As early as September 22 the Spartacist League urged (in a letter sent to numerous Boston-area trade unions, black organizations and socialist groups) a mass united-front demonstration around the slogan, "Stop the Racist Attacks Against Black School Children." But the December 14 march is not such a united-front action.

The rally is built around and tightly controlled by a single black Democratic Party politician, Bill Owens. Owens, who recently became the only black state senator in Massachusetts, is eager to boost his career by attaching his name to a demonstration of national significance. This will draw the limelight away from other members of the Massachusetts Legislative Black Caucus, and put Owens on the road previously traveled by U.S. Senator Brooke.

Owens can afford a display of "militancy" as long as he has iron-clad veto power over the decisions of the "Emergency Committee": the character of leaflets, slogans, route of march, speakers at the rally, etc. Consequently, neither the hundreds of sponsoring organizations and individuals nor the groups which have been most active in building the demonstration—Youth Against War and Fascism and the Socialist Workers Party—are making key decisions. They are only the water boys.

At a meeting on November 18 to publicize the demonstration, Owens stated unambiguously that all activities in the name of the committee must be approved directly by his office. He announced that he was personally appointing a "screening committee" to "oversee" the work of the Emergency Committee as a whole.

The national leaflet highlights excerpts from Owens' press conference statement, making clear that the rally is to be a pious appeal to "justice loving people from all fifty states." Rather than laying the basis for an integrated working-class defense force to protect the black school children from racist mobs, this "moral witness" led by a bourgeois liberal politico will simply serve to dissipate the energies of those who wish to struggle against the reactionary anti-busing mobilization.

The reformists of the Socialist Workers Party are now seeking to become the "best builders" of yet another bourgeois liberal-led protest movement on the model of the late antiwar movement. By being dutiful errand boys they perhaps hope to induce Owens to take up what has become the SWP's main slogan around the busing crisis, "Federal Troops Into Boston Now." Ironically, this demand was first raised by the SWP because the "leaders of the Black community" (i.e., the black liberal politicians) called for it; but now it is primarily these fake Trotskyists (and, of course, the Communist Party) who are calling on the imperialist army which massacred hundreds of thousands of Vietnamese to bring justice to Boston.

The Spartacist League is unable to endorse this demonstration which is under the organizational control of the Democratic Party politician Bill Owens. We have no confidence in the organizers of this demonstration who are doing their best to guarantee that it will be a liberal/pacifist pep rally—a vehicle for the electoral ambitions of bourgeois politicians and a forum for liberal demands such as "Troops to Boston."

For revolutionaries to stand by and permit the opportunists, in this case YAWF and the SWP/YSA, and their liberal allies to use the just outrage against the racist anti-busing forces to spread liberal/pacifist illusions would be an abdication of our responsibility to expose these criminal frauds. Thus, we will march in the December 14 demonstration in our own contingent, together with those who agree with the perspective of independent labor/black action against the racists under the slogans:

—STOP THE RACIST ATTACKS!
—IMPLEMENT THE BUSING PLAN! EXTEND BUSING TO THE SUBURBS!
—NOT FEDERAL TROOPS, BUT INTEGRATED WORKING-CLASS DEFENSE!

Denounces Members in Print

Class Struggle League Squirms Over Cops

The November issue of *Class Struggle* contains yet another inept attempt by Henry Platsky to polemicize against the Spartacist League under the headline "Liberalism Gains a New Ally." But more interesting than this disconnected string of inane contortions ("the SL's slick image-making," "capitulation to the palates of the overwhelmingly pro-Israeli radical-liberal movement [!]" and similar "devastating" accusations) is a box in one corner of the page entitled "Statement by CSL Central Committee."

To all appearances the two articles are unrelated, inhabiting the same page only by sheer coincidence. The Class Struggle League and readers of *Workers Vanguard* know differently. Using language reminiscent of Nixon's various Watergate "revelations" ("we understand," it has "come to our attention that," etc.) and suggesting that the group is having trouble keeping track of the activities of its 15 or so members, the statement shamefacedly admits that unnamed CSL members on the West Coast have been saying and doing some bizarre things lately.

Our readers will recall that we recently reported that one Earl Owens of the CSL had given us written statements asserting that cops "have the right to membership in the revolutionary party" and can join the unions, too (see "The CSL's 'International': Fourth, Fifth or Cop?" *WV* No. 56, 8 November). *Class Struggle* now confirms these charges, adding that the functioning of members of their Bay Area branch has been such as to "endanger the reputation of the CSL" and to "ignore the elementary principles of the working class movement."

The convoluted anonymity of the statement is all the more amusing in that Earl O. is the CSL's leading West Coast member as well as pretentious solicitor for its "International Commission."

While the CSL hastens to "publicly disown the actions of these comrades" in order to protect its tarnished reputation, the latter is far from unblemished even without Owens' own special contributions. He might argue in self-defense, for instance, that inviting cops into the revolutionary party is not only the "ludicrous, but logical extreme" of calling for unionization of the cops, but also of the call (issued by Harry Turner's *Vanguard Newsletter*) for a general strike in support of striking NYC police in 1971. Owens was part of VNL and fused with the CSL together with Turner a year later.

Earl O. could assert with equal justice that he was only following the CSL's Menshevik organizational norms summarized by the slogan "freedom of criticism, unity in action." Brother Platsky is wont to use this device in order to explain how he defends the crushing of the 1956 Hungarian workers' uprising by the Russian bureaucracy. Turner used to tell how he, personally, favored reconstructing the Fourth International while the CSL was for a Fifth.

The Class Struggle League has been characterized since its inception by opportunist maneuverism at the expense of program and principle. It is an unstable bloc of the remnants of Turner's VNL and elements from the former Leninist Faction of the SWP. They disagreed about which International to construct/reconstruct, trade-union policy, the Near East and other important programmatic questions. The main area of "agreement" was the right to publicly disagree with the organization's policy.

In its aborted attempt to fuse with the Revolutionary Socialist League earlier this year the CSL obligingly modified its position on Arnold Miller for the RSL's benefit. But the RSL haughtily spurned this sacrifice, rejecting fusion on the grounds that "It seems that you are just a temporary assemblage of diverse entities." The story of Earl O. only confirms once again the obscene consequences of scorning the struggle for principled Marxist clarity. The chickens are coming home to roost in the CSL. ■

Continued from page 1

...Miller Sellout

aware of the predictable reaction in the coal fields, a union aide groaned, "this will kill us."

It should not be surprising to coal miners or the left that Miller is such a willing tool of the government and energy monopolies. As a leader of the Miners for Democracy, Miller was responsible for bringing the U.S. Labor Department into the union to help "clean up" the corrupt gangster regime of Tony Boyle. Explaining that it is a betrayal to bring the bosses' state into union affairs, the Spartacist League refused to back Miller for UMW president in December 1972 government-ordered elections.

In contrast, most of the left (as well as the liberal press) supported this sub-reformist. Some fake socialists favored the use of the capitalist government to bring "progress" to the unions; others agreed that this is "bad" but outweighed by Miller's "democracy." Now Miller is simultaneously paying off the friends in Washington who arranged his election and shedding a facade of democracy assumed when he was out of office and not faced with "the responsibilities of power."

If At First You Don't Succeed

Miller was well pleased with his first package, which he called "the best contract in the history of the labor movement," one which had "taken the apple right down to the core, peelings and all" (*New York Times*, 24 November). Actually, Miller showed that as far as he was concerned the UMW could surrender "the apple" to management and the membership would get the worm.

The UMW chief negotiated a contract which threw away the right to strike over local grievances—an acute need in the death-trap mines—and a wage package that is really a pay *cut*. (The "capped" cost-of-living formula will increase wages by a maximum of six percent over three years. This means that under the proposed pact—including the straight wage increase and c-o-l escalator—total pay would rise 21 percent over the life of the contract. At a rate of inflation above 7 percent—it is currently running about 13 percent—real wages will fall.) In addition, the traditional two-week summer vacation was cut in half, one week being shifted to the winter for the companies' benefit.

Miller was faced with the problem of how to sell this rotten "apple" to the ranks. His solution was simple—lying: "Every time the cost of living goes up three per cent, that's three per cent of the total wage," he told miners in West Virginia.

Lies, however, were not sufficient to push through the first contract. The bargaining council sent Miller back to restore the two-week summer vacation, get a 22 percent wage increase in the first year (to make up for past losses due to inflation) and obtain the right to strike over health and safety issues. Sounding more like the voice of industry than the president of a striking union, Miller fumed to reporters: "You wouldn't believe some of the recommendations" (*New York Times*, 24 December).

The "renegotiated" pact actually does nothing about vacations, nothing about the right to strike and only raises pay by another 2 percent! Yet when the bargaining council balked at endorsing this insulting proposal, Miller went on the air to question their "sincerity"!

UNITED MINE WORKERS

UMW Ranks Want Strike Victory

Now that he has battered down the bargaining council, Miller has dropped all talk of his "ultra-democratic" ten-day ratification procedure. After educationals on Saturday, the miners vote today (Monday) and the results will be announced tomorrow. Miller is officially predicting a 60 percent "yes" vote.

He will have to overcome a lot of resistance among the membership to reach this figure. Already on November 29, some 300 miners marched in Bellaire, Ohio, against the contract. "Dump Miller and Guzek" (president of district 6) and "Miners Get Ripped Off Again" read their signs. At a district 29 educational in Beckley, West Virginia, the next day, Miller and his lawyer reportedly were unable to answer questions about job bidding under the contract. "Get Guy Farmer [the companies' chief negotiator]," hooted miners from the floor, "he knows what's in the contract" (*New York Times*, 1 December). Even the bargaining council's original demands, however, are far from adequate to satisfy the miners' needs. Forces in the UMW which seek to counterpose a policy of militant class struggle to the defeatist reformism of Miller & Co. must call for unlimited cost-of-living protection (sliding scale of wages), no loss in existing union gains (vacations, grievance procedure, etc.,) and the unconditional right to strike.

In addition, the present favorable bargaining power of the union should be used to strike to organize all non-union coal fields (more than 30 percent of present U.S. production). And in order to win support from broad sections of working people and the rest of the labor movement, the UMW should call for the expropriation without compensation of the profit-hungry energy monopolies and for a shorter workweek with no loss in pay, in order to provide jobs for the unemployed.

Besides selling out the miners, Miller sits together with Meany, Fitzsimmons and Abel on President Ford's Labor-Management Committee, a body whose job is to keep down ("monitor") wages through "jawboning" until mandatory government controls are reimposed. While it is only natural that the likes of Miller should see nothing wrong with sitting on a wage-control committee, the union ranks must demand that labor get off all government boards. In addition, socialists and union militants must call for a workers party—break with the parties of big business!—to fight for a workers government.

If miners do reject the contract, pressure will quickly build for government intervention. There will be cries of "energy blackmail" and denunciation of coal miners' "greed" in the press. In such a situation it is urgent that the labor movement and socialist organizations mount united-front demonstrations in support of the miners' strike. If Taft-Hartley provisions or troops are used in an attempt to break the strike through government intervention, the entire labor movement must respond with a general strike for victory of the strike and against Taft-Hartley.

As John L. Lewis remarked in the 1943 coal strike, "you can't mine coal with bayonets." But it is possible to break a strike by isolating it. This must not be allowed to happen. ■

The Left and Arnold Miller

Unable to resist an "honest reformer," many supposedly revolutionary groups "critically" supported Arnold Miller for UMW president in 1972. There were many different reasons, of course. The International Socialists gave their backing because Miller was a step forward compared to Boyle. The Revolutionary Socialist League claims to have no such illusions; it supports Miller because the *workers* think he is a step forward. And the *Guardian* added its vote because Miller was a step forward *and* a step backward (that old "two-line" struggle).

The opportunism of such fakers is such that even today they are making excuses for Miller as dissident miners march with signs denouncing the UMW president and his miserable contract. The *Guardian* (4 December) wonders whether the supposedly "best ever" contract really is so good, but says that the UMW president is only "acting defensively." *Revolution* (November 1974) now says that Miller "may not be a staunch defender of the strike"! No kidding.

The Socialist Workers Party's *Militant* (1 November), which has a good word for just about every liberal labor skate, touts the present UMW bureaucracy as "coal miners not long out of the pits." For the SWP this "makes them different from all other top negotiators." Apparently they forgot to pass the word to Miller.

But the ultra-reformist Communist Party is the most shameless of all. While most of Miller's "socialist" cheerleaders are choking on the sellout coal contract, the CP's *Daily World* (15 November) headlined, "Miners scan new accord with cautious optimism."

Special From Tel Aviv

Israeli Trotskyists Demand Strikes Against Austerity Plan

EDITORS' NOTE: We reprint below a leaflet, dated November 15, issued by the Sportacist nucleus in Israel protesting the government's recent draconian "austerity" regulations. Shortly afterward a wave of Arab demonstrations in solidarity with the PLO broke out on the West Bank; many students were arrested as a result and one female student killed. The Sportacist group was the first Israeli left organization to respond to this important protest against the Zionist occupation. A leaflet dated November 21 demanded army and police out of the Arab communities, immediate release of the political prisoners and immediate, unconditional Israeli withdrawal from the occupied territories.

The goal of the government's new economic plan is a decrease in imported goods and an increase in exported goods (hence the 42 percent devaluation of the [Israeli] pound) at the expense of the working masses—ending the subsidy for basic foods, eliminating the cost-of-living escalator, cutting back on social services like health and education.

In order to facilitate the success of their plan, the capitalists have been busy making protectionist propaganda ("Our Answer to Aralat: Buy Blue and White") in an attempt to indoctrinate the workers with economic nationalism. However, the workers' interests lie not in protecting their "own" capitalists, but in solidarity with the international working class. The new economic plan is a plan for war by the employers' government against the mass of working people. As David Pintov, a municipal worker, said in the general meeting of Haifa workers committees: "The attack on our living standards is as serious as the blow that was dealt us by the October War" (*Mo'oriv*, 14 November).

In the general assembly of the executive of Histadrut [Israel's corporatist "labor federation"] on November 12, the minister of economy, Y. Rabinovich, said, "This step is only the second stage of our plan." The implication was clear: the third stage of this plan is widespread unemployment. All the "sabbath songs" about how much unemployment there will be if the workers do not accept this plan cannot hide the truth—that even if the workers do accept the plan, they will in any case face widespread unemployment.

The plan was accepted warmly by the capitalist economic organizations, which have been demanding a demonstration of strength from the government. In the meeting between the industrial capitalist representatives and the Histadrut, Shavit (the capitalist representative) said, "I hope that the Histadrut does not expect that we will break the government's economic plan" (*Ha'aretz*, 15 November). The representative from the merchants' organization condemned the Likud [a rightist Zionist parliamentary bloc] for its refusal to support this plan.

The plan was approved by the Knesset [the Israeli parliament] on November 12. Even those who had previously spoken against it voted for the plan—for example, Mapam [a left-Zionist "labor" party] and Jacques Amir (ex-representative of the Dead Sea workers committee) from Achdut Avodah [another of the Zionist "labor" parties]—after [Israeli premier Yitzhak] Rabin calmed them down by saying that negotiations with the Histadrut would continue.

Histodrut "Opposition" to the Government

The meeting of the Histadrut executive committee approved a counter-proposal by a large majority—for full employment, full cost-of-living escalator and compensation for large families. This will melt away like inscriptions on ice. At the very same meeting, Histadrut officials made conciliatory statements, declaring quite clearly their willingness to make substantial compromises. Not only will the full rise in the cost-of-living not be paid (at best Histadrut will "win" from the government a wage increase of a few pounds which will be presented to the workers as a big achievement), but the already existing unemployment will increase next year.

It is clear that, as in the past, Histadrut will support the government in whatever the government does. The chairman of the "trade union" section of the Histadrut, A. Abramovich, called upon the workers to support Histadrut, saying, "The Histadrut is not going to oppose the government's plan. The discussion with the government will be on some details which are of the most interest to the workers. We should avoid steps which can bring social instability" (*Ho'oretz*, 15 November).

Abramovich is merely repeating the general line that was accepted by the Histadrut executive committee in the summary speech by Meshel, its general secretary: "The enemy should make no mistake. Our differences cannot weaken our unity. We do not want this government to fall. If the government wants to remain strong, it must remember that its ally is the Histadrut" (*Davar*, 13 November).

The government's attack on the workers is supported by the capitalists on the one hand and by the Histadrut on the other. The only question facing them is how to attack the workers and at the same time to maintain the workers' confidence in the government and the Histadrut. But these "gentlemen" are wrong if they think that they can endlessly cheat the workers; a surprise is in store for them.

Israelis demonstrate against new austerity policy.

TIME

New Threat of War

The general meeting of the Histadrut executive on November 12 was only a show whose purpose was to cheat the working masses. Rabin opened the meeting with a military, anti-Soviet speech: "We shall do everything to ensure that if a war is forced on us we shall come through it. This is my first national duty. Radio Moscow suggests that we surrender; if we surrender, it will not be necessary to double our military expenses" (*Dovar*, 13 November).

As usual, when capitalist representatives like Rabin prepare a new war at the expense of workers' lives they present it as the defense of workers' families. And they attempt to cover the attack on workers' living standards with the need to protect the workers' lives. But if in fact a new war is fought, it will be to further the interests of capital, not labor.

It is true that a new war is threatening the masses of workers and peasants in the Near East. More and more, voices of the imperialist governments are demanding military action to end the oil boycott. *Davar* (10 November) translated an article by Jack Anderson, a U.S. columnist, which states that American imperialism is thinking of sending American troops to Libya and giving the green light to Israel to occupy the oil fields in Kuwait.

At this time it is not completely clear what the imperialist powers will do, whether they will unite or fight each other. Depending upon how the imperialists align themselves and the possibility that it will be necessary to defend the Soviet Union, Marxists will take a position of revolutionary defeatism on both sides or military defense of those countries under imperialist attack. In the case of an inter-imperialist war, the interests of the working class on both sides will be to turn it into a civil war of class against class. If the war's character were similar to the 1956 war—[in this case,] an attempt by the imperialists to seize control of the oil fields—the interests of the working class would be to declare its military support for the oil-producing nations, despite the reactionary character of their regimes. This would not mean any political support to these regimes. In fact, the Marxists will point out that only the victory of the socialist revolution in these countries can mean real victory against the imperialists.

The Workers Committees

During the discussion, a demonstration by Tel Aviv workers committees took place outside, demanding that Histadrut fight for the cost-of-living adjustment. The workers committees, although a part of the Histadrut, are at the same time the only organizations elected by the workers themselves. Even the more militant committees, however, still adhere to the illusion that the Histadrut can be pressured to the left, rather than seeing the need to build real trade unions independent from the state and semi-state agencies like the Histadrut.

But there are committees and there are committees. While some committees demonstrated outside—the doors being guarded by police—other committees were at the same time invited to the meeting. A look at the speeches of those committees which were invited inside makes clear what were the criteria for the invitations.

Albert, from a committee in Ashdod, threatened, "If there are more [!] steps like this, the workers committees will decide to strike." Peretz (head of the Ashdod port committee), whose popularity with the workers declined after his last trip to the U.S., said, "We are one nation, and we want to strengthen the government and the Histadrut; but we would like to know how long we must go on tightening our belts." No doubt as long as the workers believe corrupt little bureaucrats like Peretz, who claim that the capitalists and the workers have the same interests, the government will be able to continue tightening the workers' belts.

For Peretz and his kind the question is not how to organize the workers for victory, but how he can wind up sitting next to his old friend, Jacques Amir, in the Knesset. And in order to prove that he belongs there, Peretz stressed repeatedly that, contrary to the "bad name" of the town of Ashdod, it is possible to organize peaceful, orderly demonstrations there (i.e., ones that do not hurt the bourgeoisie)—as, for example, the recent demonstration there of 2,000 workers.

By implication he drew the distinction between the kind of demonstrations he leads and the spontaneous demonstrations that went on for four days in the Tel Aviv slum of Ha Tikvah. He thereby showed his solidarity with the police who suppressed those demonstrations.

It is in the interest of the working class to win to its side the people of Ha Tikvah. It is not necessary for the

continued on page 8

BARZILAY

Youths in pro-PLO demonstration in Jerusalem's Old City.

Palestinian Nationalism...

From "People's War" to the "Mini-State"

During more than a quarter century of Israel-Arab conflicts in the Near East, ostensibly Marxist tendencies have repeatedly failed to provide a program for unity between the Hebrew and Arab working masses. Instead, various "socialists" tailed after one or another currently popular bourgeois nationalist force.

Thus in the "six-day war" of June 1967 much of the left supported the "progressive" sheiks and colonels against Israel, in the name of a classless "Arab Revolution." Yet only three years later that well-known Arab "revolutionary," King Hussein of Jordan, unleashed a bloody attack on the refugee camps (the infamous "Black September" massacre) leaving thousands of Palestinian dead.

Following the ignominious defeat of the Arab regimes in the June war, the attention of petty-bourgeois radicals shifted to the nationalist guerrillas of the Palestine Liberation Organization. Being out of power—and with no prospect of soon getting in—the several commando groups of the PLO could afford more flamboyant rhetoric than their mentors in Cairo, Damascus, Baghdad and Kuwait. But, as demonstrated by its recent drive to acquire bourgeois respectability (acceptance of proposals for a West Bank "mini-state" and clamping down on commando actions), "pick up the gun" rhetoric has not enabled the PLO to give revolutionary leadership to the exploited masses of the Near East.

The "Militant" PLO

The Palestine Liberation Organization was set up in 1964, financed out of the coffers of the British-initiated Arab League, precisely to head off the development of an independent national movement in the refugee camps. Its founder, Ahmad Shuquairi, had been assistant secretary-general of the League and later a member of the Syrian and then Saudi Arabian delegations to the United Nations—hardly the credentials of a revolutionary. King Hussein, who at the time held the West Bank and has consistently opposed moves for Palestinian independence, sponsored the meeting at which the PLO was formed.

It was the Arab defeat in the 1967 war that spurred the development of Palestinian commando groups, by discrediting the existing nationalist regimes and providing opportunities for guerrilla actions in the Israeli-occupied West Bank. By 1968 Shuquairi had been forced out of the leadership of the PLO. The largest and most moderate of the resistance groups, Yasir Arafat's Fatah, declared that the main strategy was "armed struggle," defined as "guerrilla warfare progressing toward comprehensive popular war of liberation" ("Program for Political Action," *Free Palestine*, April 1971).

According to Fatah, "exemplary" commando operations were supposed to "detonate" armed mass mobilizations on the scale of Algeria or Vietnam. But except for the single battle of Karameh on 21 March 1968, when Palestinian guerrillas fought Israeli troops to a standstill, "armed struggle" never progressed beyond isolated terrorist attacks.

Another indication of the PLO's "militancy" was its rejection of proposals for a "mini-state" which would accept the pre-1967 boundaries of Israel and abandon the 900,000 Palestinians living in Jordan, the 200,000 in Syria, the 300,000 in Lebanon and an equal number in Israel. The 1971 Palestinian National Congress declared its:

> "Firm opposition to the establishment of a Palestinian state on any part of the Palestinian Homeland on the basis that any attempt to establish such a state falls within the plans to liquidate the Palestinian question."
>
> —*Free Palestine*, April 1971

The PLO "Tamed"

That is precisely what the "mini-state" meant—both in 1971 and today: an attempt by the Arab regimes to rid themselves of hundreds of thousands of unwanted refugees, thereby eliminating a source of domestic political turmoil and a principal object for Israeli attack, by cramming them into the Judean hills. It will not solve the Palestinian question any more than the 1921 partition solved the Irish question.

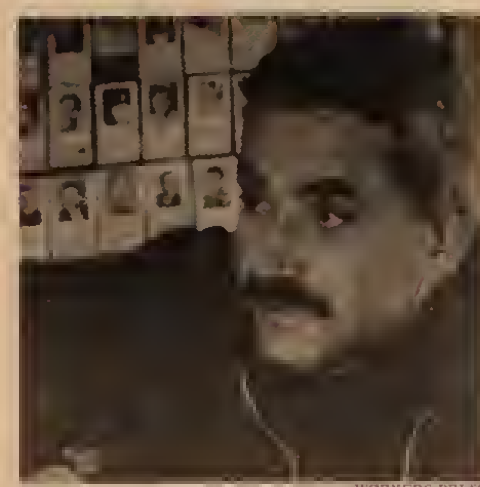
However, faced with the continued military impotence of the commandos (both against the Israelis and the butcher Hussein) and in the wake of the 1973 October war, which greatly strengthened Arab "moderates" around Faisal and Sadat, the PLO has dropped its opposition to the mini-state and is now talking of forming a government-in-exile. At the Palestine National Council meeting in Cairo this June, a "Transitional Program" of the PLO was adopted which supports a West Bank state as "a link in the chain of the strategy . . . to establish the Democratic Palestine state."

In addition, at the recent "Arab summit" meeting in Rabat, one of the secret resolutions was reportedly a pledge by the PLO to end public opposition to Hussein. In return the Liberation Organization was recognized as the "sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people on any liberated Palestinian territory."

Since the granting of "observer" status at the United Nations to the PLO and Arafat's dramatic visit to New York last month, the resistance movement has sought to bolster its new-found respectability by clamping down on airline hijackings. That this is not a belated recognition that indiscriminate terrorism is actually directed against the working people was indicated by the remark of one PLO official, explaining the "detention" of 26 people (presumably Palestinian commandos) in connection with a recent hijacking: "At the time we are gaining international recognition," he said, "we cannot allow mercenaries in our ranks to undermine our new stature" (*New York Times*, 28 November).

On the imperialists' side, this is exactly what is hoped for by those who support "Operation Mini-State." As French foreign minister Jean Sauvagnargues observed in justification for his visit with Arafat in late October, "The best way to distract people from violence and despair is to induce them to shoulder the responsibility on the international level, that is, to make them act in conformity with international realities" (*New York Times*, 13 November).

BERNARD GOTFRYD—NEWSWEEK



WORKERS PRESS

EDDIE ADAMS

From top: Yasir Arafat of PLO, George Habash of the PFLP, and Nayef Hawatmeh of the PDFLP.

The Lessons of "Black September."

Hussein's 1970 massacre of three to five thousand Palestinian refugees and commandos was a watershed for the guerrilla movement. Fatah blamed "Black September" on the adventurist antics of George Habash's Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP), especially his hijackings of airliners which were landed in Jordan. Arafat also condemned Habash and Nayef Hawatmeh's Democratic Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (DPFLP), a left split from the PFLP, for provoking the repression by calling for the overthrow of Hussein. The correct policy, said Fatah, was "non-interference in the affairs of the Arab regimes."

The DPFLP, at the time the most left-wing expression of the resistance, drew many correct conclusions from the September tragedy, albeit never transcending an eclectic Stalinist "armed struggle" concept of two-stage revolution. Hawatmeh saw the weakness

AP

Commandos pose atop wreckage. PFLP guerrillas blew up four hijacked airliners in September 1970. At one point they held more than 300 hostages at their "Revolutionary Airport" in the Jordanian desert.

of the Palestinian resistance in its acceptance of the reactionary Hashemite monarchy and the failure to raise "a democratic program for the rural areas (dealing with the land question, the struggle against feudalism, the big land owners and rural capitalism...)" (*September Counter-Revolution in Jordan*, November 1970).

The DPFLP denounced the policy of "non-interference" as rank opportunism in order to "benefit from the money and weapons of the regimes." Fatah's collaborationist perspective "resulted in the absence of a revolutionary programmatic alternative to the program which caused the defeats of 1967 and 1948," leading it to "give deeds of absolution to the reactionary regimes for their handful of subsidies" and to "cover up for the programs of the nationalist regimes, which have been unable to attain the objectives of national democratic liberation."

The "mini-state" scheme, too, was denounced by Hawatmeh as placing "the Palestinians in a position surrounded by the anvil of Israel and the hammer of the reactionary monarchy and imperialism" (*ibid.*).

DI PARDON GAMMA

TIME

Above: General Dayan, Brigadier General Narkiss (left) and General Rabin enter Old City in Jerusalem at Lion's Gate. Far left: Palestinian guerrillas in training. Left: El Fatah poster proclaims—"This is the way to liberation of my homeland. And so, my brothers, I'll fight on."

Hawatmeh as Left-Wing Cover for Fatah

But the DPFLP proved unable to assimilate the most important lesson of 1948, 1967 and "Black September"—namely that "the main enemy is at home." This is true both for the Arab masses under the reactionary Hashemites or the nationalist colonels and for the Hebrew-speaking working people of Israel. The DPFLP never explained *why* the nationalist regimes were "unable to attain the objectives of national democratic liberation"—a correct empirical observation which could have been the beginning of Marxist wisdom, i.e., an understanding of the permanent revolution. Instead, it continued to envision some sort of "national united front" which would perhaps include some of the Arab nationalist regimes, and certainly the "progressive" Palestinian bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie, while excluding the bulk of the Hebrew workers except for a few "progressive intellectuals."

For the DPFLP, as for the rest of the commando groups, Zionism could never be destroyed by united class struggle together with the Israeli workers, but only from without, through a combination of commando terror, renewed Near East wars and diplomatic maneuvering. The DPFLP was unable to break with the myth, shared alike by Arab nationalism and Zionism, that the Hebrew worker is wedded to the Zionist state. Yet this myth is being shattered today by strikes on the docks of Ashdod and riots in the slums of Tel Aviv.

Most importantly, Hawatmeh and his followers failed to break with the "two-stage revolution" theory and find their way to the Marxist concept of permanent revolution (though they occasionally mentioned the words). For Trotsky it was the victorious working class that would bring national liberation of the colonial and semi-colonial countries: "the complete and genuine solution of their tasks of achieving democracy and national emancipation is conceivable only through the dictatorship of the proletariat as the leader of the subjugated nation, above all its peasant masses" (*The Permanent Revolution*).

Because the DPFLP could not find the road to a revolutionary proletarian perspective, it rapidly degenerated into the left-wing apologist and cover for Fatah. Since last year's October war, Hawatmeh has followed Arafat and Al Saiqa, a commando organization founded by Syria mainly to police refugee camps after the June 1967 war, into the fold of the Arab League and adopted the once-despised position of the "mini-state."

Marxism vs. Terrarism

As a consequence, "armed struggle" has degenerated into isolated and indiscriminate acts of terrorism, often directed against civilian targets, in order to garnish international publicity. Thus a splinter group from Fatah, led by its former treasurer Abou Mahmoud, attacked a Pan American jet in Rome last December, killing more than 30 persons. And on April 11 three members of the PFLP-General Command entered an apartment in the small Israeli town of Qiryat Shemona and killed 18 persons.

Fatah has in the past itself condemned such indiscriminate terrorism. However, immediately after the Palestine National Council adopted the "mini-state" resolution (and its concomitant: national liberation through the UN and Geneva negotiations), Fatah took credit for its first operation of this sort. On the evening of June 24 three Fatah commandos entered an apartment in the Israeli seaport Nahriya and murdered a woman and two children. The purpose of this otherwise senseless act was to provide a "militant" cover for Fatah's rapid rightward motion.

Likewise, the DPFLP (prior to Ma'alot) had been critical of isolated acts of terrorism. This was one of the differences that led to the split between Hawatmeh and Habash. After the split the DPFLP wrote:

> "Historically we find that reliance on individual action and terrorism was the solution of those who had lost faith in the potential revolutionary capabilities of the masses."
>
> —*Al Hurriyah*, 2 March 1970

Quite true! And there is no doubt that Ma'alot was the desperate act of an organization that has lost faith in the revolutionary capacity of the masses.

In an interview with Paul Jacobs, published in the Israeli Zionist newspaper *Yediot Ahronot* (22 March 1974) Hawatmeh was quite explicit: he called for a "united, democratic state where Palestinians and Israelis will live together with the same rights and responsibilities" but added "*we know that instituting the united democratic state is impossible in this period*" (quoted in *New Outlook*, May 1974). As Jacobs pointed out in a later article,

> "Since the DPF had not mounted any guerrilla actions for a long time it has been vulnerable to the accusation that it lacked militancy and courage. Hawatmeh's statement increased the pressure upon him; Ma'alot eased the pressure...."
>
> —*New Outlook*, August-September 1974

The "Rejection Front"

The "mini-state" perspective and maneuvering to get delegate status at a renewed Geneva peace conference have been rejected by the PFLP, PFLP-General Command, the Arab Liberation Front and Popular Struggle Front. These groups have formed a "rejection front" which proclaims its fidelity to the old slogan of "revolution until final victory." In an interview (reprinted as a pamphlet by the Organisation of Arab Students under the title "Liberation Not Negotiation") with the Italian leftist paper *Il Manifesto* (29-30 January 1974), PFLP leader Habash stated:

> "The danger of the Geneva conference...is that it weakened the Arab people's animosity toward U.S. imperialism and depicts the latter as a neutral arbitrator....
>
> "Hence the struggle of the Palestinian and Arab masses would be transformed from an anti-imperialist national liberation movement, into a limited nationalist fight for the regaining of some of the lost lands."

While the PFLP seeks to give the "rejection front" the image of a militantly independent Palestinian force, this is far from accurate. The PFLP-General Command is headed by former Syrian army officer (and graduate of Britain's Sandhurst) Ahmad Jibril. When in September 1968 the Syrian government arrested three PFLP leaders in Damascus, including Habash, Jibril refused to condemn the arrest and split from the PFLP. The Arab Liberation Front is simply a creation of the Iraqi Ba'athist Party. And all three—PFLP, PFLP-GC and ALF—are uncritically pro-Iraq.

Habash, who is more widely known for his hijackings and the Lod airport massacre (carried out by the Japanese Red Army in solidarity with the PFLP) than for his contribution to Marxist theory, has of late been making correct criticisms of the current Fatah-DPFLP strategy (just as Hawatmeh earlier made correct criticisms of the Fatah-PFLP strategy). But while Habash claims to be a "Marxist-Leninist internationalist," his fundamental nationalism was revealed by a reply to a reporter of the German magazine *Stern*, who asked in 1970 whether PFLP hijackings might spark another world war:

BALLANTINE BOOKS

> "Oh yes. But let me assure you this does not worry us.
>
> "The whole world would stand to lose something in such a war except for us. If that should be the only way to destroy Israel, Zionist and Arab reaction, we would in fact welcome the third world war."
>
> —*Workers Press*, 18 September 1970

In view of the potentially genocidal consequences of such a nuclear holocaust, which could threaten the very existence of humanity, it seems almost too mild to quote Lenin on the question of Polish independence on the eve of World War I:

> "To be in favor of an all-European war merely for the sake of restoring Poland is to be a nationalist of the worst sort and to place the interests of a small number of Poles above those of the hundreds of millions of people who suffer from the war."
>
> —"The Discussion of Self-Determination Summed-Up"

A Bantustan for Palestinian Refugees

Indeed, preparations for the fifth Near East war are in full swing. Israel and Syria have put their troops on alert; Arafat, in his interview with *Time* (11 November), predicted war in at most six months. At the Rabat conference a joint military command was proposed comprising Syria, Jordan, Egypt and the PLO. Meanwhile, the U.S. continues to rush arms to Israel and Russia continues to dump its most advanced military hardware into Syria and Iraq.

We have warned that yet another Israel-Arab war will not bring national emancipation for Palestinian Arabs, nor will United Nations/Geneva peace conference negotiations or a West Bank "mini-state."

The proposed West Bank state is, in fact, even less than the Palestinians were promised by the UN partition plan of 1947 and, if rumors of a secret Brezhnev-Ford deal at Vladivostok are true, would involve recognizing the Zionist state as presently constituted (*New York Times*, 29 November). Masquerading as recognition of the right to self-determination for the Jewish population, this actually means abandoning the 300,000 Palestinian Arabs living within pre-1967 Israeli boundaries to continued second-class citizenship and acceding to the results of Zionist conquest in 1947-49.

As to the results of another Arab-Israel war, we have shown elsewhere that in 1948, despite pious claims that they were fighting for the national rights of the Palestinians, the Arab League proceeded to gobble up whatever the Zionists failed to occupy. Syria carried off the El Hamma district in the Golan Heights, Egypt took the Gaza strip, and Transjordan transformed itself into the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan by absorbing the West Bank. In the latter case there was active collusion by King Abdullah with the Zionists to prevent the emergence of an independent Palestinian state (see "Birth of the Zionist State: A Marxist Analysis; Part 2/The 1948 War," *WV* No. 45, 24 May 1974). Neither in 1948, 1967 nor 1973 have the Saudis, Hashemites, Nasserites and Ba'athists fought for the liberation of the Palestinians.

In addition to becoming a "bantustan" for the dumping of unwanted Palestinian refugees and serving to legitimize the undemocratic partition of Palestine following World War II, a West Bank "mini-state" would necessarily become the client state of the reactionary Arab regimes. How much can be expected in the way of "aid" from the oil-rich sheiks in such an arrangement was indicated by the results of the Rabat summit: $1 billion a year for Egypt and Syria, $300

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SYGMA

The frenzied genocidal hatred for which the Near East situation is such a fertile breeding ground manifested itself recently in an incident in Beit Shean. Three Arab guerrillas allegedly on a mission to capture hostages and exchange them for fourteen PLO prisoners in Israeli jails killed four residents of an apartment building. Israeli soldiers stormed the building and killed all three. Furious townspeople threw the bodies out a window to the street below where they were beaten, spat upon and set on fire. At left, mob watches burning corpses.

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Israeli Trotskyists...

Ha Tikvah residents to turn to fascism. While their action—spontaneous riots partly directed against small shopkeepers—is not the method of working-class struggle, workers should support their just demands against high prices and try to win them to the workers' side. Solidarity with the police will push the Ha Tikvah people toward a potential fascist movement.

Peretz' speech essentially suggested that workers committees like his should at the most organize peaceful demonstrations that can divert the anger of the workers.

The Left and the Economic Crisis

The government is right when it says that the economic crisis developing in Israel is part of the world crisis, but this crisis does not fall from the sky. Rather, it is a result of the anarchy of the capitalist production system. That is why the solution is not tightening the workers' belts but tightening the belt around the neck of the capitalists—by expropriating the means of production under workers control and by replacing the political rule of the capitalists with a workers government. The current world economic crisis is creating not only starvation and unemployment of millions, but can lead to a third world war. The only way forward for workers is the fight for political power.

To the left of Ma'arakh [the Zionist "Labor Alignment"—including Mapai, Mapam, Rafi and Achdut Avodat—which forms the core of the government coalition] stand a few parties and groups claiming to represent the interests of the workers.

Moked, which aspires to become a social-democratic party, calls on the economic level for a fight for a full cost-of-living adjustment, while on the political level it proposes to pressure the government to accept the imperialist arrangement for peace in the Near East (which any day may explode in a new war), spreading pacifist illusions that this imperialist arrangement will be able to bring peace and a solution for the oppression of the Palestinians.

Rakah, the pro-Moscow Stalinist party, adheres to the illusions of the Soviet bureaucracy that indefinite coexistence with imperialism is possible (ignoring the fact that the interests of imperialism lie in the restoration of capitalism in Russia). It holds the same program as Moked, i.e., putting pressure on the Histadrut to fight for a full cost-of-living adjustment and on the government to accept the imperialist peace arrangement. The same positions are held by the two satellites of Rakah—Matzpen (Tel Aviv) and Struggle.

To their left stand two groups which claim to be revolutionary Marxist, i.e., Trotskyist—Matzpen (Marxist) and Workers Alliance. (The latter has correctly abandoned its previous name of Vanguard.) Matzpen (Marxist) has been distributing a leaflet advocating the building of independent trade unions and raising some correct economic demands, e.g., a monthly cost-of-living adjustment (calculated by national meetings of workers committee representatives). At the same time it proposes workers control of capitalist production profits, meaning simply that the workers should manage production for the benefit of the bourgeoisie.

Without calling for a political fight for a workers and peasants government, Matzpen (Marxist) ends the leaflet with a call for a general strike. Every general strike can open the way for a revolutionary situation. Agitation for a general strike without giving the working class clear political direction, without workers militias for defense, without revolutionary leadership, is no more than a call for the bourgeoisie to break the back of the working class.

Workers Alliance, in its "mass" newspaper, *Workers Voice* (November 1974), puts forward some transitional demands, including for a shorter workweek with no loss in pay to end unemployment, open the books, nationalization without compensation under workers control—only of those factories which close down. While it pays some lip service to the interests of Arab workers, it avoids the demand for a united workers' political fight—the demand for a workers and peasants government.

This same paper cynically uses—for the first time—the Spartacist slogan "For a bi-national workers state as part of a socialist federation of the Near East," in the article "The Generals and the Government Prepare a New War." But the article "Strikes in Gaza and the West Bank" ends with its old slogan, "For a Unified Democratic State." This can only have one meaning—that although Workers Alliance tries to color itself for the moment with leftist slogans, it remains loyal to the political logic of the two-stage theory: first, the bourgeois democratic stage and then, later, the socialist stage.

In the past, Workers Alliance has never raised transitional demands in its "mass" paper. In the absence of any analysis on its part of its failure to do this previously, we can only understand its current behavior as a temporary left posturing in the present threatened crisis—and to expect that, under the pressures of a new war or full-blown depression, Workers Alliance will retreat to its usual reformist and cowardly behavior. In any case, its use of only pieces of the Transitional Program (stopping short of the key question of political power) and its continued two-stage methodology demonstrate that, even as a temporary posture, it does not know how to put forward revolutionary Marxist politics.

Program for Workers' Victory

The program which can unite all sections of the working class, connecting the democratic and economic struggles to the fight for proletarian power in this country, as part of the struggle for the socialist federation of the Near East, must include the following demands:

- —Strikes for monthly cost-of-living adjustments (to be calculated by the workers committees)! For substantial wage increases! For immediate withdrawal from the occupied territories!
- —Against the claim of the bosses that they cannot pay wage increases: Open the books!
- —Against growing unemployment: A shorter workweek with no loss in pay! Thirty hours' work for 46 hours' pay each week!
- —Against the closing of factories: Occupation by workers, nationalization without compensation under workers control!
- —Expropriate all industry under workers control!
- —Against the national oppression of the Palestinians: Israeli army and police out of the Arab communities! For the right of all the Palestinian refugees to return! Land to the fellahin!
- —Against the attack of the police and right wing on strikes: Workers armed self-defense of picket lines! Toward Arab-Jewish workers militias!
- —Down with the Histadrut, which functions as part of the capitalist state apparatus! For independent Arab-Jewish trade unions, based on the workers committees! Oust petty bureaucrats like Peretz and his friends! For a class-struggle leadership of the workers committees!
- —For a workers and peasants government, loyal to the real interests of the working class!
- —To win this difficult struggle requires leadership that fights for the historical interests of the working class. For the construction of a revolutionary Trotskyist party which will lead the class to victory! ■

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No Troops to Boston!

that the question can't be dealt with "on a universal, abstract basis."

Camejo denies that black community control is linked to white community control, since "The fact is that whites already control the schools. . . ." So, you see, the problem is not uniting black and white working people in struggle against the capitalists who control the schools and fighting for democratic rights of oppressed minorities, but organizing against white control of the schools! Race struggle not class struggle—this is the logic of the SWP's sometime nationalism.

What about the contradiction between busing and community control? No problem here, says Camejo, they are simply "a number of ways" of equalizing education. But since they are obviously counterposed (how can you have black control of Martin Luther King school if a majority of the students are white because of busing?), how does the SWP decide which to raise? Simple: "The question of how to achieve quality education for Black children is one

Continued from page 1

Miners...

the union. The right to strike is our only defense. What's the use of having good pay if you don't live to spend it? I think Miller's been bought out. . . . The government's in control."

Beckley in Raleigh County is the center of UMW District 29. With some 70,000 active members this is the largest and possibly most militant district in the union. District 29 voted Miller down in 1972 and was the scene of a wildcat wave which Miller attempted to squash shortly after his election.

At the District 29 delegate meeting Saturday Miller responded to charges of sellout with a mixture of pleas for sympathy and warnings of dire consequences if the contract is voted down: "The price to get a right to strike would be too costly," he remarked, "be mindful that if it's a mandate of the members, I'll go back to the bargaining table—but we can't do it without jeopardizing what we've got already in the agreement." His clincher was a threat that, "I think the government's ready to step down on us now."

Impatient hoots and catcalls greeted Miller's assertion that "This is the best contract ever negotiated by any labor union in the country." Many voiced additional resentment over the leadership's steamroller speedup of the ratification process—"It may backfire," said one delegate from Local 5997.

Under pressure Miller agreed to a one-day extension of the voting procedure. However, the local radio station continues to be inundated by UMW-paid spot announcements pushing the contract.

Before the strike began here last month, southern West Virginia was the site of a virulently racist, anti-communist "anti-textbook protest." This reactionary campaign is centered in nearby Kanawha County. It is neither widespread nor deeply-felt. In fact, many of the touted "anti-textbook" wildcats are due largely to the miners' instinctive refusal to cross any picket line, even one set up by non-mining right-wingers. Nonetheless, such reactionary protests are always dangerous. Unfortunately, not one UMW leader—apparently not even the militants of the Right to Strike Committee—has publicly denounced this movement.

The experience of the coal strike in Raleigh County once again points to the need, not only to replace the Boyles and Millers, but to construct a new leadership in the UMW not simply of "militant" trade unionists but one committed to a program representing the interests of the whole working class. ■

that must be decided on by the Black community...."

No crisis of revolutionary leadership for these "Trotskyists"! If there is a contradiction between two lines, then the community (i.e., not the revolutionaries) must decide what is best, and the SWP will tag along behind. And just who is the community in this class-divided society?

SWP Calls for the Bosses Army

"We completely support the demands made by leaders of the Black community that federal troops be sent to Boston..." declared SWP candidates for Massachusetts state offices on October 9. The "leaders of the Black community"—who turn out to be black Democrats like Mel King, Tom Atkins, Bill Owens and the like—call for federal troops for the same reason they have in the past supported liberal Democrat Mayor Kevin White: they seek to build illusions that blacks can achieve justice by "working within the system," i.e., by relying on the government. For the SWP, however, this presents no problem. Says Camejo: "Generally speaking, the Black Democrats may begin with the best intentions." If, according to this "former resident of Boston," these fakers "may begin" with good intentions, what is certain is that the fake Trotskyists of the Socialist Workers Party follow them wherever they are going, for the SWP "completely supports" their demands.

The Spartacist League is a revolutionary Marxist organization. We understand that the state is an instrument of the ruling class to suppress its enemies. The U.S. Army, just as much as the local police or National Guard, is the armed fist of the bourgeois state. And we hold—along with Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky—that this state cannot be taken over or reformed into its opposite. It must be *smashed*, and replaced by a workers state.

Consequently we have repeatedly warned working people in Boston that they cannot depend on the forces of the capitalist state to protect them against the racist mobs and achieve integration of the schools. In the 11 October issue of *Workers Vanguard*, we wrote: "Instead of relying on local or federal government for protection, black people and all working people must depend on their own organizations for defense. The Spartacist League advocates the formation of a bi-racial defense force, organized by black and community groups and the labor unions, to protect the buses and maintain order in the schools." We have pointed out that troops may well be sent to Boston, not enforce integration but to maintain a segregationist "law and order" and prevent any organized defense by black and union militants.

Marxism vs. Reformism

There are two sharply opposed lines here. The Spartacist League condemns the call for bringing in troops to Boston as a betrayal of elementary principles of Marxism; the Socialist Workers Party labels the call for independent labor/black defense an "unrealistic" demand of "sectarians." Militants who wish to lead the struggles of the workers forward, unlike the SWP, cannot depend on the black Democratic politicians to decide for them which is correct.

The SWP seems to be somwhat concerned about its image in raising this slogan, especially since the only other ostensibly socialist organization with this line is the ultra-reformist Stalinist Communist Party. Consequently, it called on the venerable Joseph Hansen to write a lengthy polemical article ("Should Federal Troops Be Used In Boston?") in the 25 November *Intercontinental Press*, in which he attacks the SL position, as well as those of several other groups.

Getting his signals crossed with the cynical hack Peter Camejo, who dishonestly charged that "the Spartacist League also opposed the use of force to carry out the desegregation order," Hansen labels the SL call for labor/black defense "a commendable stand." This must be somewhat disorienting to SWP members who might recall reading a statement by Camejo (*Militant*, 1 November) that, "The call for trade-union defense guards isn't realistic right now....you pull this slogan of trade-union defense guards totally out of the blue. It's not a serious proposal. It has nothing to do with meeting the needs of the Black community."

Hansen gives two main arguments to support the SWP call for federal troops to Boston. First is a historical argument. Sometimes, he says, federal troops have been used against the reactionaries and not just the workers. Recent examples of this, he says, are Little Rock in 1957 and Selma in 1965.

Elsewhere we have refuted these historical "proofs" by the SWP in detail (see "Not Federal Troops, But Labor-Black Defense!" *Young Spartacus*, No. 27, December 1974). We pointed out that in Little Rock, Eisenhower sent in troops after a night of mass resistance in the black areas. In the aftermath he proceeded to strengthen the hand of the racists, not the integrationists, by dumping the federal judge, forcing the resignation of Attorney General Brownell and stacking the Civil Rights Commission with racist Dixiecrats. In Selma, the federal troops were withdrawn following a demonstration in Montgomery. On the way home one of the marchers was murdered by a carload of racists including an FBI agent!

Anything Goes?

Hansen's second argument is that if you can demand one thing of the capitalist state, then why can't you demand another? He asks: if it is alright to support busing, "then what is wrong with demanding that this bourgeois sop be assured through the bourgeois sop of federal enforcement"? He takes us to task for demanding nationalization of the auto industry without compensation and calling on the U.S. to end the economic blockade of Cuba while opposing the call for federal troops.

The SWP knows perfectly well that the Spartacist League calls for the enforcement of busing. From the beginning we have demanded "implement the busing plan." But there is a vast difference between this and calling for federal troops to Boston. The latter demand is an expression of confidence in the government.

In fact the SWP openly states its confidence that Ford will enforce desegregation and protect the black school children: referring to Selma and Little Rock the 1 November *Militant* writes, "In these cases the government did not attack the Black community....The same dynamic would operate in Boston."

But what if, as the Spartacist League says may happen, troops are used against the black areas? The *Militant* has an answer for this: "the fact that the government may not carry out our demands doesn't mean that we should not raise them." The SWP, you see, calls for sending in troops "to enforce desegregation." Evidently it believes this absolves them of all responsibility. Not so.

It is possible to call anyone to do anything. The SWP could call for the election of Louise Day Hicks to the School Committee in Boston "to enforce desegregation." If she is then elected and proceeds to discriminate against black people, the SWP could mumble something about having voted for her to do something else. But they would have the responsibility of having called for her election. It is the same with the troops.

If you call for desegregation, asks Hansen, then why can't you call for enforcing desegregation; and if you call for enforcement, why can't you call for federal troops to do it? By his seemingly simple logic this increasingly inept ex-Trotskyist succeeds in throwing the whole of Marxism out the window.

In 1937 Max Shachtman asked a very similar question. If we are for the victory of the Republican forces in Spain, he said, then "How can we refuse to devote a million pesetas to the purchase of rifles for the front?" Trotsky answered succinctly: "A vote in parliament for the financial budget is not a 'material aid', but an act of political solidarity. If we can vote for Negrin's budget, why can't we delegate our representatives to his government?"

The situation with the troops is precisely parallel. A call for federal troops to enforce desegregation in Boston is an expression of confidence in the government; if we can call for the capitalist army to intervene, then why can't we administer the repressive forces of the bourgeois state? And the SWP has an answer for this as well: it *wants* to administer the cops, for it regularly runs candidates for sheriff.

Hansen/Camejo's faith in the bourgeoisie is boundless. At the height of the civil rights movement, the SWP actually demanded: "Instead of sending troops to Vietnam where they are trampling upon the rights and lives of the Vietnamese, troops should be sent to Selma and other parts of the South to protect the constitutional rights of Negroes" (*Militant*, 22 March 1965). So in Vietnam the Special Forces serve the imperialists but in Selma they will protect the blacks! Well, as the saying goes, "If the camel once gets his nose into the tent, his whole body will enter."

At the end of his polemic Hansen asks "are there *certain* demands that must as a matter of principle never be made" on a capitalist government. He strongly implies there are none.

Trotsky, however, was of a different opinion. As he wrote in "War and the Fourth International" (1934), "To turn to the state, that is to capital, with the demand to disarm the fascists means to sow the worst democratic illusions, to lull the vigilance of the proletariat, to demoralize its will....The Social Democrats, even the most left ones... carefully avoid the question of arming the workers, or openly declare this task 'chimerical,' adventurous, 'romantic,' etc."

Following in the path of Lenin and Trotsky we call for the formation of integrated workers defense guards to protect black school children in Boston. By labeling this demand unrealistic and calling for federal troops the SWP takes the road of the Stalinists and social democrats who in the 1930's "fought" the fascist bands by calling on the state to disarm them. The Stalinists' support for the liberal bourgeoisie led to a tragic defeat of the Spanish and French workers. The path of the SWP is the path of defeat. ■

CORRECTION

The article in *WV* No. 57 entitled "West Bank Mini-State No Solution" has a supra-head calling for "Self-Determination for Palestinian Arabs." It should have read, "For the Right of Self-Determination for Palestinian Arabs."

In the same issue of *WV* the article, "Chrysler Threatens National Shutdown," refers to Lynn Townsend as "Chrysler president." Townsend is actually chairman of Chrysler's board of directors.

The reference to Trotsky's quote "Not just a stupidity, but a crime," attributed to "*Spartacist*, edition française no. 6, 5 May 1974," in actuality refers to "*Spartacist*, edition française no. 5, 3 May 1974."

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Militant Elected to ILWU Local 6 Exec Board

OAKLAND, November 25—Bob Mandel, a seven-year militant in the ILWU, has been elected on a class-struggle program to the executive board of Local 6 (warehouse division) from the East Bay. He got 636 votes (the top vote-getter received 691). Banned by undemocratic Local regulations from publishing any campaign literature except one short statement in a special official election bulletin, Mandel took his program to the membership by campaigning at warehouses and retail outlets throughout the Oakland area.

In his election statement, Mandel advocated industry-wide strikes against layoffs and a shorter workweek at no loss in pay to meet spreading house closures and "runaways" in ILWU-organized warehouses as well as layoffs in the longshore and Hawaiian sections of the union. He also demanded that militant international labor solidarity be revived "through tactics like the recent boycott of cargo to Chile in defense of workers struggling against the junta."

Mandel condemned the ILWU's support for the "racist Alioto" as "a defeat for the movement of workers and oppressed," and called for an independent workers party. He also called for workers control and for a workers government "to end the cycle of inflation, recession, racial and sexual discrimination" through the "nationaliz[ation of] all industry without compensation" to the present owners.

Finally, Mandel underlined the betrayals of the present union leadership, which include disarming the workers in the face of every kind of employer attack (layoffs, blacklisting of militants who fight company attacks, armed strikebreakers in the ILWU Borax strike, etc.). "An opposition caucus must be built throughout the union," he declared, to fight for this class-struggle program.

Mandel ran eighth in a field of 12 candidates for the 10 positions open on the executive board. He narrowly missed being elected delegate to the International convention as well, losing by only 30 votes (eighth out of 14 contenders for 6 positions).

Mandel established his reputation as a militant defender of hard-won union gains through his campaign for sympathy-strike support by ILWU warehousemen to the 1971 longshore strike and, more recently, through his initiation of struggle against blacklisting and for implementation of boycotts of Chilean ships and goods. He has also served on union committees and as steward.

It is significant that in a union with a strong Stalinist current in its background Mandel got more votes than many Communist Party-backed candidates despite vicious Stalinist denunciation of him and his program, particularly during the anti-blacklisting campaign earlier this year.

Mandel's victory is a victory for a class-struggle program and the future class-struggle leadership of the labor movement. It is an answer to the many fake-left organizations which insist that it is necessary to support bureaucrats running on totally reformist programs (such as Arnold Miller), abandoning working-class principles in order to gain influence in the working class.

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ILWU . . .

body accepts Bridges' dictates, such as last year's no-strike deal, six weeks before the contract expired, and it is widely expected that the new Caucus will be more militant.) This is such a blatant maneuver to head off a fight over the contract that the executive board of Local 13 in Los Angeles voted to boycott the December 9 meeting.

Support Builds for "Hot Cargoing"

Meanwhile, the "settlement" reported by the ILWU *Dispatcher* (25 October) on jurisdictional problems over the barges was laughable: "attempting to work out solutions" although there are "no simple answers"! What the *Dispatcher* failed to mention is that the Caucus voted to refuse to handle all barges worked by non-longshore labor. This motion was heatedly opposed by Bridges, who was quoted as saying that it is "penny ante stuff and not worth hasseling over" (*People's World*, 9 November).

The "penny ante stuff" is actually what's coming from Bridges, in trade for the longshore work taken by the barges and other automated mechanisms (such as containers). The barges are part of the LASH, or "Lighter Aboard Ship" system, one of the techniques shipping companies are using to avoid paying for longshore union labor in loading and unloading ships.

Like containers, LASH barges are often worked at out-of-the-way places (such as private company docks) by non-longshore labor. The barges are then returned to the special LASH mother ship, into which they are hoisted for long runs between ports. Alioto's company, PFE, has invested heavily in LASH equipment.

The same issue of the *Dispatcher* that failed to report the motion to "hot cargo" barges announced "First LASH Payments Made" under an agreement which compensates longshoremen at the rate of 50 cents per ton of cargo loaded on LASH barges by non-ILWU labor. The total amount was $5,505.19, but the lost wages and traveling compensation would have come to at least four times that amount. As it's put in the Local 10 "Longshore Bulletin" for November 14, over the signature of Archie Brown, Publicity Committee:

> "...you can see how much wages we lost, plus traveling time, etc. It is said that we 'historically' don't work in certain areas. It's enough to drive people into hysterics.... it's our work and no fancy-pants arguments can change that."

What Brown, a well-known Communist Party supporter, fails to mention is that most of the "fancy pants" arguments for dropping the fight for jobs are coming directly from Bridges and Co. in the ILWU leadership.

That a motion to refuse to handle non-ILWU barges could even be seriously considered, let alone passed, is due in part to efforts during the last year to promote "hot cargoing" of Chilean goods. In late February and again in August the Spartacist League organized pickets at the docks calling for enforcement of a Local 10 resolution to boycott cargo to and from Chile. At demonstrations in the Bay Area the SL took the lead in publicizing this resolution and agitating for labor action against the reactionary junta. In May a "Committee to Enforce the Boycott" was formed by militants in several ILWU locals, who succeeded in getting more than 450 signatures on a petition calling for hot cargoing.

The Communist Party now quotes the motion of the October Caucus without critical comment (*People's World*, 9 November), but in September it did everything possible to prevent implementation of a two-day boycott of Chilean cargo which had been called for by the International Transport Workers Federation. The Mills-Stout leadership of Local 10 also failed to act until militants in the Committee to Enforce the Boycott forced its hand by exposing Chilean cargo on the dock. The Spartacist League organized a united-front picket of the ship, while most of the left followed the lead of the CP, which held a "protest" at company headquarters in order to draw attention away from the ship (see "Hot Cargo Military Goods to Chile!" *WV* No. 53, 27 September).

Stop Work on Alioto Barges

The motion to hot cargo barges came from a delegate of the Stockton Local 54. Stockton is one of the locals hardest hit by the loss of work. It was reported that a union whose members were working certain PFE barges agreed that it had no jurisdiction over the work. The Stockton ILWU local, carrying out the Caucus decision, put up picket lines which were honored by the other unions involved.

One of the barges then disappeared, and turned up at Pier 96 in San Francisco. Pier 96, the only automated container facility in the Port of San Francisco, is leased by Pacific Far East Lines. Business agent Larry Wing authorized a stoppage of work on the barge, in solidarity with Stockton's action.

Last September Wing was beaten almost to unconsciousness by goons, an act which enraged the entire membership and temporarily stymied Bridges' attempt to bureaucratically destroy the Local 10 leadership and force sale of the hiring hall. As reported in *Workers Vanguard* ("San Francisco Waterfront Scandal Mushrooms," No. 53, 27 September), the beating led to a counter-attack by Local 10 in which the orders of Bridges' official monitors to stop paying money to the Local hall ownership corporation (which would force the hall's sale) were reversed.

Like the rest of the Local 10 "rebel" regime under Herb Mills and Frank Stout, however, Wing had no program with which to rally the membership against Bridges' betrayals. Despite his trade-union militant approach, he was thus forced into becoming another agent for those betrayals.

After authorizing the boycott of work on the barge, Wing failed to mobilize support for the action. So did the rest of the Local 10 leadership. But Alioto, long paraded as a "friend of labor" by Bridges and the S.F. union bureaucracy, wasted no time in acting against the union. His company obtained an injunction which resulted in the Stockton local's being fined $10,000 and Local 10 $4,000.

The PMA also wasted no time: it threw down the gauntlet by denying the pay guarantee for the week to the entire port. The weekly guarantee is compensation for lack of work (paid provided longshoremen are available for work). The ILWU didn't even show up for the arbitration hearing at the International level, leaving little likelihood of a decision favorable to the union and giving every indication that the militant boycott action would be betrayed.

The Mills-Stout regime got the message and called off the boycott. It was Wing who implemented the decision. As reported to *Workers Vanguard* by longshoremen who were present, Wing was surrounded by angry longshoremen shouting, "These are our jobs! You've just given away our jobs!" Wing, who is running for Local president, apologized with the same excuses Local members are now used to hearing from Stout and Mills: "The International wouldn't back us up. What could we do?"

This was a paltry excuse indeed. The intentions of the International leadership toward such a militant action in defense of jobs are known to every member. Mills, Stout and Wing deprived the membership of the right to decide on a response by failing to call a special meeting. Or they could have easily held out until the regular meeting scheduled for November 21, only three days after the boycott was called off.

During the boycott action a leaflet signed by six Local members, some of whom had been active in the Chile boycott struggle, warned "The International will not defend us!" It proposed a course of action to the membership meeting to expand the struggle around the barges. A motion on the leaflet read:

> "We go on record for continued refusal to handle the hot barges and will close down the port if our officers are arrested as a result or the local fined; we will call on the coast caucus to shut the entire coast down in our defense and in defense of the Pay Guarantee Plan."

These militants pointed the way toward mobilization of support throughout the union by combining defense of the action with a second motion mandating the Local's delegates to reject Bridges' premature contract scheme. But the Local leadership caved in and called off the action, according to a note added at the bottom, just as the leaflet was going to press.

The Alioto Connection Condemned

Two of these militants, Stan Gow and Howard Keylor, then put out a second leaflet denouncing the sellout of the boycott and demanding that the barge issue be taken up by a Coast-Wise Caucus meeting to be held as soon as possible. (They also opposed boycotting the December 9 Caucus meeting ordered by Bridges.) After prominently listing two motions to this effect, the leaflet drew the vital political conclusions in a third:

> "We condemn the alliance with Alioto as a disaster for the ILWU and demand that our union break with the Republican and Democratic parties and begin the struggle for a workers party to fight for a workers government."

Although these motions were not acted on by the meeting, speakers for them were very well received and the motions were referred to a special Local meeting to be held on December

Spartacist Local Directory

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Box 852, Main P.O.,
Berkeley, CA 94701

BOSTON . . . . . (617) 282-7587
Box 188, M.I.T. Sta.,
Cambridge, MA 02139

BUFFALO . . . . . (716) 834-7610
c/o SYL, Box 6,
Norton Union, SUNYAB,
Buffalo, NY 14214

CHICAGO . . . . . (312) 427-0003
Box 6471, Main P.O.,
Chicago, IL 60680

CLEVELAND . . . . (216) 687-1413
Box 6765,
Cleveland, OH 44101

DETROIT . . . . . (313) 921-4626
Box 663A, General P.O.,
Detroit, MI 48232

HOUSTON . . . . . (713) 926-9944
Box 9054,
Houston, TX 77011

LOS ANGELES . . . (213) 485-1838
Box 26282, Edendale Sta.,
Los Angeles, CA 90026

MADISON
c/o SYL, Box 3334,
Madison, WI 53704

MILWAUKEE
Box 6061,
Milwaukee, WI 53209

NEW HAVEN . . . . . (203) 776-5953
c/o SYL, Box 1363,
New Haven, CT 06505

NEW ORLEANS . . . (504) 866-8384
Box 51634, Main P.O.,
New Orleans, LA 70151

NEW YORK . . . . . (212) 925-2426
Box 1377, G.P.O.,
New York, NY 10001

PHILADELPHIA . . (215) 667-5695
Box 25601,
Philadelphia, PA 19144

SAN DIEGO
P.O. Box 2034,
Chula Vista, CA 92012

TORONTO . . . . . (416) 366-0871
Canadian Committee of the International Spartacist Tendency
Box 6867, Station A,
Toronto, Ontario, Canada

5, four days prior to the convening of Bridges' Caucus meeting. Gow and Keylor have also announced their intentions to run on this program for the Local 10 executive board (Gow is presently a member running for reelection). A class-struggle response to Bridges' class collaborationism will thus be advocated in the next elections in the key local of the union.

Other critical demands for the ILWU are listed in the leaflet by Gow and Keylor. A shorter workweek at no loss in pay ("6 hours' work for 8 hours' pay! And keep on sliding the hours down and the wages up to create jobs") is now critical to the survival of the union. A full cost-of-living escalator and abolition of the "steady men" clause in the contract, which facilitates job loss and undermines the hiring hall, are also listed as crucial, as is "Full A-status for B-men now!" The leaflet concludes by explaining that the present union leadership stands as an obstacle to this struggle and pointing to the critical importance of a break with the Democratic party.

Frank discussion of the betrayals of the ILWU leadership is a welcome new occurrence in Local 10, where so-called militants and socialists have historically either been allied directly with the Bridges regime or refused to criticize it openly. The Communist Party, whose militants allied with Bridges in the San Francisco waterfront strike of 1934 that built the union, rapidly turned their alliance into a class-collaborationist obstacle to further struggle. The CP supports all of the leadership's basic policies, including the M and M contracts, although it now occasionally raises implied differences on some things (e.g., loss of jobs). These, however, are suitably veiled in the form of pressure on the regime, raising illusions that the present leadership can be nudged to the left.

The Mills-Stout regime in Local 10 is based to a large extent on former supporters of *Longshore Victory*, an "oppositional" paper which refused to openly criticize Bridges. The sellout of the barge boycott by Mills-Stout-Wing now demonstrates the betrayals which inevitably lie at the end of the road of a strategy of "pressuring" a trade-union bureaucracy which is committed to reformism and capitalism.

Bridges is trying to destroy the ILWU. This cannot be explained by suggestions of personal gain from the Mafia influences he is allegedly allowing into the union or from an alliance with a capitalist and Democratic Party bigwig (although Bridges' pay as one of Mayor Alioto's port commissioners exceeds his union salary). Rather, this record of betrayal is the inevitable outcome of the class-collaborationist policy that he, the reformist Communist Party and the rest of the trade-union bureaucracy have forced on the labor movement. Only a clear, class-struggle alternative to these treacherous misleaders can save the ILWU and the whole working-class movement from defeat and, ultimately, destruction. ■

Crisis in the ILWU and the International Class Struggle

Speakers:
BOB MANDEL, member of ILWU

JOHN MORGAN, member of Canadian Committee of the International Spartacist Tendency

Saturday, December 7 8:00 p.m.
130 West Hastings Street

sponsored by: SPARTACUS BOOKS

Vancouver

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..."Mini-State"

million a year to Hussein... and $50 million annually to the Palestinians (*New York Times*, 30 October).

For an Arab-Hebrew Palestine Workers Republic!

At the same time that we advise against any "mini-state" scheme, we nevertheless defend the right of the Palestinians to set up their own government in Gaza and the West Bank as a partial and deformed application of their right to self-determination. We also demand unconditional and immediate withdrawal of Israel from the occupied territories.

Revolutionary socialists would give military support to an independent Palestinian force fighting for Palestinian self-determination, so long as it is not simply an arm of one or more of the Arab states. But we oppose another confrontation between the Arab regimes and Israel—just as we have taken a position of revolutionary defeatism on both sides in the 1948, 1967 and 1973 conflicts—which might very well spill over to a third world war, even if after the holocaust the PLO flag flew over Nablus.

Another Arab-Israel war would once again reinforce the nationalists on both sides and undermine the revolutionary potential in the mounting social crisis in Israel and the occupied territories. What is needed is a multi-national Bolshevik (Trotskyist) party which could link the strikes in Tel Aviv, Ashdod and Haifa with demonstrations by West Bank Arabs against the Israeli occupation.

Recognizing the right of self-determination for both Palestinian Arabs and Hebrews, we point out that this can only be accomplished on both sides of the Jordan, including all of what now constitutes Israel and Jordan. These national claims, however, are directly counterposed, the product of historical interpenetration of two peoples on the same territory. Under capitalism another partition of Palestine, with its massive forced population transfers, can only bring untold misery to the working masses—as the Turkish army's partition of Cyprus graphically demonstrated in July.

Although the Hebrew nation is today an oppressor nation in relation to the Palestinians, a genuinely democratic solution would not simply reverse the terms of oppression. The "democratic secular Palestine" of the commando groups denies the existence of the Hebrew-speaking people as a nation—claiming they are simply a religion—and their right to self-determination. This is no different from the right-wing Zionist viewpoint which denies the existence of a Palestinian nation and its right to self-determination.

An equitable and genuinely democratic solution to the competing national claims of the Palestinian Arabs and Hebrews can only come about through the formation of a bi-national Arab/Hebrew workers state, part of a socialist federation of the Near East, born of the common class struggle of Arab and Jewish workers against their ruling classes. ■

Early Communist Work in the Trade Unions

Speaker: CHRIS KNOX
Labor Editor, Workers Vanguard
SL Central Committee

MADISON

Friday, December 6, 7:30 p.m.
Room to be posted
Memorial Union
University of Wisconsin

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U.S. Economy Crumbling

tensification of inter-imperialist rivalries, increasing centrifugal forces among nations in the "free" world. The continuing American campaign for collective "consumer" action against the oil-producing Arab states is the most obvious case in point.

The U.S. has suddenly dropped its opposition to the notion of "recycling" petrodollars and indicated a willingness to partially back such a plan in return for a consumers' (Europe, Japan and America) alliance against the Arab oil-producing states. France and Japan have been loathe to go along with this scheme. They correctly realize that the economic measures proposed by Kissinger and Co. (e.g., a 10 percent reduction in oil imports by consumers) are, by far, less important than the political and military implications of such an alliance for the Near East—and

DAVE POSAVETZ

Detroit workers line up for unemployment benefits.

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...Mafia

ILWU tops. Chapman is reported as "a former enforcer for Murder Inc. He still retains the nicknames 'Trigger Abe,' or 'Killer Abe.'"

Apparently one of Amalgamated's first act as "consultant" to the ILWU welfare fund was to recommend a "health" firm linked to Chapman, in his new profession as "dental health consultant," for running the union's dental plan. This switch of dental plan management had already been put over on the welfare fund's trustees "when longshoremen in Southern California—mostly from Local 13 in San Pedro—demanded that they be given some reason for the switch in plans. International VP Bill Chester met with them to explain the merits of the new plan but was unable to convince the longshoremen, and the contract was cancelled."

This article has created a great deal of controversy in the union. So widely believed are the assertions in the article that a recent Local 10 pensioners' meeting demanded an answer by Bridges. When the latter proposed a motion to condemn the *Bay Guardian* article, he was hooted down. To date there has been no reply to the article in the *Dispatcher*.

Reported underworld involvment in the ILWU goes hand in hand with Bridges' alliance with the shipping companies and capitalist politicians like Alioto, and with his constant pressure for merger with the ILA and the Teamsters. These two unions have been notorious for their corruption, allegations of Mafia connections and attempts to undermine the more advanced and democratic conditions enjoyed by West Coast longshoremen and warehousemen.

Although Bridges' merger plans have been repeatedly voted down by the membership (1971 and 1972 votes against merger with ILA and Teamsters, respectively), the *Bay Guardian* quotes ILWU officials and members to the effect that Bridges is out to dismember the union by sending the longshore half to the ILA and the warehouse division to the Teamsters. ■

themselves. Such a "consumers' axis" is clearly aimed at bullying the oil exporters with threats of military action and massive trade retaliation. It would also put the other advanced capitalist powers once again under the Pentagon's thumb. France countered by proposing a meeting of both consumers and producers, including smaller nations as well.

Rising national protectionism tends to make international trade agreements worth something less than the paper they're written on. The U.S. government has recently stepped in to "monitor" a deal made between two large grain dealers and the USSR.

Meanwhile, virtually unnoticed are the "agreements" the U.S. has simultaneously wrested from Europe and Japan not to shop on the American grain market. At the same time the U.S. has cancelled a grain-export deal with Iran. As Henry Kissinger aptly stated before the UN, "It is no longer possible to imagine that conflicts, weapons and recession will not spread."

In this period of crisis the reformist leaders of the working class have intensified their efforts on behalf of the bourgeoisie. Throughout Europe the patriotic leaders of the social-democratic parties are striving to shore up bourgeois order via "restraint" and "social contracts" while the Stalinists openly pursue political alliances with the main representatives of the capitalist class.

In the U.S. the anti-communist trade-union bureaucracy has excelled the most servile of its foreign counterparts. Although profits for U.S. capitalists during the oil crisis and earlier wage/price freeze have been higher than those in other advanced industrial countries, the contract settlements negotiated by the American labor bureaucracy have been positively scandalous when compared to the settlements won by European trade unions. *The Economist* (12-18 October), conservative spokesman of British capital, put it most succinctly: "America's great advantage over Britain is that its trade unions are not mounting a wage push inflation on anything like the British scale."

Although under tremendous pressure from the ranks, the bureaucracy is continuing its policy of craven capitulation to its capitalist masters. The tentative settlement negotiated by UMW head Arnold Miller is simply the latest of this series of sellouts of the most elementary and vital interests of the working class.

Rather than mobilize the power of the trade unions behind a struggle against the ravages of the current economic crisis and the capitalist system which breeds such crisis, the union bureaucrats have been busy trying to force their betrayals down the throats of the workers. While rallying the labor movement behind the "friend of labor" Democratic Party, these fakers have been pushing a program of national chauvinist protectionism, trying to convince the American working class that the roots of the current economic crisis lie in the machinations of U.S. capitalism's imperialist rivals.

American workers now face runaway inflation and the prospect of mass unemployment. The current misleaders of the labor movement have done next to nothing in the face of the latest capitalist onslaught except to beg for a few crumbs and fall over themselves in demonstrating their "responsibility" to their imperialist masters. Clearly the present period more and more demands an alternative to the deadend of bureaucratic betrayal. Especially necessary is a resolute stand against national chauvinism and protectionism, and an uncompromising fight against the ravages of inflation and mass layoffs.

The struggle to forge an alternative leadership committed to such policies is in reality the struggle to mobilize the working class to overturn the capitalist system itself as well as the parasitic misleaders of labor who make a career of preventing the workers from challenging the power of the bosses. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

ILWU in Crisis

SAN FRANCISCO, November 27—The top leadership of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) is once again lashing out at the membership, threatening to strangle the historically militant West Coast dockers' union to death. Harry Bridges and his cohorts were already swimming in scandal in September over their strongarm attempts to force the sale of Local 10's hiring hall to friends of S.F. Mayor Joe Alioto. Now they are trying to ram through a new sellout longshore contract, using a lame-duck delegate body to head off opposition, more than *six months before the expiration of the old agreement*. Meanwhile, charges of direct collusion with shipping companies, capitalist politicians and underworld crime figures continue to mount against the Bridges regime.

ILWU longshoremen load military cargo for Vietnam during West Coast dock strike on Bridges orders. UPI

"Harry Bridges Wants To End the ILWU"

A devastating, muckraking report in the San Francisco *Bay Guardian* (19 October-1 November) quoted one unnamed longshore union official as saying recently, "Harry Bridges definitely wants to end the ILWU. His thing now is that it was born with him and it will die with him." The article goes on to detail charges that the union welfare fund is controlled by "business partners" of a convicted pension fund defrauder and a "former enforcer for Murder Inc."

Bridges has long been known to favor merger proposals with the International Longshoremen's Association and the Teamsters, and his current policies of "alliance" with Gleason (ILA) and Fitzsimmons are nothing more than a calculated betrayal of the interests of longshoremen and warehousemen. Such an "alliance" could very well lead to the union's demise.

Bridges' attempt to push through a new contract now will mean an even worse disaster for longshoremen than his earlier sweetheart pacts. Already longshoremen with full union membership ("A men") are finding as little as 18 hours' work a week in some ports. But instead of mounting a fight to save longshore jobs through organizing non-union automated facilities and struggling for a shorter workweek at no loss in pay, the Bridges regime trades away jobs to its shipping company friends in return for nickel-and-dime "compensation."

Under Bridges, these notorious "M and M" ("Modernization and Mechanization") agreements have cut back available jobs to the point where another such deal will mean probable deregistration of full members for lack of work, as happened in 1946. Such depression conditions will of course be even worse for "B men," the discriminated-against category of second-class union members created by Bridges in order to ram through his first M and M agreement in 1961.

At the center of the rapidly growing crisis in the union is Local 10, the Bay Area longshore unit whose oppositional leadership Bridges would like to destroy and whose hiring hall he would like to sell to commercial developers allied with his friend, Mayor Alioto. The Local membership and part of the leadership have been resisting sale of the hall.

This conflict was brought to a head recently by a "hot cargo" boycotting action against a barge which had been worked by non-longshore labor. The barge was a part of an automated operation belonging to the Alioto family shipping company, Pacific Far East Lines. Although solid for one week, the boycott was sold out by the Local 10 leadership under pressure from Bridges.

The contract and Alioto's barges are closely related. A meeting of the longshore Coast-Wise Caucus, a body of delegates representing longshoremen, clerks and walking bosses from up and down the West Coast, took place in October allegedly to deal with "jurisdictional" questions with other unions doing longshore work on barges. In a surprise action Bridges moved to reopen the wages question in the contract, ramming it through on the excuse that Ford might freeze wages any minute, thus creating problems later (the contract doesn't expire until next June 30).

Since October, however, Bridges has agreed to discuss "all economic questions" with the Pacific Maritime Association, the employer group, and has called for the Caucus to reconvene on December 9. He is clearly trying to settle the main terms of the contract before the election of a new delegate body of the Caucus. (The present

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Mafia in the ILWU?

Rumors have circulated for some time to the effect that San Francisco Mayor Joseph Alioto is tied in with underworld crime figures. Allegations have been made that the Mafia had interests on the San Francisco waterfront and in the ILWU, the head of which, Harry Bridges, is an S.F. port commissioner and political supporter of Alioto. The Mayor is referred to as "godfather" in some labor circles.

According to an article based on several interviews with longshoremen in the S.F. *Bay Guardian* of 19 October-1 November, there is strong evidence that known underworld criminals are indeed moving in on the ILWU and its welfare fund specifically. The welfare fund is now "advised" by Amalgamated Insurance Agency Service, Inc., a Chicago-based "consultants" firm brought in by Bridges two years ago. According to the *Bay Guardian* article, the chief officers of Amalgamated include a long-time business partner of one Allen Dorfman, who was convicted of six counts of fraud involving a loan of the Teamsters' pension fund in 1973. Dorfman was indicted again in 1974 for a $1.4 million pension fund fraud. "Two weeks ago," continues the article, the star witness in his trial was gunned down "Al Capone-style on a Chicago street"!

Although Dorfman is not listed as a partner of Amalgamated, his phone number is the same as the firm's and the article quotes *Overdrive*, an independent truckers' magazine, as saying that Dorfman "does receive an income" from Amalgamated. *Overdrive* is also quoted as linking one Abe Chapman ("real name Chafupowitz") with Amalgamated and, through them, with the

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S.F. Mayor Joseph Alioto, left, Harry Bridges speaking. WV PHOTO

SUPPLEMENT

WORKERS VANGUARD

December 1974

Racism, Unemployment, Inflation...

Not White Against Black, But Class Against Class!

The busing crisis in Boston has posed the issue of racial equality more sharply than at any time since the end of the civil rights movement in the mid-1960's. A victory for the racists here would set back the struggle against discrimination throughout the country.

It is no secret that anti-busing forces in New York, Denver and elsewhere have been watching events in Boston closely. So are the American Nazi Party and Ku Klux Klan, who surfaced at the beginning of the white school boycott in September. They hope to fan race hatred and fascist sentiments by a new drive against integration.

As usual, the liberals piously deplore the racist offensive while doing nothing to stop it. They have repeatedly voted in Congress against "forced busing" and in July the Supreme Court knocked down cross-district busing, thereby exempting the lily-white suburbs. In Boston liberal Mayor Kevin White announced in early October that the present integration plan "cannot be implemented." Even the judge who ordered the busing is now talking of a compromise exempting certain schools.

Fundamentally, events in Boston are part of a broad attack on minority rights nationally. Murders of defenseless black people by trigger-happy cops in Atlanta, Boston, California, Detroit and New York; "Operation Zebra," a dragnet aimed at all young black males in San Francisco; a "police riot" against Puerto Ricans in Newark—these are only some of the signs of the times. Ironically, some of the worst cop atrocities have occurred in cities with black mayors.

The offensive against racial minorities is intimately linked with the escalating economic crisis. During the 1960's the incomes of the black and Latin population were slowly increasing relative to those of whites. Since 1972 this trend has now been sharply reversed as the "last hired" are "first fired." With unemployment shooting up by almost 50 percent in the last year, the rate for black workers hit 11.7 percent in November. For black youth it is already a staggering 37.5 percent.

With the abandonment of racial minorities by the liberals and the discrediting of black Democrats, the fact that the only genuine allies of the racially oppressed with a program for struggle are communists can be made crystal clear. Large numbers of militants can see that the fight for democratic rights and equality for minorities must be part of a united working-class offensive against capitalist rule.

Since the beginning of the reactionary segregationist drive in Boston the Spartacist League has energetically fought for independent mobilization of the anti-racist forces. As early as September 22, the SL sent a letter to Boston-area trade unions, black organizations and socialist groups urging a mass united-front demonstration around the demand, "Stop the Racist Attacks Against Black School Children."

The response from the black Democratic politicians was complete passivity. Their "strategy"—nothing but an excuse for inaction—was to request federal intervention. When the NAACP/Massachusetts Legislative Black Caucus finally called for a demonstration of pro-busing forces, they built it half-heartedly and even excluded whites from the Roxbury march. Thus it was not surprising that only 700 showed up on October 13.

As the busing conflict dragged on, however, several left groups and liberal politicos have smelled an opportunity to enhance their images with a limited display of "mass action." This was the purpose of the November 30 rally at Boston City Hall, called by the Communist Party-led National Alliance Against Racism and Political Repression, which featured Mrs. Coretta King. The same is true for the December 14 march being built around State Senator-elect Bill Owens (see box). Neither have raised anything but the most vague, liberal demands.

While the Spartacist League called for labor/black defense of the bused school children, the liberal union bureaucrats have done nothing. Their biggest effort to date was an insipid statement by the civil rights committee of the state AFL-CIO which couldn't even say outright that it supported busing. Even those unions most directly affected—like the Meatcutters, which cannot use its union hall in South Boston because of racist attacks and vandalization of the members' cars—have failed to mobilize for an integrated labor defense.

The fight for democratic rights of minorities must be linked to a broad program of class struggle against the capitalist system. It was precisely the failure of the civil rights movement to separate itself from the Democratic Party and to raise an independent working-class program which led to its collapse following the passage of the Civil Rights Act. And it was the failure of the antiwar movement to separate itself from the liberals which likewise led to its disappearance after the phony Paris "peace treaty."

A struggle to provide jobs and protection against inflation for all working people, through a sliding scale of wages and hours ("30 hours' work for 40 hours' pay," full cost-of-living escalator), would go a long way toward overcoming racial divisions in the working class. Only a communist perspective which links the fight against racism to the struggles of the working class against its capitalist masters can open the road to socialist revolution and the liberation of all the oppressed.

Smash Anti-Busing Offensive in Boston!

UPI

Jean-Louis Yvon, a black worker from Haiti being attacked by racist mob in Boston.

- No trust in capitalist politicians/troops/cops! Black/labor defense against racist attacks!
- Implement the busing plan! Busing into the suburbs! Integrated free quality education for all!
- No layoffs! Factory occupations against shutdowns! Unlimited, unconditional unemployment insurance! 30-for-40—Jobs for all!
- Smash inflation! For a full cost-of-living escalator for all workers, welfare recipients and pensioners!
- Not white against black, but class against class! Seize the banks/oil/auto/coal with workers control! Oust the labor fakers—Build a workers party—Forward to a workers government!

"Emergency Committee": A Liberal Sham

For A Class-Struggle Contingent on December 14

A "Freedom March for Human Dignity" has been announced for Boston and other major cities around the country on December 14. Organized by the Emergency Committee for a National Mobilization Against Racism, the Boston rally has a long list of several hundred sponsors, including trade-union bureaucrats, black organizations, left groups and prominent liberals. The three slogans on the leaflet for the national march are "No to Institutionalized Racism; No to Racist Mob Violence and No to Racism in Education."

The rally is built around and tightly controlled by a single black Democratic Party politician, Bill Owens. Owens, who recently became the only black state senator in Massachusetts, is eager to boost his career by attaching his name to a demonstration of national significance.

Owens can afford a display of "militancy" as long as he has iron-clad veto power over the decisions of the "Emergency Committee": the character of leaflets, slogans, route of march, speakers at the rally, etc. Consequently, neither the hundreds of sponsoring organizations and individuals nor the groups which have been most active in building the demonstration—Youth Against War and Fascism and the Socialist Workers Party—are making key decisions. They are only the water boys.

The national leaflet highlights excerpts from Owens' press conference statement, making clear that the rally is to be a pious appeal to "justice loving people from all fifty states."

The Spartacist League is unable to endorse this demonstration which is under the organizational control of the Democratic Party politician Bill Owens. We have no confidence in the organizers of this demonstration who are doing their best to guarantee that it will be a liberal/pacifist pep rally—a vehicle for the electoral ambitions of bourgeois politicians and a forum for liberal demands such as "Troops to Boston."

For revolutionaries to stand by and permit the opportunists and their liberal allies to use the just outrage against the racist anti-busing forces to spread liberal/pacifist illusions would be an abdication of our responsibility to expose these criminal frauds. Thus we will march in the December 14 demonstration in our own contingent, together with those who agree with the perspective of independent labor/black action against the racists, under class-struggle banners.

No Troops to Boston, For Labor/Black Defense!

In the Boston busing crisis there have been sharp differences between the programs raised by various groups which claim to be socialist. Take the issue of busing, for example: Some support it, some don't. Why?

For the Spartacist League it is a question of democratic and working-class principles. We support the maximum political, economic and social equality among different sections of the working people. Discrimination divides the workers and makes it more difficult to unite against the common enemy. The SL stands for integration of the schools as part of the struggle for racial equality, and we therefore support busing as a means (although distorted and rather artificial) of achieving at least a certain degree of integration.

For the opportunists the question of busing is much more complicated. In the past, most have supported nationalist programs for "community control" of schools in the black ghettos. This is now doubly embarrassing to them, since black community control logically leads to demands for community control by poor whites (a cover for racist reaction) as well as being logically counterposed to busing. (What does black control of Martin Luther King School mean if a majority of the students are white as a result of busing?)

Some, like the social-democratic International Socialists, have quietly dropped their earlier opposition to busing. Others, like the reformist Socialist Workers Party, invent elaborate "explanations" for their new-found enthusiasm. What these come down to is that the SWP will support whatever the "leaders of the Black community" call for.

One group that did not react so quickly in the busing crisis was the Maoist Revolutionary Union. Discovering that many white workers oppose busing with the excuse that it will not provide "quality education," the RU denounced busing as a "capitalist hoax." One RU leaflet proclaimed, "We can't write off all white resistance to the busing plan as just racist." Another featured a stop sign, the symbol being used by the Hicks forces. This line of capitulating to white racism was translated into a front-page headline in *Revolution* (October 1974) proclaiming: "People Must Unite To Smash Boston Busing Plan."

Under fire from just about every other left organization, the Revolutionary Union has retreated, announcing that its comrades who used the stop sign were "not aware that it was being used by reactionaries" (!), and that the headline "overemphasize[d] the question of opposing the busing plan" (*Revolution*, November 1974). What is significant about this, however, is the fact that the RU simply carried to its logical conclusion an opportunist line which only a few weeks beforehand was supported by most of the left.

SWP Calls for the Bosses' Army

Another hotly disputed issue is the call for federal troops by black liberals and Mayor White. The two left groups who have actively raised this slogan in Boston are the Socialist Workers Party and the Communist Party. The CP does so because its whole strategy is to build support for liberal Democrats under the slogan of an "anti-monopoly coalition." The SWP claims to have a different position.

"We completely support the demands made by leaders of the Black community that federal troops be sent to Boston...," declared SWP candidates for Massachusetts state offices on October 9. Thus in the present class-divided society it turns out that "the Black community" is represented by ...Democrats like Mel King, Tom Atkins and Bill Owens. These bourgeois politicians call for bringing in the U.S. Army for the same reason they have in the past supported liberal Mayor White: they seek to build illusions that black people can achieve justice by "working within the system."

In contrast to the reformist SWP, which chases after the black Democrats in search of instant popularity, the workers and oppressed minorities cannot, as does the SWP, depend on the black Democrats to make up their minds for them about which policy is correct.

WV PHOTO

Demonstration at Boston City Hall, November 30.

The SWP's "Meaningful Solution"

Let us look more closely at the SWP's "meaningful solution." In recent articles these reformists argue that while troops are often used against the workers, they are sometimes used against the reactionaries. Their two favorite examples are Little Rock in 1957 and Selma, Alabama, in 1965. Camejo, for example, says that the dispatch of U.S. troops to Little Rock "demoralized the racists and broke the back of the racist movement."

What actually happened was quite different. In Little Rock, following a desegregation order from the federal court a small group of black children attempting to attend the local high school was subjected to repeated harassment by crowds of white racists. For days President Eisenhower ignored all calls for federal intervention. Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr. sent a telegram saying, "I urge the people of Little Rock to adhere rigorously to the way of non-violence at this time...." And the local middle-class NAACP leadership counseled the black population to do nothing and hope for aid from Washington.

Then came a night of massive unrest in the black section of Little Rock. Faced with a threat of racist invasion (a 100-car motorcade) and intimidation by local authorities (fire engines screaming through the ghetto), blacks poured out of their homes with arms to defend their community. Groups of black youths battled with and dispersed a white racist mob, and a carload of blacks attempted to run down a state trooper. It was only after this display of militant resistance that U.S. troops were sent in (the next day, in fact). As the *Amsterdam News* (28 September 1957) headlined its story: "IKE MOVES AS NEGROES HIT BACK."

In the aftermath, Eisenhower proceeded to strengthen the hand of the reactionaries by dumping the federal judge (replacing him with a southern racist), delaying scheduled desegregation of Texas public schools, forcing the resignation of Attorney General Brownell and stacking the Civil Rights Commission with Dixiecrats. Yet the SWP says that federal troops in Little Rock "broke the back of the racist movement"!

The fight in Selma grew out of a drive to register black voters. After weeks of harassment, including attacks by state troopers on a civil rights demonstration, a march was held from Selma to Montgomery, the state capital. The Student Non-Violent Co-ordinating Committee called for troops as did the SWP. And they got them.

The "protection" provided by U.S. authorities, however, was far from reliable. After the Montgomery rally, troops were precipitously withdrawn, and on the way back to Selma one of the marchers was murdered by a shot from a car full of Ku Klux Klansmen... and an FBI informer.

No Troops to Boston!

But it is not necessary to look at events ten or twenty years ago. What sending troops to Boston would mean can be clearly seen by looking at the development of the present busing crisis.

The case of the Columbia Point housing project near South Boston, for instance. After several days of escalating provocations by whites driving through the project screaming obscenities and racial slurs, on September 21 about 250 tenants formed a human barricade across the street in order to keep out the vigilantes. Two days later, project residents issued a set of demands including "complete and effective police protection for our children against mob violence...."

They got police "protection," all right. Cops imposed a brutal military occupation of Columbia Point, using guard dogs and police with M-16s stationed on the rooftops. Several tenants were hospitalized as the result of police brutality, and the project's church and community center were vandalized by the official representatives of "law and order."

And then there is the fact that despite two weeks of racist harassment of black students, an urgent call for federal troops was made by liberals only when black youths began to respond by attacking whites in the Roxbury ghetto. As the *Boston Globe* (9 October) headline put it: "Boston asks for US marshals as violence spreads to Roxbury."

After asserting that federal troops aided black people in Selma and Little Rock, the SWP's *Militant* (1 November) stated: "The same dynamic would operate in Boston." The same dynamic —in which troops act as the guardians of capitalism, repressing any attempts at independent defense by black and labor organizations—would indeed operate in Boston. But it is not the "dynamic" the SWP imagines!

By calling for U.S. troops to enforce desegregation in Boston the SWP and CP only reinforce liberal illusions that the state can serve either the racists or the working class and oppressed minorities. By raising this demand, the reformists take the responsibility (whether they want it or not) for a possible invasion by the bourgeois authorities which would clamp martial law on the ghetto and prevent any independent mobilization.

If, as the SWP argues, labor defense guards are "not counterposed" to federal troops, we invite these fakers to try organizing them while the 82nd Airborne Division is occupying Roxbury!

Only by relying on their own forces, by organizing integrated working-class defense, can the threatened black population and union militants in Boston protect themselves from racist attack.

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Workers Vanguard — 4 January to 6 December 1974 (Issues Nos. 35 - 58)

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- This subject index covers issues of *Workers Vanguard* published during 1974, from issue No. 35 (4 January) through the end-of-the-year issue No. 58 (6 December).
- The **fullest listing** is by **SUBJECT**. Subject headings are arranged alphabetically; entries are listed chronologically with the exception of corrections which immediately follow the relevant entry. Names, personalities, organizations mentioned in articles are usually not listed separately. No article is listed twice; refer to cross references for guidance in locating the subject heading for particular articles.
- **Entries relating to foreign countries** are listed under geographical headings, and not necessarily under any other subject heading. Unless listed separately for some unusual reason, all foreign political organizations are listed under appropriate geographical heads; U.S. political organizations are listed under their organizational names.
- **Trade-union articles** dealing with U.S. labor issues are listed under the name of the occupation, e.g., AUTO WORKERS, MINE WORKERS, PHONE WORKERS, etc. Articles dealing with labor issues in other countries are listed under the appropriate geographical heading.
- **Articles dealing with the Arab-Israeli conflict** and directly related countries and issues (e.g., Egypt, Palestine) will be found under the major subject head: NEAR EAST.

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  means
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- An asterisk after the page location of an entry indicates that a correction entry immediately follows.
- Entries are listed under subject heads. In some cases, subject heads are broken up into subcategories. These subcategories are listed immediately after the initial subject head for a topic (e.g., **Longshore Workers: Genl.**—see **Longshore Workers: Chile Boycott, Longshore Workers: Defense/Workers Democracy**).
- Abbreviations used in entries are:
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